



16 - 3

ALUMNI LIBRARY,  
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,

PRINCETON, N. J.

*Case.*

*Shelf.*

*Book.*

SCC

3163

v. 2



~~Handwritten scribbles and marks at the top of the page.~~



# HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

RELATING TO

REMARKABLE PERIODS

OF

THE S U C C E S S

*in breaking off*

T H E G O S P E L,

AND

EMINENT INSTRUMENTS

EMPLOYED IN PROMOTING IT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

MATTH. XXVIII. 19, 20. GO AND TEACH ALL NATIONS:—AND LO,  
I AM WITH YOU ALWAYS, EVEN TO THE END OF THE WORLD.

COMPILED BY

JOHN GILLIES,

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF GLASGOW.

*IN MAGNIS VOLUISSE.*

V O L. II.

GLASGOW,

PRINTED BY ROBERT AND ANDREW FOULIE

MDCCLIV.



# THE C O N T E N T S OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

	Page
BOOK IV. In the Eighteenth Century.—Of the Danish Missionaries in the East-Indies, 1706, &c.—Some Instances of the Success of the Gospel in the British Colonies in America from 1705 to 1734, viz. at Taunton, at Windham in Connecticut, at Freehold in New-Jersey, and that remarkable Revival at Northampton 1734, &c.—The Saltzburgers in Germany forsake their Country for the Gospel.—Religious Society at Oxford,—Mr. John and Charles Wesley their Labours and Success.—Mr. Whitefield's Labours and Success.—The extensive Revival in the British Colonies in America, which began chiefly in the Year 1740, and continued in 1741, 1742, spreading through a great many Places.—Revival in Scotland 1742.—Mr. Brainerd's Labours and Success among the Indians in America 1744, &c.—Success of the Gospel in Ireland, 1747, &c.—In Holland 1750, &c.—Endeavours to convert Jews and Mahomedans.	1
CHAP. I. Of the Danish Missionaries in the East-Indies, 1706, &c.	1
SECT 1. Abstract of the Accounts of their Labours and Success, from the Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part I. printed 1709.—Part II. printed 1710.—Part III. printed 1714.	3
Extract from the Account of the Religion of the Malabarians, printed 1717.	6
Letters betwixt King George I. and the Missionaries, 1717, 1718.	7
SECT. 2. In 1710, the Society at London, for promoting Christian Knowledge, undertakes the Management of Charities put into their Hands, for supporting the Protestant Mission at Tranquebar, then maintained by the King of Denmark.—In 1728, there is a new Mission for the Conversion of the Heathens at Madrafs.—And at Cudulore near Fort St. David.—In 1740, the Number of those who had joined the Christian Congregations, from the Beginning of the Mission, amounts to 5959, of which there remained alive 3766.—The Gospel of St. Matthew in the Malabarian Tongue.—The New-Testament and Psalter in Arabick,—Saltzburgh and Georgia,	13

# CONTENTS.

<b>CHAP. II.</b> In New-England from 1705 to 1734.	Page 15
INTRODUCTION. — The sad Decay of vital Religion in New-England after the Death of the first Planters. — The Complaints of their godly Ministers on that Account.	15
<b>SECT. 1.</b> Of the Revival in Massachusetts in 1680, upon a solemn renewing of Covenant with God, and one another:	20
Of the Revival in Taunton in February 1705, which began with Meetings for Prayer among the young Men, and Societies for Reformation, in Imitation of those at London.	21
Of old Mr. Stodder's five Harvests at Northampton.	23
Of the Revival at Windham in Connecticut Colony in 1721.	24
Of the Awakening by the Earthquake October 1727.	27
And the Revival at Freehold in New-Jersey 1731, &c.	28
<b>SECT. 2.</b> Of the remarkable Revival at Northampton in 1734, &c. which began with such Things as Sabbath-Sanctification, religious Meetings among the young People, and the preaching of Justification by Faith alone.	35
The Concern appears in other Towns and Villages of Hampshire.	40
And in several Towns in Connecticut.	40
<b>CHAP. III.</b> Of the persecuted Protestants at Saltburgh in Germany 1731, 1732. — Great Numbers of them forsake their Houses, Lands and Relations, that they might enjoy the Gospel.	44
<b>CHAP. IV.</b> Of a religious Society of Students at Oxford, which began about the End of 1720. — Their careful Improvement of Time in Works of Piety and Charity. — Their Zeal and Success in preaching the Gospel.	52
<b>SECT. 1.</b> Some Passages of Mr. John Wesley's Journals.	52
Preface to the first Journal. — Letter containing an Account of the Rise of the Society in Oxford,	52
In 1735, he sets out for Georgia.	60
In 1736, he preaches at Savannah. — Converses with the Indians.	60
In 1737, Religious Discourse at a Visitation. — Negroes. — Young People. — Mr. Wesley returns to England.	61
In 1738, he goes to Germany. — Returns to England. — Preaches frequently. — Northampton Narrative.	63
In 1739, Field preaching. — Many wounded in Spirit. — Newgate. — Warning against relying on bodily Effects. — Nature of the Doctrines preached. — Prayer heard. — Gross Sinners reformed. — Ignorance in some Parts of Wales. — Letter of Approbation from one formerly prejudiced. — Kingswood.	69
In 1740, Some remarkable Instances of the Power of the Word, and of prayer.	81
In 1741, Conversion of an Atheist. — Comfortable Death of an eminent Christian.	82
In 1742, Account of Sarah Whilkin. — John Woolley, a boy of thirteen. — Of John Nelson. — Great Concern at Epworth. — Of David Taylor. — Death of Mrs. Wesley — The Society at Bristol. — The Work at New-castle. — Of those who cried out.	83
In 1743, he preaches at Placey. — The Isles of Scilly. — Trezuthan-downs. — Grimsby. — The Spen.	92
In 1744, Letter from the Soldiers at Lisle and Ghent. — Gross Sinners at St. Just reformed — Comfortable Deaths. — Persecution. — More Letters from the Soldiers abroad.	94
In 1745, Awakening in Cornwall. — Comfortable Deaths. — Public Affairs. — Letters from the Soldiers abroad. — More Seriousness than ordinary in England.	99

# C O N T E N T S.

<b>CONCLUSION.</b> ——Letter from Dr. Doddridge to Mr. Wesley.——A Passage from Mr. Wesley's Answer to Mr. Church's second Letter.——Nature of the main Doctrines preached.——The Fruits.		Page 102
<b>SECT. 2.</b>	Some Passages of Mr. Whitefield's Journals.	106
In 1737, 1738, from London to Gibraltar.——From Gibraltar to Savannah.——His Return to London.——The Work of God there.		106
In 1739, he preaches at Newgate.——To the Colliers of Kingswood.——Of Mr. Griffith Jones.——Letter from Mr. J. Wesley.——Of Howel Harris——Mr. Benjamin Seward.——Very large Congregations.——Mr. Delamotte's Family.——The successful Ministry of Messrs. Tennent, Messrs. Freeling Housen, Croß, &c. in America.		109
In 1740, his Success in America.——At Charlestown.——Savannah.——Philadelphia.——Neshamini.——Nottingham.——Fog's Mannor.——Baskinridge.——Boston, &c.		119
<b>SECT. 3.</b>	A Hint of the Labours and Success of several in Wales.——And of the State of Religion there in 1742.	134
<b>CHAP. V.</b> Of that extraordinary Revival in the British Colonies in America, which began chiefly in the Year 1740, and continued in 1741, 1742,——— ——spreading through a great many Places.		137
<b>SECT. 1.</b>	Of the Revival in the Towns of Hopewell, Amwell, &c. in New-Jersey.——The Attention of the Hearers in general awakened.——The People of God enlivened.——Concern under a Sermon May 1739, also in October 6th, and December 30th,——Visiting and private Examination blest to several.——Remarkable Seasons of Divine Influence.——The Nature of the Work, and good Fruits of it.	137
<b>SECT. 2.</b>	Of the Revival at Newark and Elizabethtown in New-Jersey.——It began at Newark, August 1739.——But not at Elizabethtown till near a Year after.	142
<b>SECT. 3.</b>	A Revival in September 1739, at Harvard in Middlesex.——The Concern increases among the young People.——This a Mean to stir up others.——Religious Conversation.——Societies for Prayer, &c.	146
<b>SECT. 4.</b>	In March 1740, at New-London-Derry in Pennsylvania.——Under the Preaching of a neighbouring Minister from Luke xiii. 7.——And afterwards when their own Minister preached from Matth. vi. 33.——Sermons on Week-Days.——The Experiences of a young Woman.——And of a man aged fifty.——And of two Sisters, aged seven and nine Years.——Other Places in Pennsylvania awakened.	150
<b>SECT. 5.</b>	Of the remarkable Revival in the City of Boston, which began soon after Mr. Whitefield's Arrival there September 1740.——The Concern increases greatly after his Departure.——And much more upon Mr. Gilbert Tennent's coming, December 13th, 1740.——His searching Manner of Preaching.——After Mr. Tennent's Departure, was such a Time as the Ministers of Boston never knew for the Numbers that came to them in Concern about their Souls,——Boys and Girls, young Men and Women, Indians and Negroes, Heads of Families, aged Persons.——A Taste for evangelical experimental Writers revived——Frequent Sermons.——Meetings for Prayer encrease.——The oftner the Ministers preach they have the more Pleasure in it.——Strangers are surprized at the Change in the Looks and Carriage of the People.——The Work goes on till June 1742, when some unhappy Imprudencies of Mr. Davenport bring in a disputatious and censorious Spirit.——Mr. Davenport's Retractions afterwards.	163
<b>SECT. 6.</b>	A new Revival at Northampton——Remarkable Effects of a Sermon at a private House.——And of Exhortations to young Children.——The most wonderful Work amongst Children that ever was, in Northampton.	

—Those Persons who were of Age under the former Revival, seemed now to be almost wholly past over.—Difference betwixt this and the former Work.—Mr. Bucl and a Number of the zealous People of Suffield come there.—Mr. Bucl preaches almost every Day.—A public Renewal of Covenant with God.

Page 183

Sect. 7. In the Beginning of the Year 1741, a Revival at Bridgewater in the Massachusetts.—One of their Ministers, Mr. Porter, benefited by hearing Mr. Whitefield.—Mr. Tennent preaches.—Religious Meetings.—The Subjects preached on.—Two young Men who had seen the Revival in Connecticut.—Itinerant Ministers employed.—Happy Fruits of this Work.

193

Sect. 8. On the 26th of February 1741, at Wrentham in Suffolk in the Massachusetts.—Under the Ministry of their ordinary Pastors, Messrs. Messenger and Haven.—The Texts, Zech. xii. 10. and Jer. xxvi. 13.—Great Attention.—Many Tears.—Desire of Lectures.—Longing for the Sabbath.—Frequent Preaching.—Religious Meetings and Conference.—Some brought under Concern by hearing Sermon.—Some by hearing of others, fearing lest themselves should be left.—Some a long time under Convictions.—A second Revival.—Distress for the Souls of others.

200

Sect. 9. In March 1741, at Taunton in the County of Bristol, after Mr. Tennent's Preaching there.—His Text Matth. xi. 28.—Increase of religious Conversation.—Mr. Crocker their Minister excited by the News of the Revival in Connecticut.—Good Effects of Mr. Daniel Rogers' occasional Preaching from John v. 40.—And Mr. Wheelock's from Mark xvi. 16, which was attended with great Power.—Awful Solemnity in hearing.—A particular Instance of one in great Distress.—Rev. iii. 20.—The Detection of Hypocrisy from Job xxvii. 8.—Wonderful Power attending Mr. Wheelock's last Sermon on Hosea xiii. 13.—Mr. Crocker preaches to the Negroes.—Young Children affected.—Disputes did Hurt.—People of all Characters wrought upon.—Profligates, Formalists.—The good Fruits in their Lives.—Though some made a Cry People would be undone by so many Meetings, God gave as great or greater Plenty than ever.—Mistakes rectified and Objections answered.

210

Sect. 10. On the 29th of March 1741, at Lyme in Connecticut, West Parish.—While their Minister, Mr. Parsons, narrates to his Congregation what he had seen and heard of the Revival in other Places, from Isa. lx. 8.—Mr. Tennent preaches on Ezek. xxxvii. 9. and Luke xiii. 4.—Remarkable Power attending a Sermon of Mr. Parsons on Matth. xxiv. 37, 38, 39. about our Lord's coming to Judgment.—Ministers send for each other to preach.—A Concern among the Children in time of Sermon at New-London.—Mr. Parsons' Itinerancy blest in several Places.—And when he returned to his own Charge, some manifest Tokens of the Presence of God accompanying every Sermon for a Time.—The sincere Complaints of some were a Mean of awakening others.—Edifying Discourse in the Streets, Fields, and private Houses.—Evidences of a Christian Temper.—A wonderful Day of Christ's Power at a Communion.—The Work chiefly among the Youth; but some very old, two near seventy, and one ninety-three.—Mr. Davenport blest among the Indians.—Some Irregularities.—Defence of the Work itself.

230

Sect. 11. On the first of April 1741, in the East Parish of Lyme.—By Means of Mr. Tennent's Preaching.—And Mr. Parsons'.—Crying out.—Strangers come to see and hear.—Neighbouring Ministers preach.—The greater Part who get Benefit do not cry out.—An hundred English and thirteen Indians admitted into Church-Communion.—Triumphant

# CONTENTS.

- Death of a young Man.—Mr. Davenport blest to the Neantick Indians in this Parish.—Twenty or upwards of them hopefully converted. Page 253
- Sect. 12. In the same Season (viz. Spring 1741) at Sutton in the County of Worcester in the Massachusetts.—Just when their Minister Mr. Hall had Thoughts of leaving them through Despair of Success.—The occasional Preaching of Mr. Edwards, Mr. Parkman and Mr. Prentice blessed to them.—The Concern seized on People in the House, in the High-way, in the Woods, &c. while thinking on spiritual Things.—Imprudent Conduct of one or two did Hurt.—On Mr. Daniel Rogers' coming, the Work was considerably revived.—Not the Wisdom of Mans Words.—The sure Proof of its being from God, in its Fruits.—Persons of different Ages. 258
- Sect. 13. In the Beginning of November 1741, at Halifax, in the County of Plymouth.—In August they had kept a Day of Fasting and Prayer for asking the Influences of the Spirit.—Mr. Wheelock of Lebanon preaches at Bridgewater.—Religious Discourse.—Meetings of young Children.—Remarkable Instances of Persons under Concern.—Some Account of the Death of Mr. Thompson aged seventy-eight.—Of the Behaviour of another sick Person who afterwards unexpectedly recovered. 266
- Sect. 14. On the twenty-third of November 1741, at Middleborough, East Precinct.—Some Beginnings the Summer before.—Impressions had been made by the occasional Preaching of Messrs. Tennent, Rogers, Moorhead, and Shaw.—But on November twenty-third, the Awakening great.—The Lamps of many went out.—Heart-affecting Cries and Confessions.—A remarkable Instance in the Head of a Club to his Companions.—For about eighteen Months the Place like a Heaven on Earth. 272
- Sect. 15. On the twenty-fifth of November 1741, at Portsmouth in New-Hampshire.—A polite Sort of People.—Messrs. Whitefield's and Tennent's Preaching blessed to them.—November twenty-fifth, a monthly Fast to seek Divine Influences.—Different Exclamations, like what may be expected at the last Day.—A Circumstance that occasioned or heightened these.—The Concern of the Hearers did not always follow the most pathetic Discourses.—One who was prejudiced at speaking out, forced to do it himself.—Some Apostates, &c. but a considerable Number appear real Converts.—Reformation as to Curling and Swearing.—Sabbath-Sanctification.—Family-Worship.—Charity.—Restitution.—Psalms and Hymns, instead of carnal Mirth.—The Work revived again about a Year after. 281
- Sect. 16. About the 10th of December 1741, at New-London, North Parish.—Mr. Jewet their Minister had exchanged Pulpits with Mr. Griswold of Lyme.—The Peoples Hearts wonderfully united after this to Mr. Jewet, tho' before they were at the Point of separating from him. 286
- Sect. 17. About the Beginning of the Year 1742, at Westerly and Charlestown in Rhode-Island Colony.—Mr. Park's Ministry for some time unsuccessful.—He preaches the Doctrines of Grace.—Is assisted by Mr. Tennent.—And Mr. Davenport.—And the People at Stonington.—And Mr. Eells Minister there.—Family-Worship set up.—A Church gathered.—A Number of the Indians stirred up to seek after eternal Life. 289
- Sect. 18. On the last Sabbath of January 1742, at Gloucester (first Precinct) in the County of Essex.—Impressions before by the Earthquake.—By the Account of the Work at Northampton, &c.—A Day of Fasting and Prayer for the Gift of the Holy Ghost.—A religious

# CONTENTS.

Society of Negroes.——Scores savingly wrought upon.——Legalists or self-righteous convicted.——Mourners comforted——One itinerant Preacher.——Several settled Ministers preached occasionally whose Labours the Lord was pleased to bless.

Page 294

**Secl. 19.** In February 1742, at Plymouth.——Former Endeavours not blest with Success.——A Concern begins gradually to appear under the Preaching of some stranger Ministers, and of their own Minister Mr. Leonard.——The Subjects he preached on.——But the Concern greatest of all in February 1742, when Mr. Croswel came.——Strangers surprized at the Reformation in the Place.——A distinct Society.

298

**Secl. 20.** About the same Time (viz. Spring 1742) at Somers in the County of Hampshire in the Massachusetts.——Restitution.——Reconciliation.——Various Impressions.——A remarkable Instance of a Child nine Years of Age.——Christians among them greatly quickened.——They are almost in every respect a reformed People.——A Day of Thanksgiving.

301

**Secl. 21.** Extracts of Attestations to the above remarkable Revival in New-England, &c.

304

I. By sixty-eight Ministers at the Meeting in Boston, July 7th, 1743.

304

II. By twelve in Connecticut Colony, Norwich, June 23d, 1743.

311

III. By six in the County of York, Scarborough, June 23d, 1743.

313

IV. By seven in the County of Hampshire, June 30th, 1743.

314

V. By eleven in the County of Fairfield, Woodbury, Oct. 5th, 1743.

314

VI. The Names of twenty Ministers who gave their single (two of them their joint) Attestations.

315

VII. Extract of a Letter from Mr. Gilbert Tennent containing Attestations from several Ministers; also some Account of the Revival in the Provinces of New-Jersey, New-York and Pennsylvania, dated Philadelphia, Aug. 24th, 1744.

317

VIII. Mr. William Tennent's short Account of some Places in these Provinces, dated Oct. 11th, 1744.

323

IX. Some Account of the Perseverance of the Subjects of the above Revival who lived in and about Boston, in two Letters dated Sept. 5th, 1751, and January 22d, 1752.

325

**Secl. 22.** In 1743, the same Work spreads to Virginia.——The uncommon Manner in which it began.——Mr. Robinson's Preaching greatly blest.——And Mr. Blair's.——And Mr. Roan's.——Opposition.——The Synod of New-York applied to.——Messrs. Tennent and Finley come.——Then Messrs. William Tennent and Samuel Blair.——The Lord's Supper given.

330

In 1747 Mr. Davies is sent to them.——Next Year he has seven Meeting-houses to officiate in.——Three of them in Hanover, the other four in the Counties of Henrico, Caroline, Louisa, and Goochland.——Three hundred Communicants.——A Number of Negroes.——Their artless Simplicity, and passionate Aspirations after Christ.——Strange History of Isaac Oliver deaf and dumb from his Birth.

334

Itinerant Preaching had been blest where settled Pastors wanting.——Severals had been awakened in Lunenburg and Amelia under the Ministry of Mr. Robinson.——And in Augusta under the Ministry of Messrs. Dean and Byram.——And in Frederick County.——And in Maryland.——And in Kent-County and Queen-Ann's under the Ministry of Mr. Robinson.——But especially in Somerset-County in Maryland.

336

**CHAP. VI.** The Revival in Scotland 1742, &c.

339

**Secl. 1.** Of the Work at Cambuslang.——Care to detect Impostors.——Things previous to the Work, viz. Preaching on Regeneration: a weekly Lec-



ture.—Meeting of the Societies for Prayer.—February 18th. 1742, about fifty Persons brought under great Concern.—Numbers resort to the Place.—In a few Weeks the Number of the Awakened above three Hundred.—The good Fruits; such as Reformation, Remorse, Forgiveness, Restitution, Family-Worship, Love to the Scriptures, &c.—The Subjects of this Work of different Ages and Characters. Page 339

Attestations by Ministers, Preachers, and Elders. 344

- Sect. 2. Of the Work at Kilsyth, &c.—Subjects of Sermons previous to it.—News of the Work at Cambuslang.—April 16th, Mr. Willison preaches on Psal. xl. 2, 3.—Next Sabbath, Mr. Robe on Gal. iv. 19.—Sabbath, April 25th, one awakened.—A religious Meeting of Children at Kirkintilloch.—May 16th, an extraordinary Power attends the Word. 355
- Extracts of Letters from Mr. Robe to Mr. M'Laurin, giving an Account of the Progress of the Work. 359
- The Awakening in several other Parishes, viz. Cumbernauld, St. Ninians, Gargunnoch, Calder, Campsie, Badernock, and Muthil. 365
- Attestation of the good Fruits at Kilsyth. 376

- Sect. 3. Other Places in Scotland that felt less or more of a Revival about this Time.—Nig, Rosekeen, Nairn, Rosemarky,—Crief, Monyvard, Auchterarder,—Edinburgh, Glasgow, Irvine,—Coldinghame,—Killimuir-Easter, Logie, Alness, Kilearn, Cromarty, Kirkmichael, Avon, Golspy, and Gartart. 378
- Sect. 4. The Perseverance of Numbers of the Subjects of the above Revival, attested, in 1751, by the following Ministers,—Mr. Robe,—Mr. Warden,—Mr. Erskine,—Mr. Hally,—Mr. Baime,—Mr. M'Laurin,—Mr. McCulloch. 390

- Sect. 5. Of the Concert for Prayer, begun 1744.—Renewed 1746.—A Proposal of renewing it again, 1754. 399
- CHAP. VII. Among the Indians in America in 1744, &c. 403

- Sect. 1. Of the Indian Boys at Stockbridge, (formerly Houffatonnock) maintained and instructed by the Charity of Mr. Isaac Hollis (a Minister near London.) 403
- Sect. 2. Of the blessed Influences of the Divine Spirit on divers Tribes of the American Indians in the End of 1743, and Beginning of 1744.—Particularly the Narrangsets in Rhode-Island Colony, under the Ministry of Mr. Park.—Though they could not read, they abounded in gracious Experiences.—Warmly exhorted one another.—Their outward Change, as to Decency, suitable to the inward.—Opposers silenced.—The Commissioners for the Indian Affairs willing to encourage a School among them. 404
- Sect. 3. Some Ministers in the British Plantations represent the miserable State of the Indians upon the Borders of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, to the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge.—The Society agree to send two Missionaries to these Indians.—The first that undertakes it is Mr. Azariah Horton.—A short Account of his Labours and Success from August 1741, to 1744, on Long-Island. 408
- The next Mr. David Brainerd.—A short Narrative of his Success from April 1743, to November 1744. 409
- At Kaunaumuck in Albany. 409
- And Delaware River in Pennsylvania. 412
- And Susquahannah. 413
- Sect. 4. Some farther Hints of Mr. Brainerd's Labours among the Indians from November 1744, to June 1745, in the Forks of Delaware, &c. 415

SECT. 5. At Length the Lord remarkably countenances his Labours amongst the Indians at Crofsweckung in New-Jersey.—Some Hints of his Success there from June 1745, to June 1746.—And of his Visits to the Forks of Delaware and Susquabannah.	420
Part I. The Conversion of his Interpreter.—Mr. William Tennent's Counsels blest to the Indians during Mr. Brainerd's Absence.	420
August 8th, The wonderful Power of God, when Mr. Brainerd spoke particularly to those under Concern.—An old Conjurer awakened.—Others fall to the Ground, and cry for Mercy in their own Language.	423
August 16th, A Day of great Power.—God seemed to work independently of the Means.—August 26th, The Number of Indians ninety-five; almost all of them affected either with Joy in Christ, or with deep Concern to obtain an Interest in him.—Their Prayers for Mr. Brainerd when going to preach to the Indians at Susquahannah.	424
Some of those at the Forks of Delaware Mockers of those who heard Mr. Brainerd.—The Idolatrous Sacrifice at Juncauta.—The Powows or Conjurers.	425
Mr. Brainerd's Remarks upon this Work of Grace amongst the Indians till November 4th, 1745.	427
Part II. Lord's-day, December 15th, An uncommon Season of Grace.—December 21st, A Catechetical Lecture begun.—December 22d, Several remarkable Particulars.	430
Lord's-day, December 29th, Another extraordinary Time of Divine Power.	433
March 9th, An Instance of spiritual Joy.	436
March 24th, The Number of Indians advanced to an Hundred and Thirty.—They begin their little Town.—April 27th, Twenty-three Communicants, besides five or six absent at the Forks of Delaware.	437
A brief Account of the Conversion of the Powows, mentioned August 8th, and February 1st.—He dares another Conjurer to do his worst.	439
Mr. Brainerd's Remarks upon the whole.	442
Some Passages relating to his lamented Death at Northampton in New-England, October 9th, 1747, in the 30th Year of his Age.	446
Late Accounts concerning the State of this Mission.	448
CHAP. VIII. In Ireland 1747, &c.	450
CHAP. IX. In Holland 1749, &c.	455
CHAP. X. Of Endeavours to convert Jews and Mahomedans.	462

# ALTERATIONS.

## VOLUME FIRST.

- Page 170. A little below the middle, after these words, *The Castle of Loebwater, the only Place of Strength in the whole Country*, insert, *from whence they were delivered by an Exchange of Prisoners on the 7th of January, and were suffered to go to the House of an Irish Minister, Denis O Sheridan. Here, &c.*
- P. 188. Line 12. from the top, the following words, *Sanctified to such a degree as to be kept*, should have been included in [ ]

## VOLUME SECOND.

- P. 1. In title of Book IV. } *for* { *Which began chiefly in the* } *read* { *Which began chiefly in the*  
and } { *End of 1739, and continued* } { *Year 1740, and continued in*  
P. 137. In title of Chap. 5. } { *for more than two Years,* } { *1741, 1742.*
- P. 52. In the Notes, dele 1723.
- P. 70. After *Fulfilled in every true* } insert, { *[ In a certain degree consistent with the infinite*  
*Minister of Christ ?* } { *superiority of the Redeemer. ]*
- P. 73. Line 7. from the top, dele these words, *Was a strong Asserter of the contrary Doctrine.*
- P. 210. In title of Sect. 9. dele *the Doctrines preached during this Revival at Taunton.*
- P. 306. In the Italick, for *the Testimony*, read *Extract of the Testimony.*
- P. 453. After these words, *God now wiped away the Tears from his Eyes*, dele a whole line.

*The* AUTHORS *from whom this* VOLUME *is collected, (mostly verbatim) are:*

1. Millar's Propagation of Christianity.
2. Prince's Christian History (including Edward's Narrative, &c.)
3. Willifon's Testimony.
4. Account of the Protestants of Saltzburgh.
5. Wesley's Journals.
6. ——— Answer to Church's second Letter.
7. Whitefield's Journals.
8. Glasgow Weekly History.
9. Rowland's Letter to Prince.
10. Two Letters in M.S. from A. W. in Boston to a Minister in Glasgow.
11. Davies' Letter to Bellamy.
12. Narrative of the Work at Cambuslang.
13. Robe's Narrative.
14. ——— Monthly History.
15. ——— Preface to his Sermons.
16. Appendix to Pemberton's Sermon at Brainerd's Ordination.
17. Edwards' Life of Brainerd.
18. Abridgement of Brainerd's Journals.
19. Letters in M.S. from Azariah Horton and John Brainerd to the Society in Scotland.
20. Letter from John Brainerd to his Friend in England.
21. Two Letters from a Minister in Holland to a Minister in Scotland.
22. Callenberg's short Account of Endeavours to convert the Jews, &c.

N. B. In the Authors from whom this and the preceding Volume are collected, there are several facts, circumstances, and expressions, which the Compiler has thought proper to omit. He has also sometimes, instead of transcribing *verbatim*, chosen the way of Paraphrase, without any addition, as to matter and substance, to the Authors extracted from; and sometimes the way of Abridgement. Of these two last, the instances are not many. Several of them are included in [ ]

## HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

## BOOK IV.

*Of the Danish Missionaries in the East-Indies, 1706, &c.*—Some Instances of the Success of the Gospel in the British Colonies in America from 1705 to 1734, viz. at Taunton, at Windham in Connecticut, at Freehold in New-Jersey, and that remarkable Revival at Northampton 1734.—The Saltzburgers in Germany forsake their Country for the Gospel.—Religious Society at Oxford—Mr. John and Charles Wesley their Labours and Success.—Mr. Whitefield's Labours and Success.—The extensive Revival in the British Colonies in America, which began chiefly in the End of 1739, and continued for more than two years, spreading and increasing greatly in various places.—Revival in Scotland 1742.—Mr. Brainerd's Labours and Success among the Indians in America 1744, &c.—Revival in Holland 1750, &c.

## CHAPTER I.

*Of the Danish Missionaries in the East-Indies 1706, &c.*

## SECTION I.

*Abstract of the Accounts of their Labours and Success, from the Pamphlet, intitled, Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part I. printed 1709.—Part II. printed 1710.—Part III. printed 1714.—Extract from the Account of the Religion of the Malabarians, printed 1717.—Letters betwixt King George I. and the Missionaries 1717, 1718.*

[ From MILLAR's Propagation of Christianity, Vol. II. page 479, &c. ]

**W**E have distinct accounts of the propagation of the gospel among the Heathens in the East-Indies, by the Danish Missionaries; their zeal and piety deserves commendation, and may be a pattern to those who shall afterward travel in the like work; and therefore, tho' the papers concerning this affair be in several hands, I shall here give an abstract of them.

The first account I have seen is in a pamphlet, intitled, *The Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, translated from the Dutch, and printed at London in 1709, where we find, that in the year 1705, Frederick IV. king of Denmark, after he had considered a motion made him by one of his chaplains, resolved upon sending some missionaries to Tranquebar, situate on the coast of Coromandel in the East-Indies, to attempt the conversion of the Malabar Heathens. In order to this, he made ap-

plication to the professors of divinity in Hall<sup>a</sup>, a most flourishing university, to supply his majesty with such persons as should be thought fit to undertake a design of that importance. Mr. Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, and Mr. Henry Plutschow resolved to go upon so difficult an errand; for so it might be looked upon, considering how little had been done hitherto by Protestants, and what untrodden paths, and unknown difficulties, they might be obliged to press through. The design did not end with these two; the Harvest being so great, so few hands could not manage it. Three more missionaries were sent after them, who arrived at the Cape of Good-Hope, in April 1709. But the two already named embarked at Copenhagen, November 29th, 1705, and arrived at the said Cape, the 23d of April following. Thence they departed, with many fervent wishes of such as were friends to the design, and, after many hardships, landed at Tranquebar in the East-Indies, on the 9th of July 1706. While they were aboard their ship, they applied themselves to the study of the Portuguese and Malabar languages, the former being of as extensive use as the latter, in the East-Indies. The missionaries being arrived, by the help of a Malabar who had served the East-India company, and was skilled in the European languages, they acquired such skill, as to be able to preach both in the Portuguese and Malabar tongues. One Modalipa, a Malabar gentleman, was their first convert from Paganism, and after him, two others, whom they took into their service, who were willing to be instructed in the principles of Christianity; and in a little time they baptized five Heathens in the Danish church. By the way we may observe, that Tranquebar<sup>b</sup>, where the missionaries laboured, has been in the hands of the Danes these 80 years, and is by them considerably improved; it was but a small village, but is now a populous town, surrounded with strong walls, and provided with a good Fortaleza or citadel. There are three Christian churches in it, a Danish church for the use of that nation, the Jerusalem church, for the converted Malabarians; and another belonging to the Papists. There is besides, a large mosque built by the Mahometans, and five huge pagods frequented by the Malabar Heathens. Some of the adjacent towns and villages, fifteen in number, are subject to the Danish government. The largest of these is Borejar, containing almost as many inhabitants as Tranquebar itself, and Tilliar, a fine large town; the rest of the villages are not so populous. Thro' all these, the Danish missionaries preached the gospel.

Another pamphlet, giving account of the progress of these missionaries, is printed in the year 1710. They gained <sup>c</sup> more and more ground among the Heathens in Malabar; God opened a door to speak the mysteries of Christ, though his servants met with a deal of opposition. However, their congregation was increased to above one hundred; and they had hopes, that there would be a considerable addition in a short time. They tell us, that the Malabarians did not only resort from very distant places, to hear the word preached in their own language,

<sup>a</sup> See Vol. I. Book iii. Chap. 4. Sect. 3. at the end. <sup>b</sup> Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part iii. page 3.

<sup>c</sup> Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part ii. p. 4. &c.

but had also many private conferences with the Christian missionaries, upon the subject of the salvation of their souls<sup>a</sup>. Mr. Ziegenbalg, who is the greatest proficient in the Malabar tongue, has sent over several treatises composed by himself in that language, bearing the following titles, *Twenty-six Sermons, preached at Jerusalem-church, upon all the articles of the Christian Religion. A Draught of the Examination of such as are to be baptized. A Book of Psalms usually sung in our churches.* As for the out-side of these books, they are of a quite different dress from these in Europe; there is neither paper nor leather, pen nor ink made use of; the characters, by the help of iron tools, are impressed on a sort of leaves of a certain tree, much like a palm-tree; at the end of every leaf a hole is made, and through the hole a string is drawn, whereby they are kept together, but must be untied whenever the print of these characters is to be read. The missionaries designed to solicit the king of Tanjour, for liberty to travel freely in his dominions; and to preach the gospel of Christ to such of the Heathens as are willing to receive it<sup>b</sup>; but were obliged to lay aside this design, being informed, that no such address will be received, except it be accompanied with great gifts and presents, which they are not able to offer. But they entered on a journey to Madras, January 7th, 1710. When Mr. Ziegenbalg's congregation were afraid of his leaving of them, they entreated him with tears not to quit them, but to return as soon as possible, which he promised to do. Last new-year's day, he wrote a pretty long letter to the Heathens in Malabar, laying down the most proper means for their real conversion to God, and inviting them to espouse the interest of their souls, while it was brought so near their doors: he transcribed copies of this letter, and dispersed the same among the Heathens, with the gospel of St. Matthew; and a small treatise, containing *the Principles of Christianity*, presenting it even to the Bramans, and talking with the Heathen about these things, almost every hour. But I cannot enlarge on all the particulars. The same author also informs us<sup>c</sup>, that their new planted congregation at Tranquebar was increasing under the gracious influence of God, though in its very infancy surrounded with various oppositions and persecutions, the common attendants of the gospel of Christ. "Our whole congregation (says he) both of these who are actually baptized, and the Catechumens, is increased to about an hundred and sixty persons. Our Malabarick school is in very great forwardness, and provided with an able master, who, before his conversion to Christianity, was one of the most able and famous poets and schoolmasters at Tranquebar. His conversion caused a great alarm among the Heathens, who never expected any such thing; but now all is quiet again. We have begun to set up some manufactories, which we hope, may prove in time, beneficial to the main work we are carrying on, if we are powerfully supported by our superiors. I do not question but hundreds of Heathens would have been initiate into Christianity by this time, but these sup-

<sup>a</sup> See a book, intituled, *Thirty-four Conferences between the Danish Missionaries and the Malabarian Bramans.*

<sup>b</sup> Propagation of the Gospel. &c. Part ii. page 19. <sup>c</sup> Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part ii. page 28.

ports being wanting, we endeavour the more to bring the few that are entered into the lists of our religion, to a more solid and experimental taste thereof. But, above all things, I must tell you, what taketh me most, is the education of the Malabar children here. They are of a good promising temper, being not yet prepossessed with so many headstrong prejudices against Christianity. They are sooner wrought upon into a sense of the fear of God. Certainly we look on our youth as a stock and nursery, from whence, in time, plentiful supplies may be drawn, for enriching our Malabarick church, with such members as may prove a glory and ornament to the Christian religion. It is true, there are but few of the grown Heathens, who are willing to be baptized into the name of Christ; and yet there is always a concourse of people attending our sermons, and other parts of divine service; and, doubtless, many return with strong convictions left upon their minds: all this gives me a fair prospect of gaining a larger door for the word in process of time." He tells also, "That the English at Fort St. David have been very encouraging to this noble design." He adds, "The Roman-Catholick missionaries have made a wonderful progress, and continue to over-run the country; but since their chief design is to make proselytes to a party, such as fall under their management are left in the utmost darkness and ignorance, without receiving the least tincture of real inward piety and conversion." Our author met with a Braman, who had been baptized four years before that by these Popish missionaries, and yet knew nothing of Christianity, but that he was sprinkled with water; yea, carried still about with him the usual badge whereby these Pagan priests distinguish themselves from the common people, which is a little Heathenish idolet, fastned before their breasts; he also anointed his breast and forehead after the way of these Pagan priests, with an ointment made of ashes and cow dung. This is the sorry conversion of Heathens by the Popish missionaries.

In a third pamphlet, under the same title, *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, printed at London in 1714, we have a further account of this good work. The missionaries set up a charity school for advancing their design; they got a few Malabar boys, and laid the foundation of the school, in 1706<sup>b</sup>; to engage the Heathen as much as possible, they not only instructed their children gratis, but also provided many of them with food and raiment, as their exigence required. This, in the very infancy of the design, could not but leave a good impression upon the grown Heathens, who hardly ever before had seen any such thing as love among Christians, except that love which they usually place in the riches and treasures of India. As this sort of love is too obvious, from the conduct of Christians in these parts, so it has disgraced the best of religions to a prodigy, and rendered the name of a Christian scandalous to a proverb. The missionaries erected one Malabar and one Portuguese school, sharing the management of these schools betwixt them: when the number of scholars increased, they were assisted by ushers. One of the most expensive branches of the whole undertaking was, the

a Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part ii. Page 32. b Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part iii. Page 11. &c.



transcribing of books for the use of their schools; they sometimes employed four, five or six kanakappel or transcribers, as the exigence of the work did require, and their circumstances allow: they neglected not any opportunity of conversing with Heathens come to age, about the state of their souls, and the eternal truths of the Christian faith; but found them bigotted to their Pagan superstitions. Some attended out of curiosity, some from a view to temporal interest, and some did make a step toward Christianity, but were soon shaken, on the approach of any suffering, and started back to Paganism. Some were highly pleased when they heard the missionaries talk of the contempt of the world, and of a reformation of manners; but as soon as they touched the grand article of Jesus Christ, and upon baptism, as the first inlet to a spiritual life, they flinched from it, and said, "They could be happy without all this." As for the adult Heathens, who were willing to be initiate by baptism into the Christian faith, they are carefully instructed for some months together, before that sacrament is administered to them; that so the missionaries may discover at least the operation of the Spirit of God working within, and inspiring them with a hearty desire to submit to the rules of the gospel. We must suppose the devil, as the god of this world, has an extraordinary power in these vast Pagan dominions, benighted for so many ages with Heathenish darkness, superstition and idolatry; so as they are thereby become a cage of unclean birds, and a receptacle of demons and wicked spirits. This is perhaps the reason, that some of the Catechumens are now and then haunted by most terrible temptations, the enemy of souls terrifying them one time with diabolical visions, and at another with frightful suggestions offered to the mind from within; so unwilling is he to quit one of his wonted palaces. And this usually befalls them much about the time of their approaching baptism.

The missionaries erected a church, and preached in it in August 1707, in presence of a numerous company of Heathens, Mahometans, and Christians, who had a sermon preached to them both in the Malabarick and Portuguese language.

Since an exact knowledge of the Malabar divinity is necessary to refute and raze the foundation of their idolatrous worship, Mr. Ziegenbalg purchased a good many books wherein it is contained, and applied himself to that study.

But what tended in a special manner to advance this good design of propagating Christianity among the Heathen in that country was, the printing of the Malabar New Testament, which was begun October 1708, and ended in March 1711. About the latter end of that year one thousand two hundred and fifty copies of the New Testament in Portuguese were printed off: the missionaries settled a correspondence with the corporation for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, at London, and the said society did very charitably send them a printing press with all necessary utensils, six hundred weight of types, one hundred reams of paper, with other valuable contributions; and one Mr. Jonas Finek, a native of Silesia, did go to the East-Indies to be their printer. With this assistance, a good many little books were printed for

the use of the Malabaric school, and the converted Heathens in these parts. The titles of these books are to be seen in the said pamphlet<sup>a</sup>.

The packet of letters from these parts, in September 1712, and in January 1713, gives account, that in the Malabarick and Portuguese churches, there were, in January 1713, of persons baptised two hundred and seven, and Catechumens prepared for baptism twenty-six. In the five charity schools were seventy-eight children, of which fifty-nine were clothed and maintained upon the public expence, and some persons employed in preparing food for them, and doing other services about the churches and schools. The missionaries hope, that in a little time some of the more advanced scholars in the Malabarick school, will be fit to be employed in the quality of school-masters, catechists, and transcribers.

There is another pamphlet, giving an account of the religion, government, and oeconomy of the Malabarians, sent by the Danish missionaries to their correspondents in Europe, translated from High-Dutch and printed at London in 1717. The whole is pleasing and edifying, by way of question and answer. But I shall only notice a few queries. *Quest. 2.*<sup>b</sup> “Have you discovered some true workings of grace in the souls of these Catechumens? are you sure there is more in their conversion than a bare external compliance with, and verbal confession of the Christian doctrine? what proofs and indications have you of an inward work of grace? *Ans.* After the gospel of Christ has begun to be preached to this Heathen world, many commotions have been observed among Heathens, Mahometans, and Popishly affected Christians. Before we began to preach here, every one thought himself safe in his wonted way of religion, without any doubt about his future salvation; but after we have begun to call in question the goodness of their religion, and alarmed them into some doubts and apprehensions, many have exclaimed against us, and loaded our labour with lies and calumnies: others have been so far convinced, as to own, they stand in need of a thorough conversion, and been willing to discourse with us more at large about their better concerns; but then they have suffered themselves to be diverted from so good a design by the cunning of Satan. Others of the Heathen have agreed with us in many points, and have approved of whatever is written in the word of God concerning a holy and virtuous life; but then they have refused the name of Christians, pretending, they could be saved without all this. Some at last have been intirely convinced of the necessity of believing on Christ, and of being baptised in his holy name, and have fully complied with these terms. However, before their admission to so sacred an ordinance, they have been faithfully instructed in the most necessary articles of our religion, especially about the nature of faith in Christ, and true repentance preceding it. Whenever we found so desirable a change in some degree upon their minds, attended with a hearty desire to be admitted to baptism, we then made no further delay in administering it to them, for fear of giving their friends occasion to obstruct the design, and by the craft of the devil, to

<sup>a</sup> Propagation of the Gospel in the East, Part iii. page 47, &c.  
on. &c. of the Malabarians, page 46, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Of the Religi-

make them return to Heathenism, as it has happened to some: yet none have ever been admitted to baptism, without previous instruction in the principles of the catechism for two or three months together. — None of these Catechumens but has had his share both of outward afflictions and inward temptations, during that time wherein he was prepared for baptism. When baptised, we must leave them to the powerful operation of the good Spirit of God, and thank the Lord for so promising a beginning he has hitherto granted to our weak endeavours, in rescuing some from Heathenish errors and superstitions, particularly in the midst of so many impediments that surround us on all hands.

*Quest. 3.* <sup>a</sup> What method do you observe in preaching and administering the sacraments? *Ans.* When I first began to preach in Malabarick, I did always chuse such a sentence of scripture as treated upon an article of faith, and this I explained in an easy doctrinal manner. According to this method I preached twenty-five sermons, and therein I opened, as well as I could, the principal branches of our holy religion. Afterwards being straitned in time, I could not set down any longer my sermons at large, but was fain to preach without the help of such notes. However, I did earnestly meditate upon every point I was to propose, that I might deliver it in a good connection, and with all plainness — expounding the text, and then applying it by way of instruction, correction, consolation, &c. My fellow-labourer has hitherto preached on the gospels in the Portuguese tongue, and in that language he catechises every week. In the administration of the holy communion, we follow the liturgy of the church of Denmark; every one that intendsto receive the sacrament must give notice of it eight days before. During this time he is every day catechised one hour, admonished, and prepared for receiving that ordinance. Baptism is likewise administered conform to that ritual.”

The fourth volume of letters, concerning the propagation of Christianity by the Danish missionaries, is not yet published, so far as I know. I write this in August 1723; but by several letters printed at London in the year 1720, it appears, that the said missionaries wrote to our present sovereign king George, the following letter.

*To the KING of GREAT-BRITAIN.*

“IT is not unknown to your majesty, that God hath inclined the heart of his Danish majesty King Frederick the fourth, to begin the propagation of the gospel among the Heathen in the East-Indies, with the management whereof we, the unworthy servants and dispensers of the word of God, are intrusted; and, according to the talents God has been pleased to bestow upon us from above, we endeavour with ail diligence and fidelity, both by preaching and writing, to promote the conversion of the gentiles. There are many pious and learned gentlemen in your majesty’s kingdoms, who take great pleasure in this work, and have seconded it in the best manner, both by their good advice and assistance; and your majesty having been graciously pleased to permit Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, one of the underwritten missionaries, when at London last year, with all humility to give your majesty a verbal

<sup>a</sup> Of the Religion of the Malabarians, Page 50.

account of the whole undertaking, we cannot but entertain good hopes from thence, that your majesty will receive with some satisfaction, from the midst of the Heathen in this country, our joyful acknowledgments for the favourable inclinations your majesty was pleased to express towards the work of conversion carried on among them. Among all the crowned heads of the Protestant powers, your majesty, by means of the large extensive commerce your subjects are engaged in with other nations, hath the fairest opportunity of publishing the gospel of Christ in divers languages, among those that do not believe it, and thereby to promote the conversion of the Heathen: and it is not a small number of your majesty's subjects, as well those of the first rank, as others in a lower station, who heartily espouse the propagation of the gospel, and promoting Christian knowledge. These considerations make us hope, that your majesty being firmly seated on your throne, will be more at leisure to regard and lay to heart the spreading of the saving gospel of Christ in the Pagan world. This will be accompanied with a continual blessing in this life, and an eternal reward in that which is to come. As we desire hereby to return our most humble acknowledgments, for the great assistance received from your majesty's subjects of Great-Britain, towards carrying on this work in the Heathen world; so we do further most humbly beseech your majesty, to have this most Christian design in most gracious remembrance, and to continue to favour both the mission, and us who are engaged in it. We with your majesty, and all the royal family of Great-Britain, a plentiful effusion of divine grace, and all temporal blessings, with a happy and prosperous government: and continue with the greatest submission, &c." Written at Tranquebar in the East-Indies, upon the coast of Coromandel, January 2d, 1717. BARTHOLOMEW ZIEGENBALG. JOHN ERNEST GRUNDLER.

To which letter, our sovereign returned the following answer. "It is a most acceptable relation you have given us in a letter, dated the 2d of January of this present year, not only because the work of conversion to the Christian faith begun among the Heathens, does, by the grace of God, prosperously advance; but also, that in this our kingdom is shown so much of laudable zeal, towards supporting the propagation of the gospel. We wish you health and strength long to discharge your function, with a continued happy success: and as we shall be always very well pleased to hear of the progress thereof, so we shall, at a proper season, be found ready to assist you in what shall tend to the promotion of this affair, and your encouragement. Given at our palace at Hampton-court, Aug. 23. 1717, the fourth year of our reign. We remain graciously inclined to you, GEORGE R.

To this letter the said missionaries made a suitable return; as follows.

*To the KING of GREAT-BRITAIN, &c.*

"YOUR majesty's most gracious letter of the Aug. 23, 1717, came to us on the 4th of May following. We received it with the greatest joy imaginable, and were highly comforted and quickened in our zeal for the glory of almighty God, when we read these your majesty's most

gracious expressions: "As we shall be always well pleased to hear of the happy success and progress of this work, so we shall, at a proper season, be found ready to assist you in what shall tend to the promotion of this affair, and your encouragement." Your majesty hereby most graciously allows us to make a further report of the state of our affairs, and we thence conceive joyful hopes, that your majesty will add to the glorious title of defender of the faith; the noble character of its zealous promoter, not only by supporting the reign of Jesus Christ in your own dominions, but also by promoting and extending it among the heathens and infidels, in the most remote parts of the world. Therefore, after having heartily thanked God almighty for inclining your majesty's heart toward so holy a design, and with the profoundest submission acknowledged your majesty's high favour toward us your unworthy servants; may it please your majesty to accept of the following account of the state of that work in which we are employed. We the missionaries, on our part are endeavouring, according to the measure of the grace God almighty has imparted to us, plentifully to spread abroad the seed of the word of God among the Heathens in their own language, there being no other means for touching the hearts of Heathens, in order to their conversion. We also maintain Indians to assist us as catechists, for which function we first prepare them, by instructing them in the saving faith of Jesus Christ, and then send them to propagate it among the Heathens. To such places whither the instruction of the gospel by word of mouth cannot reach, we send our printed Malabarian books, which are read in these parts by many of all sorts and degrees. As we are perfectly sensible, that to promote and perpetuate such an undertaking, a solid foundation must be laid, by translating the holy Scriptures, and publishing other instructive books in the language of the country, we did a good while ago finish and publish a translation of the New Testament, and are now labouring with great application, in translating the Old Testament into the Malabarian and Portuguese languages: besides, we compose every year some books for instructing of the Heathens, containing the fundamentals of the Christian religion; for better publication of which, the printing press we have received from our benefactors in England, is of great use to us. That our printing-press may always be provided with a sufficient quantity of letters, we entertain in the mission persons for cutting moulds, and casting letters, as also for binding books, being furnished every year with the necessary tools and materials from England, by the laudable society for propagating Christian knowledge. To supply the want of paper, we have been at great expence in erecting a paper mill here. And so under the invocation of the name of God, we plentifully dispense, both by word of mouth and writing, in this Heathen country the gospel; which makes a happy impression on the minds of many of the inhabitants. Some indeed, particularly their Bramans or priests, gainsay and scoff; others come to a sense of the abominations of idolatry, and leave off worshipping their idols; others are brought to better principles, and shew in their discourse and writing, that they have got a greater light than their forefathers: others a-

gain give full assent to all the truths of Christianity, but out of a worldly consideration wave baptism and the name of Christians. But some break thro' all difficulties, and, subduing their reason to the obedience of faith, resolutely profess Christianity; these are for some time instructed by us and our catechists, and afterwards, when they give true signs of repentance and conversion, are received into the bosom of the Christian church, by holy baptism. These who are become members of our congregation, we are instructing with all diligence, that Jesus Christ may be formed within them; our private exercises with them are daily catechisings, by sending our catechists to their habitations, to enquire into their way of life, to examine them upon the catechism, to pray with them, and to make a report to us the missionaries, of what passes among them. To exercise them in praying, we have set hours thrice a week, in which prayers are read to them in private. We give free occasion to every one of them, to communicate to us their concerns. Our public exercises consist in preaching to them, every Sunday in the morning, a sermon in the Malabarian language, and another in the Portuguese; and in the afternoon we catechise in both languages. Besides, we preach a sermon in the High Dutch for the Europeans: every Wednesday we catechise at church in Portuguese; and every Friday in Malabarian. As to the children of either sex that belong to our congregation, we instruct them all in our schools, in the principles of Christianity, reading, writing, and other useful knowledge; they are maintained in every thing at our charge. We have erected a seminary for such as we design for the service of the gospel, to be furnished thence with proper catechists, preceptors and clerks. Such boys as want necessary capacity, we put to learn handy-crafts. We have also established schools, one in this town, and another in a populous burrough not far off, where they are instructed by Christian tutors, and have full allowance, except victuals and clothes, which their parents find them. The Lord having so blessed our labours, that the new congregation increases every year; the first church which we built became too narrow, upon which we found it necessary to build one more spacious; and it pleased God to furnish us with means to finish it in two years time; and we are now constantly preaching in it in three languages. We have likewise, at the desire of the English who live on this coast, erected two schools, one at Fort St. George, and another at Fort St. David. The present governor of Fort St. George is a special friend to the mission, and has lately remitted to it a considerable present. The rest of our friends here have cheerfully supplied our wants this year. The Lord, whose work it is, guide us for the future by his Divine Providence, and stir up in Europe many promoters among persons of all ranks, that, in these last times, the salvation of the Heathens may be sought with earnestness, and their conversion promoted by the whole Christian church. That our most merciful God may crown your majesty with all prosperity, is the prayer of your majesty's &c."

Tranquebar, Novem- }  
ber 24th, 1718. }

BARTHOLOMEW ZIEGENBALG,  
JOHN ERNEST GRUNDLER.

## SECTION II.

*In 1710, the Society at London for promoting Christian Knowledge undertakes the Management of Charities put into their Hands for supporting the Protestant Mission at Tranquebar then maintained by the King of Denmark.—In 1728, there is a new Mission for the Conversion of the Heathens at Madras.—And at Cudulore near Fort St. David.—In 1740, the Number of those who had joined the Christian Congregations from the Beginning of the Mission amounts to five thousand, nine hundred, and fifty-nine, of which there then remained alive three thousand, seven hundred, and sixty-six.—The Gospel of Matthew in the Malabarian Tongue.—The New-Testament and Psalter in Arabick.—Saltzburgh and Georgia.*

[ From PRINCE's Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 56, &c. ]

THE society at London for promoting Christian knowledge did in the year 1710 undertake the management of such charities as were, or should be put into their hands, for the support and enlargement of the Protestant mission, then maintained by the king of Denmark at Tranquebar in the East-Indies, for the conversion of the Heathen in those parts. Accordingly they from time to time assisted the missionaries with money, a printing-press, paper, and other necessities, (as they were enabled) 'till the year 1728; when, upon a proposal made by the reverend Mr. Schultze, one of the Danish missionaries, to remove to Fort St. George, and there begin a new mission, for the conversion of the Heathen at Madras, the society engaged for the support of the same, though at an expence that did then far exceed their ability, trusting to the goodness and blessing of Almighty God: which expence has been since greatly increased by the addition of two ministers; and will be more by such extraordinary charges as must necessarily attend the enlargement of the mission to Cudulore near Fort St. David, (another English settlement) which has been since made by the society. However, the society cheerfully rely upon the same wise and gracious Providence, which has hitherto wonderfully prospered this, and all other their undertakings, to raise up such a true Christian spirit, as will abundantly supply whatever money shall be wanting to carry on so pious and glorious a design, as that of enlarging the kingdom of Jesus Christ upon earth.

In the months of June, July, August, and September, 1742, the society received several letters from their missionaries and correspondents in East-India; and by that from Mr. Schultze, their missionary at Madras near Fort St. George, dated the 29th of January 1741-2, they hear, "That by the Kent, captain Robson, he had received their favour of March 30th, 1741; but as the ship did not touch at Fort St. George, none of the goods sent over to the mission were then come to him." He at the same time informs them, "That the English mission there was in much the same state as the year before; and that the number of children in the school, kept gratis, amounts to thirty. That some of

the youths, who had been wholly instructed in that school, were now able to perform the duty of school-masters and catechists; that three of them continued with him, and were assistant to him in one or other of these respects: and that a fourth was gone upon the like service to the mission at Tranquebar. That besides their mission-school in the Malabarian tongue, they have begun to keep up a little Portuguese one for poor Protestant children that come from Palliacatte and Sadras. That a certain native of Borear, near Tranquebar, together with his wife, having been converted to Christianity by the opportunities they met with at Fort St. George, and afterwards so far instructed as to be able to teach, and do the duty of a Catechist, had been some years with them in the mission in that capacity; but having a mind to go and see his relations at Tranquebar, as soon as he came to Negapatnam, the Dutch minister there chose him to the same office among the black Christians in that town." He concludes with wishes "That it may please God to continue his favours to the people in that country, and enable the society to be the instruments thereof."

The rev. Mr. John Ernest Guister, and Mr. John Zachary Kiernander, missionaries at Cudulore near Fort St. David's, by their joint letter of September 8th, 1741, signify, "That they had received, on the 24th of July, the society's favour of February 6th, 1741-2, but none of a later date, either from England or Germany; the latter ships not being then arrived. That they had now sent a journal of their proceedings for the first six months of that year, together with the minutes of their conferences for that time. In two other letters, both dated January 19th, 1741-2, they acquaint the society, "That the favour of theirs of March 30th, 1741, was then come safe to them. That they had now conveyed to Madras the journal and conference-minutes for the latter six months of the years past; and intended to send duplicates together with their money-accounts, by the ship which is to be dispatched from Fort St. David's." Also we find, "That they apply themselves closely to the work of their mission: that they have already made great proficiency in the Malabarian language; and are taking pains to perfect a grammar and dictionary of it, upon a plan of Mr. Sartorius; nay, that Mr. Guister is already able to preach in it, and to hold frequent conferences with the natives."

The rev. Messieurs Dal, Bosse, Obuch, Wiedebrock, Kohlhoff, Fabricius, and Zeglin, Danish missionaries at Tranquebar, by their letter of December 31st, 1741, signify, "That, by God's good providence, they have found opportunities of making known the gospel beyond the kingdom of Tanjour, by putting into the hands of the chief officers of the Mogul's army, the New-Testament in Arabick, as well as several little treatises in the Tamulian tongue. That the work of their mission at home, and in the country around Tranquebar, goes on with extraordinary success; so that their congregation had in the year 1739 been increased with seven hundred and thirty-eight souls. That the new buildings they had begun for the Malabarian schools were almost finished, at an expence of eight thousand three hundred and seventy-two dollars; and that they had just printed a new correct edition of the gospel



in the Tamalic language, together with a Grammar; to which they hoped ere long to add a new and complete Dictionary."

Along with this letter there came another from the same missionaries, dated December 31st, 1741, to acquaint the society with the state of their mission, and the Christian religion in those parts; which is as follows, viz. "That their congregations were encreased, the Portuguese with sixteen, and the Malabarian of the town, with an hundred and seventeen souls; including seventeen that had been instructed and christened on that side of Cape Comorin, by Mr. Walther, one of their brethren, on board the Danish ship, when he was going back for Europe. That to the Malabarian congregation in the country an hundred and three were added; so that the whole increase for that year was two hundred and thirty-six souls." These new augmentations, added to all former accounts from the beginning of the mission, make up a number of five thousand nine hundred and fifty-nine souls; whereof there remained alive three thousand seven hundred and sixty-six at the end of the year 1740. The Malabarian school at present consists of eighty-two boys, and fifty-seven girls. The Portuguese (besides five boys and five girls from abroad) of sixteen boys, and seventeen girls, maintained with all necessaries by benefactions from Europe, making in all an hundred and seventy-two children. That the children of the Malabarian school had taken possession of the new buildings; and that one great design of this school was to be a seminary for ministers, schoolmasters, and catechists, among the natives, as the most likely means to propagate Christianity in those parts. That, by leave of the college at Copenhagen they had, 28th December, ordained Diego, a man of an excellent character, to be a priest, because Aaron was now infirm, and not able to perform the duties of a minister to so large a congregation. That as to their printing this year, they had got a new edition of a small treatise, called, *The Way to Salvation*, in the Malabar tongue; which was all they could do, because of a scarcity of paper, except two or three sheets of the Portuguese Bible. That the printing of the Portuguese Old Testament was very earnestly desired by the Dutch ministers at Batavia. That the Heidelberg Catechism in the Singalean tongue had been printed at Ceylon; and the Gospel according to St. Matthew in the Malabarian, that language being used in the North of Ceylon. That the Rev. Mr. Cramer, who alone knew the Malabarian language, being dead; and Mr. Wetzelius, who alone knows the Singalean, being old, there is occasion for more ministers in that island. That the Rev. Mr. Aguiar, who had lived ten years as a Protestant missionary at Collicatta in Bengal, was appointed a Portuguese preacher at Columbo, and other places of Ceylon. That, at Batavia, there was a great want of Portuguese and Malayan preachers, by reason several were lately deceased. That Mr. Sichterman, the Dutch director at Houghly in Bengal, greatly wishing a Protestant mission might be established at Collicatta, had promised to give any missionaries all the liberty and encouragement in the Dutch territories that lay in his power. They then give a brief account of some troubles in the kingdom of Tanjour; and that Mr. Obuch, in company with Mr. Wide-

brock having travelled to Nagapatnam, and fetched a small compass farther into the country, preaching the gospel, had got a hurt, but was happily recovered; though after a confinement of three quarters of a year to his bed. They conclude with hearty prayers and wishes to God for the society, and a blessing on all their designs.

Other corresponding members have given their opinions, and advices concerning the mission, which have been taken into most deliberate consideration by the society; after which, particular answers were sent, (in pursuance of their express orders and directions) to all these letters, by the Heathcote, captain Jonathan Cape, now bound to Fort St. George, together with the things desired by the missionaries, and the usual remittances to them; and, by the continued favour of the directors of the East-India company, to so Christian and charitable a design, all these remittances in goods and money went freight-free; for which the society desire those gentlemen to accept of their heartiest thanks, in public testimony of their gratitude<sup>a</sup>.

In the year 1720, the society extended their regard to the Greek church in Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Arabia, and Egypt. To this end they published proposals for printing here, with a new set of types, the New-Testament and Psalter in Arabick, and were enabled, by the blessing of God, on the recommendation of the bishops, joined to the charity and zeal of their own members, to procure an edition of above six thousand Psalters, and ten thousand Testaments, as also of five thousand Catechetical Instructions, with an Abridgment of the History of the Bible annexed in Arabick; at so large an expence as the sum of two thousand nine hundred and seventy-six Pounds, one Shilling and Sixpence Halfpenny, to which his late majesty was a bountiful contributor, by a gracious benefaction of five hundred Pounds; five thousand six hundred and sixty-eight Psalters, two thousand six hundred and eighty-two New-Testaments, and two thousand two hundred and twenty Catechetical Instructions, with the Abridgement aforesaid, have been already sent to those parts, or into Persia, by means of their correspondent in Russia, which were most thankfully received; and the rest are reserved to be sent as occasion shall offer.

In the beginning of the year 1732<sup>b</sup>, the society, when they heard the melancholy account of the sufferings of the Protestants in Saltzburg, (having first obtained his majesty's leave) resolved upon doing all that lay in their power to raise collections for their persecuted brethren. To this end, in June the same year, they published, *An Account of the Sufferings of the persecuted Protestants in the Archbishoprick of Saltzburg, &c.* and afterwards published, *A further Account of their Sufferings, &c.* with an *Extract of the Journals of M. Von Reck, the Commissary of the first Transport of Saltzburgers to Georgia; and of the Ministers that accompanied them thither, 1733.* These accounts be-

[ From the LONDON EVENING POST, January 3d, 1754. ]

<sup>a</sup> The Danish missionaries in the East Indies write word, that since their settlement at Tranquebar, to the twenty-seventh of October 1752, they have converted to the

Christian faith five thousand five hundred and ninety-four persons in Pagan darkness.

<sup>b</sup> See Chap. 3. of this book.

ing enforced by the generous example of many noble and honourable persons, as also by liberal contributions, and earnest exhortations from the bishops, and their clergy, had, through God's blessing, so good an effect upon the minds of charitable and well-disposed Christians of every rank and denomination, that the society (besides making many large remittances to Germany) have been enabled to send over to the English colony in Georgia, in the years 1733, 1734, 1735, and 1741, four transports, consisting of more than two hundred Protestant Emigrants, chiefly Saltzburgers; who, with two missionaries and a schoolmaster, are settled by themselves at Ebenezer; where lands are assigned to them by the trustees for establishing the said colony: and the society are informed by letters of the 15th of March 1738-9, that they are well pleased with the healthiness of the climate, and the fruitfulness of their plantations.

The great expences of these transports, and the many extraordinary charges that have been necessary for the support and encouragement of this infant settlement, together with an hundred Pounds a-year as a salary for their two missionaries and schoolmaster, have so far reduced the charities belonging to this branch of the society's designs, that they have nothing left now to answer any future wants and contingencies, excepting two thousand five hundred Pounds, new South-Sea annuities, which have been purchased as a standing fund for paying the aforesaid annual salary to the missionaries and schoolmaster, till some certain and settled provision can be made for them in Georgia; but, for particulars, the society refer themselves to their books of receipts and disbursements on this account, which may be inspected gratis by any person calling on their secretary, at their house in Bartlett's Buildings, London; of which two extracts have been already published, and dispersed among the benefactors to this excellent charity, with the thanks of the society, and their prayers that God would eternally reward so great and seasonable an instance of Christian beneficence, as had been ministered on this occasion to persecuted Protestants, when driven out of their native country, under the most pitiable circumstances of distress.

## C H A P. II.

In New-England from 1705 to 1734.

*Introduction.*—*The sad Decay of vital Religion in New-England after the Death of the first Planters.*—*The Complaints of their godly Ministers on that Account.*

[ From PRINCE'S Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 12, 13, 14. ]

1. **M**R. Samuel Danforth, a pious and learned minister in Roxbury, in his sermon before the general court of the Massachusetts colony on May 11th, 1670, being the day of election of magistrates hath the following words. "Whether we have not in a great measure forgot our errand into the wilderness, is a solemn and serious enquiry. You have solemnly professed before God, angels and men,

that the cause of your leaving your country, kindred and fathers houses, and transporting yourselves with your wives, little ones and substance over the vast ocean into this howling wilderness, was your liberty to walk in the faith of the gospel with all good conscience, according to the order of the gospel, and your enjoyment of the pure worship of God according to his institution, without human mixtures and impositions. Now let us consider whether our ancient and primitive affections to the Lord Jesus his glorious gospel remain. Let us call to remembrance the former days, and consider, whether it was not then better with us than it is now. In our first and best times the kingdom of Heaven broke in upon us with a holy violence, and every man pressed into it. What mighty efficacy and power had the clear and faithful dispensation of the gospel upon your hearts? how affectionately and zealously did you entertain the kingdom of God? how careful were you, even all sorts, young and old, high and low, to take hold of the opportunities of your spiritual good and edification? ordering your secular affairs so as not to interfere with your general calling. How diligent and faithful in preparing your hearts for the reception of the word? laying apart all filthiness and superfluity of naughtiness, that you might receive with meekness the engrafted word; and purging out all malice, guile, hypocrisy, envy, and all evil speaking; and, as new-born babes, desiring the sincere milk of the word. How attentive in hearing the everlasting gospel? watching daily at the gates of wisdom, and waiting at the posts of her doors; that ye might find eternal life, and obtain favour of the Lord. Gleaning day by day in the field of God's ordinances, and beating out what you had gleaned, by repetition and conference. How painful in recollecting, repeating and discoursing what you heard? whetting the word of God upon the hearts of your children, servants and neighbours. How fervent in prayer to God for his blessing on the seed sown? O what an esteem for Christ's faithful ambassadors in those days? how precious were they in your eyes? counting yourselves happy in the enjoyment of a pious, learned and orthodox ministry. What ardent desires after communion with Christ in his ordinances? what solicitude to seek the Lord after the right order? what fervent zeal against all manner of heterodoxies? what holy endeavour to propagate religion to your children and posterity? charging them to know the God of their fathers and serve him with a perfect heart; publicly asserting and maintaining their interest in the Lord and in his holy covenant, and zealously opposing those that denied the same. Then had the churches rest and were edified; walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost. O how your faith grew exceedingly! you proceeded from faith to faith, from a less to a greater degree, growing up in him who is your head; and receiving abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness. O how your love and charity towards each other abounded! O what comfort of love! what a holy sympathy! weeping with those that wept, and rejoicing with those that rejoiced!"

But who is there left among you that saw these churches in their first glory? and how do you see them now? are they not in your eyes in

comparifon thereof as nothing? is not the temper, complection and countenance of the churches strangely altered? doth not a carelefs, remifs, flat, dry, cold, dead frame of fpirit grow upon us fecretly, ftrongly, prodigioufly? they that have ordinances are as though they had none; they that hear the word as though they heard it not; and they that pray as though they prayed not; and they that receive the facraments as though they received them not; and they that are exercifed in holy things, uſing them by the by, as matters of cuſtom and ceremony. Pride, contention, worldlinefs, covetouſnefs, luxury, drunkennefs and uncleannefs break in like a flood upon us; and good men grow cold in their love to God, and one another.”

2. The rev. Dr. Increase Mather, in a treatiſe entitled, *Pray for the riſing Generation*, printed in 1678, writes, as follows. “Prayer is needful on this account, in that converſions are become rare in this age of the world. They that have their thoughts exerciſed in diſcerning things of this nature, have had ſad apprehenſions with reference unto this matter; that the work of converſion hath been at a great ſtand in the world. In the laſt age, in the days of our fathers, in other parts of the world, ſcarce a ſermon preached but ſome evidently converted, and ſometimes hundreds in a ſermon. Which of us can ſay we have ſeen the like? clear, ſound converſions are not frequent in ſome congregations. The body of the riſing generation is a poor, perifhing, unconverted, and (except the Lord pour down his Spirit) an undone generation. Many that are profane, drunkards, ſwearers, laſcivious, ſcoffers at the power of Godlinefs, deſpiſers of thoſe that are good, diſobedient. Others that are only civil, and outwardly conformed to good order, by reaſon of their education, but never knew what the new birth means.

3. Mr. Samuel Torrey, paſtor of the church at Weymouth, in his ſermon entitled, *A Plea for the Life of dying Religion*, from Deut. xxxii. 47. “Becauſe it is your life;” preached before the general court of the Maſſachuſetts colony on May 16th, 1683, being the day of their election, ſays: “That there hath been a vital decay, a decay upon the very vitals of religion, by a deep declenſion in the life and power of it; that there is already a great death upon religion, little more left than a name to live; that the things which remain, are ready to die; and that we are in great danger of dying together with it: this is one of the moſt awakening, and humbling conſiderations of our preſent ſtate and condition. Oh! the many deadly ſymptoms that are upon our religion! conſider we then how much it is dying, reſpecting the very being of it, by the general failure of the work of converſion; whereby only it is that religion is propagated, continued, and upheld in being among any people. As converting-work doth ceaſe, ſo religion doth die away; though more inſenſibly, yet moſt irrecoverably. How much religion is dying in the very hearts of ſincere Chriſtians, by their declenſions in grace, holinefs, and the power of godlinefs! how much it is dying, reſpecting the viſible profeſſion, and praſtice of it: partly by the formality of churches; but more by the hypocrify, and apoſtacy of formal, hypocritical profeſſors! how much it is dying un-

der the prevailing power of those sins and evils, which are utterly inconsistent with, and destructive of the life of it! those sins continuing, and prevailing, religion cannot live, it must needs die."

4. Dr. Increase Mather, in his book entitled, *The Glory departing from New-England*: printed in 1702, writes as follows: "We are the posterity of the good old Puritan nonconformists in England, who were a strict and holy people. Such were our fathers who followed the Lord into this wilderness. O New-England! New-England! look to it, that the glory be not removed from thee! for it begins to go! O tremble: for it is going, it is gradually departing! although there is that of divine glory still remaining, which we ought to be very thankful for; nevertheless, much of it is gone. You that are aged persons, and can remember what New-England was fifty years ago, that saw these churches in their first glory; is there not a sad decay and diminution of that glory! how is the gold become dim! the most fine gold changed! Alas! what a change is there in that which hath been our glory! time was, when these churches were beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners. What a glorious presence of Christ was there in all his ordinances! many were converted, and willingly declared what God had done for their souls: and there were added to the churches daily such as should be saved. But, are not sound conversions become rare in this day and in many congregations? look into pulpits, and see if there is such a glory there as once there was: New-England has had teachers eminent for learning, and no less eminent for holiness, and all ministerial accomplishments. When will Boston see a Cotton and a Norton again? when will New-England see a Hooker, a Shepherd, a Mitchel? not to mention others. No little part of the glory was laid in the dust, when these eminent servants of Christ were laid in their graves. Look into our civil state; does Christ reign there as once he did? how many churches, how many towns are there in New-England that we may sigh over them and say,---the glory is gone! how many are there among us, whose fathers, in coming into this wilderness, designed nothing but religion, but they are for another interest! There is sad cause to fear that greater departure of the glory are hastning upon us. For 1st, those sins which have provoked the Lord to remove his glory, are not reformed; our iniquities testify against us, and our backslidings are many. That there is a general defection in New-England from primitive purity and piety in many respects, is so plain it cannot be denied. 2dly, There are ministers who are not like their predecessors, nor principled nor spirited as they were. 3dly, The providence of God is threatenng to pull down the wall which has been a defence to these churches. 4thly, That which some have thought was the special design of providence in bringing choice people into this part of the world seems to be now over. It has been by wise and good men conjectured that the Lord's more peculiar design was that the world might see a specimen of what shall be over all the earth in the glorious times expected."

5. Dr. Increase Mather, in a preface to a course of sermons on *Early Piety* by some ministers of Boston, printed 1721, writes, "I am

now in the eighty-third year of my age: and having had an opportunity to converse with the first planters of this country, and having been for sixty five years a preacher of the gospel; I cannot but be in the disposition of those ancient men who had seen the foundation of the first house, and wept with a loud voice to see what a change the work of the temple had upon it. I wish it were no other than the weakness of Horace's old man, the *Laudator Temporis Acti*, when I complain there is a grievous decay of piety in the land, and a leaving the first love, and that the beauties of holiness, are not to be seen as once they were; and the very interest of New-England seems to be changed from a religious to a worldly one. Oh! that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears." And, in a sermon in the aforementioned book, on *Early Piety*, he further writes, "The children of New-England are or once were for the most part the children of godly men. What did our forefathers come into this wilderness for? not to gain estates, as men do now, but for religion, and that they might leave their children in a hopeful way of being truly religious. There was a famous man that preached before one of the greatest assemblies that ever was preached unto, seventy years ago; and he told them, I have lived in a country seven years, and all that time I never heard one profane oath, and all that time I never did see a man drunk in that land. Where was that country? It was New-England! but ah degenerate New-England, what art thou come to at this day? how are those sins become common in thee, that once were not so much as heard of in this land!"

6. Lastly, There is the following remarkable passage in a sermon of the late Dr. Cotton Mather, at the public lecture in Boston, printed in 1706, intitled, *The Good old Way*; "It is confessed by all, who know any thing of the matter; and, Oh! why not with rivers of tears bewailed! that there is a general, and an horrible decay of Christianity, among the professors of it. The glorious and heavenly religion of our precious Christ, generally appears with quite another face, in the lives of Christians at this day, than what it had in the lives of the saints, into whose hands it was first of all delivered. The modern Christianity is, too generally, but a very shadow of the ancient! ah! sinful nation. ah! children that are corrupters; what have your hands done, to defile, and to deface, a jewel, which, restored unto its native lustre, would outshine the sun in the firmament! so notorious is this decay of Christianity, that whole books are written to inquire into it. The complaints of the corruptions that are become epidemical in the lives of Christians, and little short of universal, are every where, every day wounding our ears. At last they are come so far, that one of the English bishops has let fall this mournful passage; [Were a wise man to chuse his religion, by the lives of them who profess it, perhaps Christianity would be the last religion he would chuse.] And, sadder yet! there has been a set of Protestants in the best island under heaven: Protestants, who have made a profession of more than ordinary purity; there was a time when their behaviour did much answer their profession; but I have lately read another, insulting over them, That these also have of later

time almost wholly lost the reputation which mankind once allowed unto them. In these deplorable circumstances of Christianity, what shall be done? it is now past mere conjecture with me; I am now got up unto an absolute certainty; that we are entred into that age, wherein the primitive Christianity shall be revived unto astonishment; the enemies of it shall see it and be grieved, they shall gnash their teeth, and melt away."

### SECTION I.

*Of the Revival in Massachusetts in 1680, upon a Solemn renewing of Covenant with God, and one another.—Of the Revival in Taunton, in Feb. 1705, which began with Meetings for Prayer among the young Men, and Societies for Reformation in imitation of those at London.—Of Old Mr. Stoddard's five Harvests at Northampton.—Of the Revival at Windham in Connecticut Colony in 1721.—Of the Awakening by the Earthquake Oct. 1727.—And the Revival at Freehold in New Jersey 1731, &c.*

[ From PRINCES Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 14, 15, 17, 90, 91, 100. ]

I. IN 1679, the Massachusetts government called a synod of all the churches in that colony to consider and answer these two most important questions. "1. What were the evils that have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New-England? 2. What is to be done that so these evils may be reformed?" And among their answers to the second question, the synod advised the several churches to an express and solemn renewal of covenant with God and one another: with which many complied, and thereupon there was a considerable revival of religion among them. And Dr. Cotton Mather tells us (in his *Church History of New-England* Book v.) that "Very remarkable was the blessing of God on the churches, which did not so sleep [as some others] not only by a great advancement of holiness in the people; but also by a great addition of converts to their holy fellowship. And many thousand spectators will testify that they never saw the special presence of the great God our Saviour more notably discovered than in the solemnity of these opportunities." Dr. Cotton Mather likewise adds, that "The Massachusetts colony was not alone in such essays of reformation; but the colonies of Plymouth and Connecticut, &c." And yet sadly goes on in the following words, "Our manifold indispositions to recover the dying power of godliness were punished with successive calamities; under all of which the apostacies from that godliness have rather increased than abated. Altho' there has been a glorious profession of religion made by the body of this people unto this day, yea and altho' there be thousands, who, by keeping their hearts with all diligence, and by ordering their conversations aright, justify their profession; yet the number of them that so strictly walk with God, has been woefully decaying. The old spirit of New-England has been sensibly going out of the world, as the old saints in whom it was, have gone: and instead thereof, the spirit of the world, with a lamentable neglect of strict piety, has crept in upon the rising generation." Thus



also that revival of religion in New-England about the year 1680, soon pass'd away.

2. A second instance of some revival of religion in this country was about the year 1705; which I find in a book printed at London in 1706, intitled, *A Help to National Reformation*; and in three manuscript letters of the rev. Mr. Samuel Danforth of Taunton, a worthy son of the rev. Mr. Danforth of Roxbury before mentioned. The passages in the said printed books are as follow, "A rev. divine of New-England, in his letter dated from Boston the 23d of November 1705, says thus: "Our societies for the suppression of disorders, increase and prosper in this town; there are two more such societies added unto the former; there are also religious societies without number in this country that meet at proper times, to pray together, and repeat sermons, and forward one another in the fear of God. In some towns of this country the ministers, who furnish themselves with a society for the suppression of disorders, hardly find any notorious disorders to be suppressed: but then their societies are helpful unto them in doing abundance of good for the advancement of serious religion in the neighbourhood, and to make their ministry much more profitable in the weekly exercise of it." A gentleman writes from New-England, in his letter of the 20th of November 1705, "To gratify your desires to know what progress we make here in our societies, I add a line or two to certify, That in Boston the societies for suppressing disorders (of which mention was made in my former letters) are upheld, and two other societies of the same nature erected. All which are spirited to be active, according to their abilities and influence, to promote virtue, and discountenance and suppress vice. And not only in Boston are such good things done, and doing, but in many places in the province besides. Omitting many other things that might be enumerated as to other places, I shall sum up in short, an account of what hath been done in a town called Taunton, through the rich mercy of God. The rev. Mr. Danforth minister there, having seen some printed accounts of the methods for reformation in Old England, in imitation thereof (after earnest prayers to God for success) obtained of several inhabitants of the place (that were noted for sobriety and zeal against sin) to meet with him once in each month, to consult what might be done to promote a reformation of disorders there. And after a day improved in fasting and prayer together, they first attempted to reduce the heads of families to set up family worship; and God gave them great success; so that most of the families in the large towns hearkned to their exhortations and reproofs; and set upon the practice of family prayer morning and evening every day. Having heard and read some accounts of the religious societies of young men in London, they were encouraged to endeavour the like among them. And beyond their expectation, God working with them, prevailed with the greatest part of the youth, to form themselves into societies for religious exercises, signing some good rules to be observed by them therein, much like the orders of the societies of young men in London. The good effect whereof was the putting an end to and utter banishment of their former disorderly and profane meetings to drink, &c.

The three manuscript letters from the said Mr. Danforth of Taunton are these: *Taunton, Feb. 20th, 1704-5.* "Sir, We are much encouraged by an unusual and amazing impression made by God's Spirit on all sorts among us, especially on the young men and women. It is almost incredible how many visit me with discoveries of the extreme distress of mind they are in about their spiritual condition. And the young men, instead of their merry meetings, are now forming themselves into regular meetings for prayer, repetition of sermons, signing the same orders, which I obtained some years ago a copy of from the young men's meeting in the North of Boston. Some awful deaths and amazing providences have concurred with the word preached to this good effect. The profaneest among us seemed startled at the sudden change upon the rising generation. We need much prayer, that these strivings of the Spirit may have a saving issue and effect. Our family-meetings are more and more frequented; and two more setting up at two remote corners of our large town, where we despaired of seeing any. Our last society, which was yesterday, had almost nothing to do, only to express their joy to each other, that the disorderly concourse of youth was now over. We are, both church and all inhabitants, to renew the covenant for reformation this week, which this people made with God the last Philip Indian war. We agreed to turn our next society-meeting into a fast also, for special reasons: one of which was, that we find prayer our best weapon to reform vice; and the devil's kingdom cannot stand before it: also, as worldly men, when they find the world comes hovering in upon them, will pull the harder for it, which should make us pray more earnestly and fervently; having had encouragement so far, that when we can do nothing else but stretch our withered hands in God's work, yet even doing of that shall not be in vain. Some remarkables in the progress of our reformation-work I shall not commit to writing at present, but, if common fame do not bring them to you, shall reserve them to be discovered by word of mouth. The Lord be with you all, Amen." Yours entirely, S. D.

*March 5th, 1704-5.*—"Sir, It was a most comfortable day the first of March, when we renewed the reformation-covenant, of which I suppose you have a copy by you already; only we added an engagement to reform idleness, unnecessary frequenting houses of public entertainment, irreverent behaviour in public worship, neglect of family-prayer, promise-breaking, and walking with slanderers and reproachers of others; and that we should all in our families be subject to good orders and government. It was read to the brethren and sisters in the forenoon, they standing up as an outward sign of their inward consent, to the rest of the inhabitants: in the afternoon, they standing up also when it was read, and then every one that stood up brought his name ready writ in a paper and put it into the box, that it might be put on church record. The forenoon text was Hebrews xii. 4, about resisting and striving against sin, the common enemy of us all. The afternoon text was 2 Chron. xxix. 10. We gave liberty to all men and women from sixteen years old and upwards to act with us; and had three hundred names given in to list under Christ, against the sins of the

times. The whole acted with such gravity, and tears of good affection, as would affect an heart of stone; parents weeping for joy, seeing their children give their names to Christ. And we had several children of the church in neighbouring towns, who came and joined with us in it. We have a hundred more that will yet bind themselves in the covenant, that were then detained from meeting. Let God have the glory. Yesterday fourteen were propounded to the church: some for full communion, others for baptism; being adult persons. All this calls for prayer and humble walking with God, and hope in his mercy." S. D.

*Taunton, March 20th, 1704-5.* "Sir, I have now yours, and have sent you two letters this week. I have little to add, and no time to enlarge; but my time is spent in daily discourse with the young people visiting me with their doubts, fears, and agonies. Religion flourishes to amazement and admiration; that so we should be at once touched with soul-affliction, and this in all corners of the place; and that our late conversions should be attended with more than usual degrees of horror, and Satan permitted to wrestle with them by extraordinary temptations, and assaults, and hours of darkness. But, I hope, the deeper the wound, the more sound may be the cure: and I have little time to think of worldly matters; scarce time to study sermons, as I used to do; but find God can bless mean preparations, whenever he pleases: that such shall be most cried up and commended, which I have had scarce time to methodize. I think sometimes that the time of the pouring out of the Spirit upon all flesh may be at the door. Let us be earnest in prayer, that Christ's kingdom may come; and that being an instrument of good to others, I may not be myself a cast-away." Yours, S. D.

3. We shall next give those particular instances of the revival of religion at Northampton, in the days of the late Mr. Solomon Stoddard, as Mr. Edwards gives them in the two following paragraphs, written in 1736. "I am the third minister that has been settled in this town: Mr. Eleazer Mather, who was the first, was ordained in July, 1669. He was one whose heart was much in his work; abundant in labours for the good of precious souls: he had the high esteem and great love of his people, and was blessed with no small success. Mr. Stoddard, who succeeded him, came first to the town the November after his death, but was not ordained 'till September 11th, 1672, and died February 11th, 1728-9. So that he continued in the work of the ministry here, from his first coming to town, near sixty years. And as he was eminent for his gifts and grace, so he was blessed, from the beginning, with extraordinary success in his ministry, in the conversion of many souls. He had five harvests, as he called them: the first was about the year 1679; the second about 1683; the third about 1696; the fourth about 1712; the fifth and last about 1718. Some of these times were much more remarkable than others, and the in-gathering of souls more plentiful. Those that were about 1683, and 1696, and 1712, were much greater than either the first or the last; but in each of them, I have heard my grandfather say, the bigger part of the young people in the town seemed to be mainly concerned for their eternal salvation.

4. There was also a remarkable instance of the revival of religion in

the year 1721, at Windham in Connecticut colony. The account is contained in a Preface to a Sermon preached by Mr. Adams of New-London on a day of thanksgiving at Windham for the late remarkable success of the gospel among them<sup>a</sup>, in which Preface, it is said, "It seems to be something necessary that some account should be given of the occasion of the ensuing discourse, and it may, through the blessing of God, be useful unto many, when they shall hear of the grace of God unto others, and how he hath been mercifully pleased to visit his people.

Windham is a town of about some thirty years standing, where the rev. Mr. Samuel Whiting hath been improved in the work of the ministry even from the beginning. God hath been pleased to make him a very rich blessing among them, and doubtless many will have reason to bless God for ever in that their lot hath been cast to dwell under his ministry. Not only hath he seen the town flourishing to that degree in this short space of time, as that two other societies are already sprung out therefrom, but he hath had the comfort to observe that many living and serious Christians have been born there. But of late there has been a greater stirring than ordinary among the dry bones; many have been awakened to consider and enquire with a great deal of earnestness, "What they should do to be saved?" Persons of all ages and some of whom there was but little expectation, have come together to seek the Lord their God; so that within the compass of about half a year, there have been fourscore persons joined to their communion, and more are still dropping in. Could their reverend pastor have been prevailed upon so far to have gratified the public, we might have been entertained with the knowledge of many particulars, which ought not to be forgotten, while the Holy Spirit, like the "wind that bloweth where it listeth," hath been dividing to every one severally as he will, in this day of their visitation; but at present we must be content with this short and imperfect account.

In the mean time it is surprising to see what an happy alteration there is made when God is pleased to bless the dispensation of the gospel, and the institutions of his house, and confirm his word in the mouths of his servants. Now, the eyes of the blind are opened, the ears of the deaf unstopped, the dumb are taught to speak, and they that were spiritually dead are raised unto life. To behold obstinate sinners that went on frowardly in the ways of their own heart, yielding themselves unto God, such as were careless and unconcerned about their own souls, now brought to the last distress and concern about what they shall do to escape from the wrath that is to come, and such as were fond of their several vicious courses now quitting them with shame and indignation, that they may endeavour for the future to lead their lives, not "according to the lusts of men, but the will of God. Shall it not from this time be said, What hath God wrought?" Surely it is the work of him that at first "commanded the light to shine out of darkness, and called the things that were not as though they were." Now, the work

grows easy and delightful in the hand of the Lord's servants, their former sighs occasioned by their unsuccessful endeavours are changed into praises, and they almost forget their other sorrows and burdens that are upon them, for joy that people are "born unto the Lord." Now they that have happily "escaped out of the snare of the fowler," admire the wonders of free grace which remembered and "visited them in "their low estate," they are brought forth into the light of life, and having their doubts and fears gradually dissipated, they go on rejoicing for the consolation. Their fellow Christians, who were in Christ before them, receive them with open arms, and many thanksgivings are offered up unto the Lord. Now things put on the same face of gladness and delight, as once they did at Samaria, when Christ was preached with success, Acts viii. 8. "And there was great joy in that city."

It was upon this occasion that a day of thanksgiving was appointed and observed by that distinguished people, when the following discourse was delivered, and is now by their pressing and repeated instances published to the world: if it may be any way serviceable to influence them to "stand fast in the Lord," or stir up any to mind the things that "belong unto their peace," there will be the less occasion to apologize for the defects and imperfections that may attend it.

But, oh! that the same good spirit from on high were poured out upon the rest of the country; for what pity is it that this single fleece only should be wet with the dew of heaven, while the rest of the ground round about remains, (comparatively) dry. And may we not say with the Psalmist, "It is time for thee, Lord, to work," when iniquity gets head and serious religion is so sadly decaying throughout the land, in-somuch that there is scarce a sufficient number rising up to make good the ground of them that are dropping off the stage continually; especially when we consider also how much short they come of their good spirit, and we are almost at a loss to find Christians among Christians. It is true God is calling loudly to us by variety of providences, the means of grace are yet in our hands, and the ordinances are among us, but "where is the God of the ordinances? and where are all the wonders which our fathers told us of, when the arm of the Lord was powerfully revealed, and people more generally believed the report of the gospel." May the Lord please to revive his own work, and help us to remember, hold fast, and repent, and do our first works; may his good Spirit be poured out more plentifully upon both ministers and people, that the one may preach more plainly, boldly, and with an uncommon concern for the glory of God, and the good of immortal souls, and the other may attend with more earnestness and care to the "things that are spoken, lest at any time they let them slip;" and may that good spirit of piety and devotion which sometimes, through the blessing of God, and the influence of his grace, begins to kindle in this or that place, spread like a flame throughout the land, "to purge away our dross, and raise up a seed which shall be accounted to the Lord for a generation."

For this let every one that is godly pray unto him day and night, since with him is the residue of the Spirit; and he delights to be stirred up by the prayers of his people; let us take with us words, and cry in the

language of the prophet, Isa. li. 9. "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord, awake as in the ancient days, in the generations of old." Who can tell but that as he hath begun to pour out of his good Spirit, so he may please to perfect the good work, and cause the good favour of his knowledge to spread far and wide? Let us, as they that wish well to the cause of serious and practical religion, seeing the times are drawing nearer, wait upon the Lord, till he shall appear for our help, bringing salvation, when all difficulties shall be removed, the mountains be levelled and made a plain; and whatsoever letteth, shall be for ever taken away; when he that hath laid the foundation shall bring forth the headstone with shouting, while the standers-by are prepared with joyful acclamations to cry, Grace, Grace unto it.

*New-London, Sept. 12th, 1721.*

E. ADAMS.

In the application of the sermon Mr. Adams says, page 24. "I would now take leave to apply myself more particularly to the people in this place; a good work hath been of late wrought among you, many have been awakned, convinced and (as we ought charitably to hope) effectually brought home to God; the neighbourhood hath rung of it, and it hath been told for a memorial of divine grace; good people every where have rejoiced upon the hearing of it and glorified God in you: Satan hath been alarmed and enraged (as we may well think) to see such an encroachment made upon his kingdom, to behold such large waste and spoil made of his goods: this is doubtless, the finger of God: to him the praise of it is intirely due, and you have well done to set apart this time for your public thankful acknowledgment of this and other mercies. Suffer me therefore to apply myself particularly. 1. To them who have happily been wrought upon in this day of grace and pouring out of the Spirit. 2. To them who have been passed over and suffered to remain still in their former hardness and security. 3. To all the godly and Christian people in this place. [ Under this last head he says, ] 1. Be the more confirmed in your way by all the great things which the Lord hath been doing among you of late. I trust that you are already well rooted and established in the faith, so that nothing will easily move you from your steadfastness: yet now through the mercy of God you have an abundant confirmation of your faith: you see what great virtue and efficacy there is in the Christian doctrine, that it must needs be the word of God seeing it produceth such great and good and marvellous effects. You have a sensible and convincing proof before your eyes that there is something in religion, and have no further need of miracles to confirm it. When you see the doctrine of Christ triumphing remarkably over the ignorance, the mistakes, the carelessness and the wickedness of men, you have reason to draw that conclusion which sometimes Jacob did; surely the Lord is in this place; surely, his word is good; the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them. Let nothing for the future shake your steadfastness, and be not at all moved by the confidence of foolish men (if you should be assaulted by them) to divert you from that Christian course wherein you have been educated; and take that counsel, in 1 Pet. i. 13. "Wherefore gird up the loins of your mind, be sober, and hope to

the end, for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ." [ And thus he concludes ] Let us all give thanks unto him whose mercy endureth for ever, who hath ridden forth prosperously upon the word of truth and hath made so many people willing in the day of his power. May he still go on to subdue the people under him, that the hearts of the fathers may be brought down into the children, that we may still see the good of his chosen, and rejoice with the gladness of his inheritance. And, oh! that the Lord would arise and have mercy upon Zion, that the time to favour it, the set time may come, that the whole earth may be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.

5. The next instance of religious concern we meet with, is in the year 1727, after the earthquake, of which Mr. Prince says " In the night after the Lord's-day October 29th, 1727, there was a general and amazing earthquake throughout New-England, and the neighbouring provinces; which with several repeated shocks afterwards in divers parts of the land, was a means of awaking many to serious thoughts of God and eternity, and of reviving religion among us; which we shall give in the words of Dr. Sewall, and the rev. Mr. Prince, Webb and Cooper of Boston, in their preface to the 3d edition of Mr. Edward's narrative. Mentioning some remarkable effusions of the Spirit of Christ in other ages and parts of the world; they go on as follows.

" Nor have we in these remote corners of the earth, where Satan had his seat from time immemorial, been left without a witness of the divine power and grace. Yea, we need look no higher than our own times, to find abundant occasion to celebrate the wonderful works of God. Thus when God arose and shook the earth, his loud call to us in that amazing providence was followed, so far as man can judge, with the still voice of his Spirit, in which he was present to awaken many and bring them to say trembling, what must we do to be saved? yea, as we hope, to turn not a few from sin to God in a thorough conversion. But when the bitterness of death was past, much the greater part of those whom God's terrors affrighted, gave sad occasion to remember those words, Psalm lxxviii. 34, 36. " When he slew them, then they sought him: and they returned and enquired early after God. And they remembered that God was their rock, and the high God their redeemer. Nevertheless, they did flatter him with their mouths, and they lied unto him with their tongues." And there has since been great reason to complain of our speedy return to our former sins, notwithstanding some hopes given of a more general reformation."

And in the account of the revival at Boston <sup>b</sup> it is farther said concerning this earthquake, " But after all our endeavours both our security and degeneracy seemed in general to grow, 'till the night after the Lord's-day October 29th, 1727, when the glorious God arose and fearfully shook the earth through all these countries. By terrible things in righteousness he began to answer us, as the God of our salvation. On the next morning a very full assembly met at the North Church for the proper exercises on so extraordinary an occasion. At five in the eve-

<sup>a</sup> Prince's Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 15.    <sup>b</sup> Prince's Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 100.

ning a crowded concourse assembled at the Old Church: and multitudes unable to get in, immediately flowed to the South, and in a few minutes filled that also. At lieutenant-governor Dummer's motion, who was then our commander, the Thursday of the same week was kept as a day of extraordinary fasting and prayer in all the churches in Boston; not merely to intreat for sparing mercy, but also to implore the grace and spirit of God to come down and help us to a sincere repentance and returning to him. And as the houses of public worship were greatly crowded, the people were very attentive. The ministers endeavoured to set in with this extraordinary and awakning work of God in nature, and to preach his word in the most awakning manner; to show the people the vast difference between conviction and conversion, between a forced reformation either in acts of piety, justice, charity, or sobriety, by the meer power of fear, and a genuine change of the very frame and relish of the heart by the supernatural efficacy of the holy Spirit; to lead them on to true conversion and unfeigned faith in Christ, and to guard them against deceiving themselves. In all our congregations, many seemed to be awakened and reformed; and professing repentance of their sins and faith in Christ, entered into solemn covenant with God, and came into full communion with our several churches. In ours, within eight months after, were about eighty added to our communicants. But then comparatively few of these applied to me to discourse about their souls till they came to offer themselves to the communion, or afterwards: the most of those who came to me seemed to have passed through their convictions before their coming to converse with me about approaching to the Lord's table: though I doubt not but considerable numbers were at that time savingly converted.

6. Lastly, There was a considerable revival in the end of 1730, and the three following years at Freehold in the province of New-Jersey, under the ministry of Mr. John Tennant, and his brother Mr. William, who succeeded him. Of which take the following account from a letter to the Rev. Mr. Prince at Boston<sup>a</sup>.

*October 9th, 1744.—R. D. S.* "I desire to notice thankfully the late rich display of our glorious Emmanuel's grace, in subduing, by his word and spirit, multitudes of sinners to himself.—Most gladly therefore do I comply with your request.—But I must be general, having never made any memorandums in writing; yet I trust I shall be strictly true; for the Lord hates a false witness.

The settling of this place with a gospel-ministry was owing, under God, to the agency of some Scots people, that came to it: among whom there was none so painful in this blessed undertaking as one Walter Ker, who, in the year 1685, for his faithful and conscientious adherence to God and his truth, as professed by the church of Scotland, was there apprehended, and sent into this country, under a sentence of perpetual banishment. By which it appears that the devil and his instruments, lost their aim in sending him from home; where 'tis unlikely he could ever have been so serviceable to Christ's kingdom, as he has been here. He



is yet alive; and, blessed be God, he is flourishing in his old age, being in his 88th year.

But, to return, the public means of grace dispensed here, were at first for a season, too much like a miscarrying womb and dry breasts; so that the major part of the congregation could not be said to have so much as a name to live. Family prayer was unpractised by all, a very few excepted; ignorance so overhadowed their minds, that the doctrine of the new-birth, when clearly explained, and powerfully pressed upon them, as absolutely necessary to salvation (by that faithful preacher of God's word, Mr. Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghousa, a Dutch minister, and some other English ministers, who were occasionally here) was made a common game of; so that not only the preachers but professors of that truth were called in derision new-born, and looked upon as holders forth of some new and false doctrine.

And indeed their practice was as bad as their principles, viz. loose and profane. In the year 1729, their minister removed from them, and they were so grievously divided among themselves, that it appeared improbable, they would ever agree in the settlement of another. In this miserable condition they lay; and few among them had either eyes to see, or hearts to bewail their woful wretched circumstances. Thus they seemed to be cast out as the prophet Ezekiel represents it, in the 16th chapter of his book, and the 5th verse. But the Lord, who is rich in mercy, of his unexpected and unmerited love, passed by them lying in their blood, and said unto many of them since that day, *live*; and live they shall to all eternity.

About this time my dear brother John (who is now with Christ) was licensed as a candidate for the sacred ministry: a youth whom the Author of every good gift had uncommonly furnished for that important trust. To him application was made by some of the congregation, intreating that he would supply them for a time: to which (with the leave of the presbytery) he consented. But ere he went, he often told me, that he was heartily sorry he had engaged to go among them; for it seemed to him, that they were a people whom God had given up for their abuse of the gospel. But the Lord's thoughts are not our thoughts; for when he had preached four or five Sabbaths in the place, (which was the whole time he tarried among them at first) the Lord so blessed his labours, engaging people to attend to the things which were spoken, and stirring them up to search the scriptures, whether these things were so, and withal enabling him to preach to them with such uncommon freedom and earnestness; that he told me he was fully persuaded Christ Jesus had a large Harvest to bring home there; so that, though they were a poor broken people, yet if they called him, he would settle among them, albeit he should be put to beg his bread by so doing. April the 15th, 1730, the congregation unanimously called him; which he accepting of, was ordained the 19th of November following, and continued with them until April 23d, 1732, and was then translated to glory.

During his short time, his labours were greatly blessed; so that the place of public worship was usually crouded with people of all ranks;

and they seemed to hear generally as for their lives; yea, such as were wont to go to those places for their diversion, viz. to hear news or speak to their tradesmen, &c. even on the Lord's-day, as they themselves have since confessed, were taken in the gospel net: a solemn awe of God's majesty possessed many, so that they behaved themselves as at his bar while in his house. Many tears were usually shed, when he preached, and sometimes the body of the congregation was moved or affected. I can say, and let the Lord alone have the glory of it, that I have seen both minister and people wet with their tears as with a bedewing rain. It was no uncommon thing to see persons in the time of hearing, sobbing as if their hearts would break, but without any public outcry; and some have been carried out of the assembly (being overcome) as if they had been dead. Religion was then the general subject of discourse, though they did not all approve of the power of it: the Holy Bible was searched by people on both sides of the question, and knowledge surprizingly encreased: the terror of God fell generally upon the inhabitants of this place; so that wickedness, as ashamed in a great measure, hid itself. Some of the jolly companions of both sexes were constrained, by their consciences, to meet together, the men by themselves, and the women by themselves, to confess privately their abominations before God, and beg the pardon of them.

Before my brother's death, by reason of his bodily weakness, I preached here about six months. In which time, many came enquiring, what they should do to be saved? and some to tell what the Lord had done for their souls. But the blessing on his labours, to the conviction and conversion of souls, was more discernible some months after his death, than any time in his life; almost in every neighbourhood, I cannot say in every house, there were sin-sick souls, longing for and seeking after the dear Physician, Jesus Christ; several of whom I nowise doubt have since that time sincerely closed with him, and are healed: glory, glory to his holy name be given for ever and ever, Amen!

Sometime after my brother's decease, the congregation called me to labour among them stately; which I accepted, and was ordained October the 25th, 1733. Thus my Lord sent me to reap that on which I had bestowed but little labour: may this consideration be blessed to make me thankful and humble while I live.

I must further declare, to the honour of God, that he has not yet left us, although awfully provoked by our crying crimes; but ever since that more remarkable out-pouring of his Spirit, has continued to bless his own ordinances, to the conviction, conversion, and consolation of precious souls: so that every year, some, more or less, have been in a judgment of charity added (savingsly) to his mystical body: to his holy name be all the glory! In the mean time, I would have it observed, that two or three years last past have afforded fewer instances of this kind than formerly. However, through grace, some have been lately awakened, who are even now seeking Jesus sorrowing.

What the number is of those who have tasted the sweet fruits of the Redeemer's purchase in a saving manner, in this congregation, I cannot tell: it is my comfort that the Lord will reckon them; for he knows

who are his; and indeed none but the omniscient God is equal to the difficult province of determining certainly concerning the internal states of men. Yet I may be bold to say, that to all appearance, both old and young, males and females, have been renewed; though none so young as I have heard of in some other places. Some Negroes, I trust, are made free in Christ; and more seem to be unfeignedly seeking after it. But after all that the Lord has been pleased to do among us, I am persuaded that the greater number by far, are yet in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity. This makes me sometimes ready to wish, that I had in the wilderness the lodging place of a wayfaring man, that I might leave my people, and go from them; or rather that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for them!

Such as have been converted were every of them prepared for it by a sharp law-work of conviction, in discovering to them in a heart-affecting manner, their sinfulness both by nature and practice, as well as their liability to damnation for their original and actual transgressions. Neither could they see any way in themselves by which they could escape the divine vengeance; for that their whole life past was not only a continued act of rebellion against God, but their present endeavours to better it, such as prayers, &c. were so imperfect, that they could not endure them, and much less they concluded, would a holy God. They all confessed the justice of God in their eternal perdition; and thus have been shut up to the blessed necessity of seeking relief by faith in Christ alone.

It would be endless to mention the evils they complained of, viz. ignorance, unbelief, hardness of heart, hatred against God, his laws, and people, worldliness, wandlings of heart in duty, pride, sensuality, sloth, &c. With what grief, shame, and self-loathing have I heard them bewail their loss of time and neglect of the great gospel salvation! These that were communicants before their awakening, have with trembling declared that their unworthy partaking grieved them more than any thing ever they did; for hereby they had, as it were, murdered the Lord. It is almost incredible to relate the indignation that such awakened sinners expressed against themselves, on the account of their sinfulness. They looked upon themselves to be mere monsters of nature, and that none were worse, if any so bad. Others signified that they could not find their pictures out of hell, and that they were just companions for the damned, and none else. Let it be here noted, that some who have expressed themselves in the manner I have mentioned, were before taken for believers both by themselves and others, being sober and regular in their walk.

The sorrows of the convinced, were not all alike, either in degree or continuance. Some have not thought it possible, for them to be saved, if God would vindicate the honour of his justice: but these thoughts continued not long at a time, blessed be God. Others thought it was possible, but not very probable, because of their vileness. The greatest degree of hope which any had, under a conviction that issued well, was a may-be; "Peradventure or may be God will have mercy

on me," said the sinner. Some in coming to Jesus have been much rent with blasphemous and other horrible temptations, which have turned their moisture into the drought of Summer; who now through pure grace serve God, without such distractions, in gladness and singleness of heart. The conviction of some has been instantaneous, by the Holy Spirit's applying the law to the conscience, and discovering to the eye of the understanding, as it were, all their heart-deceits very speedily; by which they have been stabbed as with a sword. But the conviction of others, has been in a more progressive way. They have had discovered to them one abomination after another in life; and from thence were led to behold the fountain of all corruption in the heart; and thus they were constrained to despair of life by the law, and consequently to flee to Jesus as the only door of hope, and so rest entirely on his merit for salvation.

After the aforesaid sorrowful exercises, such as were reconciled to God, have been blessed with the Spirit of adoption, enabling them to cry, Abba Father. But some have had greater degrees of consolation than others, in proportion to the clearness of the evidences of their sonship. The Lord has drawn some out of the horrible pit of distress and darkness, and brought them into the light of his countenance. He has filled their hearts with joy, and their mouths with praises; yea, given them the full assurance of faith. Others have been brought to peace in believing; but have not had so great a plerophory of joy: yet they go on in a religious course trusting in the Lord. The way they have been comforted is either by the application of some particular promise of Scripture, or by a soul-affecting view of the way of salvation by Christ, as free without money and without price: they were enabled to behold the valuable mercies of the covenant of grace, freely tendered to the vilest transgressors, that were poor in their own eyes, sin-sick, weary, and wounded, together with the ability and willingness of the Lord Jesus to relieve them from all the evils they either feared or felt. With this way of salvation their souls were well pleased, and thereupon have ventured their case into his hands, expecting help from him only; who has given them both peace and rest, yea filled some of them with joy unspeakable and full of glory. I remember not of any that received their first comforts otherwise. Some few have retained their confidence in God ever since, without any considerable questionings of their state, altho' they have not always tasted the comforts of it. But the most by far have questioned all, and doubted it was a delusion. This I suppose is generally owing to the remains of corruption, which blot the evidences of grace in good men, so that they can hardly read them: and particularly to the awful sin of unbelief; together with the prevalence of a legal spirit. But however distressing it is to them to feel their imperfections, it helps to persuade me that they are regenerate; else it would not be so; sin would not be their chief burden in a general way. However our Lord who comforts those that are cast down, even the wonderful counsellor teaches them, that he not only saves those who have been sinners before conversion, but even such as after it find a law in their members warring against the law of

their minds, which too often causes them to do the things they would not; and he enables them to reflect upon what they have and do daily experience, and compare it with the evidences of grace in the word of God. The blessed God does likewise give them renewed tastes of his love, even after missteps; and thus they are established in faith and hope, so that they have a prevailing persuasion of their interest in Christ; except it be in times of desertion and temptation, with which some are more exercised than others, for reasons best known to a sovereign God.

Doubtless, Sir, you will desire to know what effects this work produces on the minds and manners of its subjects? I answer, They are not only made to know, but heartily to approve of the great doctrines of the gospel, which they were before either ignorant of or averse to, (at least some of them;) so that they do harmonize sweetly in exalting free, special, and sovereign grace through the redeemer Jesus Christ; being willing to glory only in the Lord, who has loved them and given himself for them, an offering and a sacrifice of a sweet smelling favour. I cannot express with what satisfaction I have heard some speak of the new covenant method of salvation. They have spoken with such affection and clearness, as I have thought was sufficient to convince an Atheist, that the Lord was their teacher. The alteration in some from almost gross ignorance, to such clear gospel light, and in others from such corrupt principles, as the Papists and Quakers hold, to the believing acknowledgement of the truth, none but he that made the understanding could effect. They approve of the law of God after the inward man, as holy, just, and good, and prize it above gold. They judge it their duty as well as privilege to wait on God in all the ordinances of his institution, altho' they expect to merit nothing thereby. A reverence for God's commanding authority, and gratitude for his love, conspire to incite and constrain them to a willing, unfeigned, universal, and unfainting obedience to his laws: yet they declare that in every thing they come sadly short of what they ought to do, and bitterly bewail their defects. But, blessed be God, are not discouraged in their endeavours to reach forward, if by any means they may apprehend that for which they are apprehended of God: and in all things they acknowledge that they ought to look to Jesus as the author and finisher of faith, whose alone it is to work all good in them, and for them, to whom be glory for ever. They are not unmolested in their way by enemies, both from within and from without. Yet they profess that the comforts which they receive do more than compensate all their labour, were there no good to be expected hereafter. They have not all made alike proficiency in the Christian course; neither are they all equal in religious endeavours, nor any at all times alike lively. They are sometimes obstructed in their religious progress by coldness and deadness; but this the blessed Jesus removes at times, by the influence of his Holy Spirit; then, O then, their hearts are enlarged, and they run the sweet ways of God's commandments with alacrity and delight! They love all such, as they have reason to think from their principles, experience, and practice, are truly godly, though they differ from them.

in sentiment in lesser things, and look on them to be the excellent of the earth. They rejoice in Zion's prosperity, glorifying God on that account, and feel a sympathy in her sorrows. They do prefer one another before themselves in love, except under temptation, which they are ready to confess and bewail when they are themselves, generally accounting that they are the meanest of the family of God, and unworthy of the blessing; yea, the most so of any living, all things considered.

In a word, the sapless formalist is become spiritual in his conversation; the proud and haughty are made humble and affable; the wanton and vile, sober and temperate; the swearer honours that venerable Name he was wont to profane, and blesses instead of cursing; the Sabbath-breaker is brought to be a strict observer of holy time; the worldling now seeks treasures in the heavens; the extortioner now deals justly; and the formerly malicious forgive injuries; the prayerless are earnest and incessant in acts of devotion; and the sneaking self-seeker endeavours the advancement of God's glory, and the salvation of immortal souls.

Through God's mercy we have been quite free from enthusiasm; our people have followed the holy law of God, the sure word of prophecy, and not the impulses of their own minds. There have not been, that I know of, among us any visions, except such as are by faith; namely, clear and affecting views of the new and living way to the Father, through his dear Son Jesus Christ: nor any revelations but what have been long since written in the sacred volume. It may not be amiss to inform you, that many who have been awakened, and seemed for a time to set out for Zion, are turned back. Yea, of those who have been esteemed converts, some have made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience; though glory to God there have not been many such; yet some of them who have thus awfully apostatized, were highly esteemed in the church. By this our good and gracious God has given check to too high an esteem of our own judgment concerning the spiritual states of others, (an evil which is too common among young converts) and awfully warned all that think they stand to take heed lest they fall. Many, I have cause to fear, have been hardened in their impieties and unreasonable prejudices against vital religion, by the backslidings of some professors. Wo to the world, because of offences! But in the mean time, blessed be God, wisdom is, and will be, justified of her children. This, Sir, is as particular an account as I can at present give of the Lord's work in this place. If my Lord will accept it as a testimony for him, it will be a greater honour than ever I deserved. I need your prayers, and earnestly desire them: O beg of God, that I may be faithful to the death, and wise to win souls. I am, with all due respects, your's in the dearest Jesus.

*Freehold, October 9th, 1744.*

WILLIAM TENNENT.

*ATTESTATION to the preceding Account.*

"We the subscribers, ruling-elders, and deacons of the Presbyterian congregation of Freehold, having had perfect knowledge of the circumstance of this place, some of us from the first settling of it, and others of a long time, do give our testimony to the truth in general of the

Chap. 2. *in the eighteenth Century.* 35  
 above letter of our rev. pastor. May the Lord make the same of use  
 for the carrying on his glorious work begun in these lands; and make  
 the name of the dearest Jesus glorious from the rising to the setting sun."  
*Freehold in New-Jersey, October 11th, 1744.*—WALTER KER.  
 ROBERT CUMING. DAVID RHE. JOHN HENDERSON. WILLIAM KER.  
 SAMUEL KER.

## SECTION II.

*Of the remarkable Revival at Northampton in 1734, &c.—Which began with such Things as Sabbath-Sanctification, religious Meetings among the young People, and the Preaching of Justification by Faith alone.—The Concern appears in other Towns and Villages of Hampshire.—And in several Towns in Connecticut.*

THE next revival that followed that in Freehold was that remarkable one in Northampton 1734, &c. which we shall relate from the following passages of Mr. Edwards' *Narrative*, in Prince's *Christian History*.

[ FROM PRINCE'S *Christian History*, N<sup>o</sup> 15, 16. ]

Just after my grandfather's death, it seemed to be a time of extraordinary dulness in religion. Licentiousness for some years greatly prevailed among the youth of the town: they were many of them very much addicted to night-walking, and frequenting the tavern, and lewd practices, wherein some by their example exceedingly corrupted others. It was their manner very frequently to get together, in conventions of both sexes, for mirth and jollity, which they called frolicks; and they would often spend the greater part of the night in them, without regard to any order in the families they belonged to: and indeed family-government did too much fail in the town. It was become very customary with many of our young people to be indecent in their carriage at meeting; which doubtless would not have prevailed to such a degree, had it not been that my grandfather, through his great age, (though he retained his powers surprizingly to the last) was not so able to observe them. There had also long prevailed in the town a spirit of contention between two parties, into which they had for many years been divided, by which was maintained a jealousy one of the other, and they were prepared to oppose one another in all public affairs. But in two or three years after Mr. Stoddard's death, there began to be a sensible amendment of these evils; the young people shewed more of a disposition to hearken to counsel, and by degrees left off their frolicking, and grew observably more decent in their attendance on the public worship, and there were more that manifested a religious concern than there used to be.

At the latter end of the year 1733, there appeared a very unusual flexibleness, and yielding to advice, in our young people. It had been too long their manner to make the evening after the Sabbath<sup>a</sup>, and after our public lecture, to be especially the times of their mirth and com-

a It must be noted, that it has never been our manner to observe the evening that follows the Sabbath, but that which precedes it, as part of holy time.

pany-keeping. But a sermon was now preached on the Sabbath before the lecture, to shew the evil tendency of the practice, and to persuade to reform it; and it was urged on heads of families, that it should be a thing agreed upon among them to govern their families, and keep their children at home, at these times; and withal it was more privately moved, that they should meet together the next day in their several neighbourhoods, to know each other's minds, which was accordingly done, and the motion complied with throughout the town. But parents found little or no occasion for the exercise of government in the case: the young people declared themselves convinced by what they had heard from the pulpit, and were willing of themselves to comply with the counsel that had been given; and it was immediately, and, I suppose, almost universally complied with; and there was a thorough reformation of these disorders thenceforward, which has continued ever since.

Presently after this, there began to appear a remarkable religious concern at a little village, belonging to the congregation, called Pascommuck, where a few families were settled, at about three miles distance from the main body of the town. At this place, a number of persons seemed to be savingly wrought upon. In the April following, anno 1734, there happened a very sudden and awful death of a young man, in the bloom of his youth; who being violently seized with a pleurisy, and taken immediately very delirious, died in about two days; which (together with what was preached publicly on that occasion) much affected many young people. This was followed with another death of a young married woman, who had been considerably exercised in mind, about the salvation of her soul, before she was ill, and was in great distress, in the beginning of her illness; but seemed to have satisfying evidences of God's saving mercy to her, before her death; so that she died very full of comfort, in a most earnest and moving manner warning, and counselling others. This seemed much to contribute to the solemnizing of the spirits of many young persons: and there began evidently to appear more of a religious concern on people's minds. In the fall of the year, I proposed it to the young people, that they should agree among themselves to spend the evenings after lectures in social religion, and to that end divide themselves into several companies to meet in various parts of the town; which was accordingly done, and those meetings have been since continued, and the example imitated by elder people. This was followed with the death of an elderly person, which was attended with many unusual circumstances, by which many were much moved and affected. About this time, many who looked on themselves as in a Christless condition, seemed to be awakened, with fear that God was about to withdraw from the land, and that we should be given up to Heterodoxy, and corrupt principles; and that then their opportunity for obtaining salvation would be past; and many who were brought a little to doubt about the truth of the doctrines they had hitherto been taught, seemed to have a kind of a trembling fear with their doubts, lest they should be led into by-paths, to their eternal undoing: and they seemed with much concern and engagedness of mind, to enquire what was indeed the way in which they



must come to be accepted with God. There were then some things said publicly on that occasion, concerning justification by faith alone. Although great fault was found with meddling with the controversy in the pulpit, by such a person, and at that time, and though it was ridiculed by many elsewhere; yet it proved a word spoken in season here; and was most evidently attended with a very remarkable blessing of Heaven to the souls of the people in this town. They received thence a general satisfaction with respect to the main thing in question, which they had been in trembling doubts and concern about; and their minds were engaged the more earnestly to seek that they might come to be accepted of God, and saved in the way of the gospel, which had been made evident to them to be the true and only way. And then it was, in the latter part of December, that the Spirit of God began extraordinarily to set in, and wonderfully to work amongst us; and there were, very suddenly, one after another, five or six persons, who were to all appearance savingly converted, and some of them wrought upon in a very remarkable manner.

Particularly, I was surprized with the relation of a young woman, who had been one of the greatest company-keepers in the whole town: when she came to me, I had never heard that she was become in any wise serious, but by the conversation I then had with her, it appeared to me, that what she gave an account of, was a glorious work of God's infinite power and sovereign grace; and that God had given her a new heart, truly broken and sanctified. I could not then doubt of it, and have seen much in my acquaintance with her since to confirm it. Though the work was glorious, yet I was filled with concern about the effect it might have upon others: I was ready to conclude (though too rashly) that some would be hardened by it, in carelessness and looseness of life; and would take occasion from it to open their mouths, in reproaches of religion. But the event was the reverse, to a wonderful degree; God made it, I suppose, the greatest occasion of awakening to others, of any thing that ever came to pass in the town. I have had abundant opportunity to know the effect it had, by my private conversation with many. The news of it seemed to be almost like a flash of lightning, upon the hearts of young people, all over the town, and upon many others. Those persons amongst us, who used to be farthest from seriousness, and that I most feared would make an ill improvement of it, seemed greatly to be awakened with it; many went to talk with her, concerning what she had met with; and what appeared in her seemed to be to the satisfaction of all that did so.

Presently upon this, a great and earnest concern about the great things of religion, and the eternal world, became universal in all parts of the town, and among persons of all ages; the noise among the dry bones waxed louder and louder: all other talk but about spiritual and eternal things, was soon thrown by; all the conversation in all companies, and upon all occasions, was upon these things only, unless so much as was necessary for people, carrying on their ordinary secular business. Other discourse than of the things of religion, would scarcely be tolerated in any company. The minds of people were wonderfully

taken off from the world; it was treated amongst us as a thing of very little consequence: they seemed to follow their worldly business, more as a part of their duty, than from any disposition they had to it; the temptation now seemed to lie on that hand, to neglect worldly affairs too much, and to spend too much time in the immediate exercise of religion: which thing was exceedingly misrepresented by reports that were spread in distant parts of the land, as though the people here had wholly thrown by all worldly business, and betook themselves entirely to reading and praying, and such like religious exercises. But although people did not ordinarily neglect their worldly business; yet there then was the reverse of what commonly is: religion was with all sorts the great concern, and the world was a thing only by the by. The only thing in their view was to get the kingdom of Heaven, and every one appeared pressing into it: the engagedness of their hearts in this great concern could not be hid, it appeared in their very countenances. It then was a dreadful thing amongst us to lie out of Christ, in danger every day of dropping into hell; and what persons minds were intent upon was to escape for their lives, and to fly from the wrath to come. All would eagerly lay hold of opportunities for their souls; and were wont very often to meet together in private houses for religious purposes: and such meetings when appointed were wont greatly to be thronged.

There was scarcely a single person in the town, either old or young, that was left unconcerned about the great things of the eternal world. Those that were wont to be the vainest, and loosest, and those that had been most disposed to think, and speak slightly of vital and experimental religion, were now generally subject to great awakenings. And the work of conversion was carried on in a most astonishing manner, and increased more and more; souls did as it were come by flocks to Jesus Christ. From day to day, for many months together, might be seen evident instances of sinners brought out of darkness into marvellous light, and delivered out of an horrible pit, and from the miry clay, and set upon a rock, with a new song of praise to God in their mouths.

This work of God, as it was carried on, and the number of true saints multiplied, soon made a glorious alteration in the town; so that in the spring and summer following, in the year 1735, the town seemed to be full of the presence of God: it never was so full of love, nor so full of joy, and yet so full of distress, as it was then. There were remarkable tokens of God's presence in almost every house. It was a time of joy in families on the account of salvation's being brought unto them; parents rejoicing over their children as new born, and husbands over their wives, and wives over their husbands. The goings of God were then seen in his sanctuary; God's day was a delight, and his tabernacles were amiable. Our public assemblies were then beautiful; the congregation was alive in God's service, every one earnestly intent on the public worship, every hearer eager to drink in the words of the minister as they came from his mouth; the assembly in general were from time to time, in tears while the word was preached; some weeping with sorrow and distress, others with joy and love, others with pi-

ty and concern for the souls of their neighbours. Our public praises were then greatly enlivened; God was then served in our Psalmody, in some measure, in the beauty of holiness. It has been observable, that there has been scarce any part of divine worship, wherein good men amongst us have had grace to draw forth, and their hearts to lifted up in the ways of God, as in singing his praises: our congregation excelled all that ever I knew, in the external part of the duty, before. But now they were evidently wont to sing with unusual elevation of heart and voice, which made the duty pleasant indeed.

In all companies on other days, on whatever occasions persons met together, Christ was to be heard of and seen in the midst of them. Our young people, when they met, were wont to spend the time in talking of the excellency and dying love of Jesus Christ, the gloriousness of the way of salvation, the wonderful, free, and sovereign grace of God, his glorious work in the conversion of a soul, the truth and certainty of the great things of God's word, the sweetness of the views of his perfections, &c. And even at weddings, which formerly were merely occasions of mirth and jollity, there was now no discourse of any thing but the things of religion, and no appearance of any but spiritual mirth. Those among us that had been formerly converted, were greatly enlivened and renewed with fresh and extraordinary incomes of the Spirit of God; though some much more than others, according to the measure of the gift of Christ: many that before had laboured under difficulties about their own state, had now their doubts removed by more satisfying experience, and more clear discoveries of God's love.

When this work first appeared, and was so extraordinarily carried on amongst us in the winter, others round about us seemed not to know what to make of it; and there were many that scoffed at and ridiculed it; and some compared what we called conversion, to certain distempers. But it was very observable of many, that occasionally came amongst us from abroad, with disregarded hearts, that what they saw here cured them of such a temper of mind: strangers were generally surprized to find things so much beyond what they had heard, and were wont to tell others, that the state of the town could not be conceived of by those that had not seen it. The notice that was taken of it by the people that came to town on occasion of the court that sat here in the beginning of March, was very observable. And those that came from the neighbourhood to our public lectures, were for the most part remarkably affected. Many that came to town, on one occasion or other, had their consciences smitten and awakened, and went home with wounded hearts, and with those impressions that never wore off 'till they had hopefully a saving issue; and those that before had serious thoughts, had their awakenings and convictions greatly increased. And there were many instances of persons that came from abroad, on visits, or on business, that had not been long here before, to all appearance, they were savingly wrought upon, and partook of that shower of divine blessing that God rained down here, and went home rejoicing: 'till at length the same work began evidently to appear and prevail in several other towns in the county.

In the month of March, the people in South-Hadley began to be seized with deep concern about the things of religion; which very soon became universal: and the work of God has been very wonderful there; not much, if any thing, short of what it has been here, in proportion to the bigness of the place. About the same time, it began to break forth in the west part of Suffield, (where it has also been very great) and it soon spread into all parts of the town. It next appeared at Sunderland, and soon overspread the town; and I believe was, for a season, not less remarkable than it was here. About the same time, it began to appear in a part of Deerfield, called Green-River; and afterwards filled the town, and there has been a glorious work there. It began also to be manifest, in the south part of Hatfield, in a place called the Hill, and after that the whole town, in the second week in April, seemed to be seized, as it were at once, with concern about the things of religion; and the work of God has been great there. There has been also a very general awakening at West-Springfield and Long-Meadow. And in Enfield, there was for a time no small concern amongst some that before had been very loose persons. About the same time that this appeared at Enfield, Mr. Bull of Westfield informed me, that there had been a great alteration there, and that more had been done in one week there than in seven years before. Something of this work likewise appeared in the first precinct in Springfield, principally in the North and South extremes of the parish. And in Hadley old town, there gradually appeared so much of a work of God on souls, as at another time would have been thought worthy of much notice. For a short time there was also a very great and general concern, of the like nature, at Northfield. And wherever this concern appeared, it seemed not to be in vain; but in every place God brought saving blessings with him, and his word attended with his Spirit (as we have all reason to think) returned not void. It might well be said at that time in all parts of the county, "Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as doves to their windows?" As what other towns heard of and found in this, was a great means of awakening them, so our hearing of such a swift and extraordinary propagation, and extent of this work, did doubtless for a time serve to uphold the work amongst us. The continual news kept alive the talk of religion, and did greatly quicken and rejoice the hearts of God's people, and much awakened those that looked on themselves as still left behind, and made them the more earnest that they also might share in the great blessing that others had obtained.

This remarkable pouring out of the Spirit of God, which thus extended from one end to the other of this county, was not confined to it, but many places in Connecticut, have partook in the same mercy: as for instance, the first parish in Windsor, under the pastoral care of Mr. Marsh was thus blessed about the same time, as we in Northampton, while we had no knowledge of each other's circumstances: there has been a very great ingathering of souls to Christ in that place. And something considerable of the same work began afterwards in East-Windsor, my honoured father's parish, which has, in times past, been a place favoured with mercies of this nature above most, there having

been four or five seasons of the pouring out of the Spirit to the general awakening of the people there since my father's settlement amongst them. There was also the last Spring and Summer a wonderful work of God carried on at Coventry, under the ministry of Mr. Meacham: I had opportunity to converse with some of Coventry people, who give me a very remarkable account of the surprizing change that appeared in the most rude and vicious persons there. The like was also very great at the same time in a part of Lebanon, called the Crank, where Mr. Wheelock, a young gentleman is lately settled: and there has been much of the same at Durham, under the ministry of Mr. Chauncy; and, to appearance, no small ingathering of souls there. And likewise amongst many of the young people in the first precinct in Stratford, under the ministry of Mr. Gould; where the work was much promoted by the remarkable conversion of a young woman that had been a great company-keeper as it was here. Something of this work appeared in several other towns in those parts, as I was informed when I was there, the last Fall. And we have since been acquainted with something very remarkable of this nature at another parish in Stratford, called Ripton, under the pastoral care of Mr. Mills. And there was a considerable revival of religion last Summer at New-Haven old town, as I was once and again informed by Mr. Noyes, the minister there, and by others: and, by a letter which I very lately received from Mr. Noyes, and also by information we have had otherwise, this flourishing of religion still continues, and has lately much increased: Mr. Noyes writes, that many this Summer have been added to the church, and particularly mentions several young persons that belong to the principal families of that town. There has been a degree of the same work at a part of Guilford; and very considerable at Mansfield, under the ministry of Mr. Eleazer Williams; and an unusual religious concern at Tolland; and something of it at Hebron and Bolton. There was also no small effusion of the Spirit of God in the North parish in Preston, in the eastern part of Connecticut, which I was informed of, and saw something of it, when I was the last Autumn at the house, and in the congregation of Mr. Lord, the minister there, who, with Mr. Owen of Groton, came up hither in May the last year, on purpose to see the work of God here; and, having heard various and contradictory accounts of it, were careful when they were here to inform and satisfy themselves; and to that end particularly conversed with many of our people; which they declared to be entirely to their satisfaction, and that the one half had not been told them, nor could be told them. Mr. Lord told me, that when he got home, he informed his congregation of what he had seen, and that they were greatly affected with it, and that it proved the beginning of the same work among them, which prevailed till there was a general awakening, and many instances of persons, who seemed to be remarkably converted. I also have lately heard that there has been something of the same work at Woodbury.

This seems to have been a very extraordinary dispensation of provi-

dence: God has in many respects gone out of, and much beyond his usual and ordinary way. The work in this town, and some others about us, has been extraordinary on account of the universality of it, affecting all sorts, sober and vicious, high and low, rich and poor, wise and unwise; it reached the most considerable families and persons, to all appearance, as much as others. In former stirrings of this nature, the bulk of the young people have been greatly affected; but old men, and little children have been so now. Many of the last have, of their own accord, formed themselves into religious societies, in different parts of the town: a loose careless person could scarcely find a companion in the whole neighbourhood; and if there was any one that seemed to remain senseless or unconcerned, it would be spoken of as a strange thing.

This dispensation has also appeared very extraordinary in the numbers of those on whom we have reason to hope it has had a saving effect: we have about six hundred and twenty communicants, which include almost all our adult persons. The church was very large before; but persons never thronged into it, as they did in the late extraordinary time: our sacraments are eight weeks asunder, and I received into our communion about an hundred before one sacrament, and four-score of them at one time, whose appearance, when they presented themselves together to make an open explicit profession of Christianity, was very affecting to the congregation: I took in near sixty before the next sacrament-day: but it must be noted, that it is not the custom here, as it is in many other churches in this country, to make a credible relation of their inward experiences, the ground of admission to the Lord's supper. I am far from pretending to be able to determine how many have lately been the subjects of such mercy; but if I may be allowed to declare any thing that appears to me probable in a thing of this nature, I hope that more than three hundred souls were savingly brought home to Christ, in this town, in the space of half a year, (how many more I don't guess) and about the same number of males as females. Those of our young people, that are on other accounts most considerable, are mostly, as I hope, truly pious, and leading persons in ways of religion. Those that were formerly looser young persons, are generally, to all appearance, become true lovers of God and Christ, and spiritual in their disposition. And I hope that by far the greater part of persons in this town, above sixteen years of age, are such as have the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ; and so by what I heard I suppose it is in some other places, particularly at Sunderland and South Hadley.

This has also appeared to be a very extraordinary dispensation, in that the Spirit of God has so much extended not only his awakening, but regenerating influences, both to elderly persons, and also those that are very young. It has been a thing heretofore rarely to be heard of, that any were converted past middle age. But now we have the same ground to think, that many such have in this time been changed, as that others have been so in more early years. I suppose there were upwards of fifty persons in this town above forty years of age, and

more than twenty of them above fifty, and about ten of them above sixty, and two of them above seventy years of age.

It has heretofore been looked on as a strange thing, when any have seemed to be savingly wrought upon, and remarkably changed in their childhood; but now, I suppose, near thirty were, to appearance, so wrought upon between ten and fourteen years of age, and two between nine and ten, and one of about four years of age; and because I suppose this last will be most difficultly believed, I will hereafter give a particular account of it. The influences of God's Spirit have also been very remarkable on children in some other places, particularly at Sunderland and South Hadley, and the West part of Suffield. There are several families in this town that are hopefully pious; yea, there are several numerous families, in which, I think, we have reason to hope that all the children are truly godly, and most of them lately become so: and there are very few houses in the whole town, into which salvation has not lately come, in one or more instances. There are several Negroes, that from what was seen in them then, and what is discernible in them since, appear to have been truly born again in the late remarkable season.

God has also seemed to have gone out of his usual way, in the quickness of his work, and the swift progress his Spirit has made in his operations on the hearts of many: 'tis wonderful that persons should be so suddenly, and yet so greatly changed: many have been taken from a loose and careless way of living, and seized with strong convictions of their guilt and misery, and in a very little time old things have passed away, and all things have become new with them. God's work has also appeared very extraordinary, in the degrees of the influences of his Spirit, both in the degree of saving light, and love, and joy, that many have experienced. It has also been very extraordinary in the extent of it, and its being so swiftly propagated from town to town. In former times of the pouring out of the Spirit of God on this town, tho' in some of them it was very remarkable, yet it reached no further than this town, the neighbouring towns all around continued unmoved.

The work of God's Spirit seemed to be at its greatest height in this town, in the former part of the Spring, in March and April; at which time God's work, in the conversion of souls, was carried on amongst us in so wonderful a manner, that so far as I, by looking back, can judge from the particular acquaintance I have had with souls in this work, it appears to me probable, to have been at the rate, at least, of four persons in a day, or near thirty in a week, take one with another, for five or six weeks together: when God in so remarkable a manner took the work into his own hands, there was as much done in a day or two, as at ordinary times, with all endeavours that men can use, and with such a blessing as we commonly have, is done in a year."

This is the rev. Mr. Edwards' general account of the wonderful revival of religion, not only at Northampton, but also in other towns both of the county of Hampshire, and of Connecticut colony, in the years 1734, 1735, and 1736. To which we shall subjoin the following attestation; and for particular instances of the powerful influence

of the divine Spirit, reter those, who desire to read them, to that remarkable Narrative.

*To the rev. Benjamin Coleman, D. D. Pastor of a Church in Boston.*

*Westfield, Octob. 11th, 1738.*—“Sir, In your letter of August 19th, you inform us, that the rev. Dr. Watts and Dr. Guyse desire that some other ministers, who were eye and ear-witnesses to some of those numerous conversions in the other towns about Northampton, would attest unto what the rev. Mr. Edwards has written of them. We take this opportunity to assure you, that the account Mr. Edwards has given in his Narrative of our several towns or parishes is true; and that much more of the like nature might have been added with respect to some of them.” We are, Reverend Sir, your brethren and servants,

WILLIAM WILLIAMS pastor of Hatfield, EBENEZER DEVOTION of Sudfield, STEPHEN WILLIAMS of Long-Meadow, PETER REYNOLDS of Enfield, NEREMIAH BULL of Westfield, SAMUEL HOPKINS of W. Springfield.

### C H A P. III.

*Of the persecuted Protestants at Saltzburg in Germany 1731, 1732.—Great Numbers of them forsake their Houses, Lands, and Relations, that they might enjoy the Gospel.*

[ A general account of them from Mr. Willison's testimony, page 99. ]

IN or about the years 1732, &c. the Lord was pleased to pour out his Spirit upon the people of Saltzburg, who were living in Popish darkness, in a most uncommon manner; so that above twenty thousand of them, merely by reading the Bible, which they made a shift to get in their own language, were determined to throw off Popery, and embrace the reformed religion; yea, and to become so very zealous for the truth and gospel of Jesus Christ, as to be willing to suffer the loss of all things in the world, and actually to forsake their houses, lands, goods, and relations, that they might enjoy the pure preaching of the gospel. And O with what earnestness and tears in their eyes did they beseech Protestant ministers to preach to them, in the places where they (when banished from their native country) came in different bodies! for it pleased the Lord to stir up Protestant princes and states to receive them, and provide for them in many different places.

[ A more particular account from the Papers published by the society in London for promoting Christian knowledge. —From Letter I. dated at Kaulsbeyern: ]

On the --- day of December, 1731, late at night, when the city-gates were shut, about eight hundred Protestant exiles of Saltzburg, of both sexes, arrived here, under the guidance of a Bavarian messenger. They had been driven out of their native country for the sake of religion, and forced to leave their all behind them: and a report was spread, that they had themselves expressly desired to be conducted hither; but upon enquiry, they solemnly protested that they had not known whither they were to go, and that all they desired was to be admitted into



some Protestant town, for the spiritual comfort of their souls. After the arrival of these poor people, (who were very meanly clothed, and were for the most part labouring people and servants, and had brought a few children with them) they patiently waited without the city-gates for admission; (which they had earnestly solicited by about forty of their deputies, who arrived just before the gates were shut) singing with great devotion Luther's hymn: "God is our refuge in distress, &c." But orders were soon given for their reception; and some of them had lodgings assigned them in public Protestant inns, whilst a great number were readily received into private houses, not without many tears. And thus they were as hospitably entertained, as the smallness of the town would admit of, and provided both with spiritual and temporal food, 'till the 30th of December.

Their behaviour among us, both in word and deed, was such as became true Christians. They were modest, humble, peaceable, contented with, and thankful for whatever was given them; and expressed the greatest delight in praying, singing of psalms, and reading good books.

As they had been expelled their country on a sudden, and not permitted to furnish themselves with necessaries for their journey, our Protestant fellow-citizens have testified their charity to them, not only by furnishing them with useful books, but likewise with better cloathing for this cold season, and with food, and some money. Several of them have likewise been taken into service in the town; some of their children put out to apprenticeships and to school; and their sick and weak provided for in the hospital. But when the Roman-Catholic members of our magistracy had complained in form of the stay of these poor people, and other circumstances had intervened, which rendered their further entertainment here very difficult; (especially since nineteen thousand more were to make their pilgrimage through these parts) we came, after mature deliberation, to this unanimous resolution, viz. That all those that could not be provided for here, should be sent through three different roads, to Memmingen, Augsburg, and Kempten, under the conduct of some of our Protestant citizens, the better to facilitate their passage, and to prevent all manner of disorders. On the day of their departure, after they had heard the morning sermon, and had taken necessary refreshment, they repaired to our Trinity-church at noon, where they heard a farewell-discourse, with many tears, and an hearty affection to the word of God; and concluded all with the hymn, "God is our refuge in distress:" which was sung only by themselves. After this, the deputies led them, two by two, between the mayor and aldermen, on one side of the church-door, and the ministers on the other; and being dismissed by the citizens with innumerable blessings, they took their several roads, towards the cities above-mentioned, like so many flocks of sheep, with great patience and humility.

[ From Letter II. dated at Augsburg. ]

On the 30th of December 1731, the Protestant magistracy at Augsburg, having had notice given them just before morning-service, by the magistracy and ministry at Kauffbeyern, that eight hundred exiles of

Saltzburg were arrived at Kauffbeyern, and that a certain number of them intended to march thither, earnestly desiring, for the sake of Christ, that they would receive them: the same was immediately communicated by the ministers of this city, to the congregation at the cathedral church of St. Anne. And when they were ordered into their assigned quarters, they immediately lifted up their hands to Heaven, and gave thanks to God, in the best manner they were able.

On New-years-day after morning-service, the Protestant senate ordered the two senior rectors of the Augustin confession to preach to these poor exiles in two different places without the city, they not being yet admitted into it, and this was done accordingly, at three in the afternoon, in the presence of a great multitude of people, by Mr. Urlsperger, in the hospital, and by Mr. Weidner, in Mr. Schawers's garden, in the following manner: the service began with singing the first eight verses of the hymn, "Commit thy ways and goings;" then followed a prayer suited to the circumstances of the exiles; and then a discourse upon the name of Jesus, mentioned in the gospel for the day, with a particular application on this extraordinary occasion, to shew how this holy name ought to influence the conduct, both of the Augsburgers and the exiles. The next day, being the 2d of January, the whole company of these exiles met again according to order in the hospital, where the same rector, who had exhorted them the day before, endeavoured to edify them with another discourse upon the history of the Ethiopian eunuch, Acts viii. He thence shewed them, what delight God takes in those that seek after the true religion; what that religion is; by what means we may learn it, and be confirmed in it; and how great a change it produces in the mind; concluding with a particular application to the exiles: and it is not to be expressed, what effect this discourse had upon the auditory; with what devotion and attention these pilgrims received it; and what plenty of tears it drew from their eyes, as well as from those of the other part of the audience. Nay, many of the Papists themselves, who were present both within and without doors, were so wrought upon by almighty God, that they not only discovered their concern in their countenances, but actually offered to embrace the Protestant religion. Particular care was taken not to use the least expression which might be offensive to the Roman Catholics, neither were they once mentioned, it being more proper at this time, only to press the truth of the gospel home to every one's conscience. And one very affecting circumstance was this, that whenever the rector went with the Protestant burgomaster to the hospital, which is about half a mile out of town, they found several hundreds of people before the place, who, as well as those within the hospital, were singing hymns of praise and thanksgiving. After this second discourse, several good books, with a considerable sum of money, were distributed among the exiles: and as every one was desirous to have one of those people home with him, many had not the patience to wait till they should have the liberty to take them into their service; but carried some of them into the city in coaches, and others in disguise, before they were permitted to pass through the gates.

They are generally of good courage; and, notwithstanding all the misery they had gone through, of a chearful temper. There appears so much honesty and fidelity in their very countenances, that one may almost affirm, they are without guile. They are, for the most part, of a strong and robust constitution, and from twenty to thirty-six years of age; some few only are from forty to sixty.

On the 3d of January, and following days, our Protestants began to take them into their services, and by the 8th, one hundred and sixty were provided for: some merchants took two, or more; other tradesmen one, or more, for their servants: and some working people, who had no children, took in some Saltzburg girls of about sixteen years of age, and entertained them as their own. Those who were taken by masters in low circumstances, were clothed at the expence of two considerable families; and the others, at that of their several masters. The Protestant orphan-house alone, confiding in God, took in thirty; and soon after experienced his paternal providence, which inclined the hearts of several people to contribute a weekly sum towards their support. And the rest are lodged up and down, till they either can get into services, or remove next spring into other places. As to the collection made for them, the same has been (notwithstanding the many great expences of these times) very considerable, amounting to about six thousand florins, which was given with all the chearfulness imaginable; but it was not then distributed, because the greater part of them were provided for already. And concerning this collection, we cannot but observe, that all the children of our Protestant orphan-house, who had saved any pence, or farthings, readily contributed towards it; and one of them, in particular, gave his all, which made up two florins: so that we may with truth assert, that all degrees of people amongst us, have strove to out-do one another in this charity.

These people behave themselves not only very thankfully, contentedly, meekly, and patiently; but when they have an occasion of mentioning their afflictions, they do it without the least bitterness or murmuring against their former superiors: and they incessantly pray, with many tears, for their relations left behind them; as not knowing what sufferings they may have yet to undergo.—And thus much from the city of Augsbürg.

As to those that were sent from Kauffbeyern to Memmingen, we have not had such a particular account as from Augsbürg: but thus much we can affirm, that they have been there received as brethren and sisters, and carefully provided for. The greatest part of those who are yet come, are, as has been observed, poor labouring people and servants; but those that are to follow, are some of them of better condition, and have some substance; and some are still in prison, where they content themselves with bread and water, and with praying, and singing psalms or hymns.

The exiles, who went to Ulm, have likewise found the way prepared by God for their maintenance. Their number consisted of two hundred and sixty persons, among whom were about twenty women. At their arrival, they were conducted (amidst a great concourse of people)

from the Danube gate to the town-house, singing all the way the two hymns which begin thus; "God is our refuge in distress," and, "He that confides in his Creator." And hereby we see that passage of David, Psalms viii. 2. "Out of the mouths of babes, &c. thou hast perfected praise," literally fulfilled; for many thousands of people were excited by the exiles to join with them in praising God. They were immediately ordered out of the cold into a warm room, every one being desirous to give them some refreshment: and after the magistrate had taken a sufficient account of them, they were quartered in the several inns of the town, which were hardly big enough to contain the great concourse of other protestants, who flocked thither; who all joined with one accord in praises and thanksgivings to God, and continued their ejaculations till late at night: and would to God this were more frequently practised by all persons, and at all times. The next day, the rector Frick preached a sermon upon these words, "The Lord spake to Abraham, &c." Gen. xii. 1, 2, 3. and as this discourse was chiefly applied in all its parts to those Saltzburgers, it is impossible to express with what attention they heard the word of God. They stood like people, who have had no food for a great while, and are therefore waiting with greater eagerness to receive some, to satisfy their hunger. After sermon, one half of them were examined by Dr. Frick, rector, the other half by Mr. Prof. Allgower, about the fundamental truths of the Protestant religion; of which some of them could give a pretty clear and satisfactory account: but of their knowledge, which we find in every particular conformable to the doctrine of the gospel, more shall be said hereafter.

Being averse to nothing more than idleness, and ready to undertake the hardest labour, many have already found a subsistence, as we hope the rest very shortly will. "For the word of the Lord is true, and all his works are faithful; and he has promised, that they that seek him, shall want no manner of thing that is good," Psal. xxxiv. 10.

Many of them are descended of Protestant parents, who having been connived at for many years, brought the Bible and other good books privately into the country, and read them to others in secret; and this has had such a blessed effect upon them, that they were not only confirmed in the truth themselves, but many others have likewise, through the divine assistance, been converted. Particular care is now taken to instruct these people regularly, in every city where they reside.

But what is the real cause of their being expelled the country? From their *Confession of Faith* it is evident, that no erroneous, heretical, or seditious doctrine, has been the cause of it; and that consequently the accusations about the Holy Trinity, and that of not suffering their children to be baptized, with which they have been aspersed, are groundless. Much less are they persecuted as murderers, thieves, or workers of iniquity, or such as meddle with other peoples affairs, 'or deny to give the magistrate his due: they are cleared from all such enormities, by the passport, which every man received from the archbishop of Saltzburg himself: and for this reason, orders have been given, even in some Roman-Catholic countries, particularly in Bavaria, to provide for them

as innocent people, and to furnish them with some little travelling expences for their support. So that we may justly say of these men, as Pilate did of our blessed Lord, that, (as touching such crimes as are punishable by the magistrate) "we find no fault in them." In short, no other cause can be alledged, but their confession of the Protestant religion, which is not tolerated in the territory of Saltzburg. And that this is the true cause, is manifest, not only from the many kinds of sufferings these poor people have endured, (all which were designed to make them quit the Protestant religion) but also from the public acts of the Imperial diet.

At first, all pains were taken to dissuade them from the Protestant religion, by arguments from worldly interest; and when that would not do, their books, which they had been many years collecting, were seized in several places; and after they were deprived of the word of God, their enemies proceeded to more violent means, to make them change their minds. Many were apprehended, particularly those who were suspected to be their leaders, and sent in fetters, dressed, in derision, with white caps, which hung down to their breasts, into the deepest dungeons of Saltzburg; and others have been sent away, their relations not knowing whither. And when this would not do, the Papists threatened them with beheading, drowning, the gallies, and the like; and to all this, these poor people made only the following reply, "In God's name, in God's name." And, at last, when it was found, that they could not be brought by any of these violent means, to love their lives and fortunes more than God and his truth; then they were on a sudden ordered to leave the country: and these orders were immediately executed with all imaginable rigour: some were taken from the field, others were dragged naked out of their beds; all in general had a sudden summons to depart, and none, or very few, were permitted so much as to sell their goods, or to take any thing necessary with them: that many have been obliged to leave their wives and their substance behind them, and to go away deprived of all they had in the world. This, and much more, appears by the complaints that have been laid before the Evangelic Body at Ratibon, and by the Imperial mandates issued thereupon: and what increased their calamity was this, that they were forced to begin their journey in the depth of Winter, when the cold is most severe. The first eight hundred spent five whole weeks in their journey, and that in the most bitter cold and most stormy weather; and were a fortnight in wandering over mountains and hills, not knowing whither they went. This fatigued and emacrated them so much, that they were almost starved, having been in want of bread for three days together. This is the case of these poor exiles, whose number, as we hear from Augsburg, (where above six hundred are arrived already) will be considerably augmented by those that are yet to come.

[ FROM LETTER III. dated at Augsburg. ]

Whereas, January 25th, 1732, there arrived in our neighbourhood five hundred more exiles of Saltzburg, besides their women and children; one of our Protestant aldermen was immediately sent to meet

them at a village called Hausstetten, read their authentic passports, and registred them, and then provided a good dinner for the whole company. After which, they were divided into parties, so that an hundred in one place, eighty in another, sixty in a third place, and fifty in a fourth, might be quartered for this first day without the city; and when they were safely arrived in their lodgings, they sung hymns, and prayed with great devotion and affection of heart. There were with them three waggons full of women, new-born children, sick and old people, who were taken into the hospital. It was a signal mercy, that they did not all fall sick, and perish with cold; considering they came in a severe frost, being poor, and many of them very bare: and indeed some did fall sick, by the many hardships they endured; amongst whom an old man is since dead, who being asked, whether he was not sorry for having left his native country? answered, No: but I die with joy, and hope of a better life.

Certainly God hath some particular design in this stupendous work, which is brought about not by the hand of men, but of God himself; that in such a small track of land as Salzburg, which is surrounded every where with Popish countries, such a great multitude of people should take up a resolution, rather to forsake their native country, their friends, and their substance, than to live any longer in darkness, contrary to God and his word. As soon as the city-gates were opened on Saturday, a great number of Protestants went with all manner of provisions unto the poor exiles. The rev. Mr. Urlsperger, rector of the ministry, visited them the same evening in all their quarters, strengthened them, and comforted them very much.

Wednesday morning, all the exiles marched in good order into Shooters-field, singing as they went along Luther's hymn: "Our God is a strong tower, &c." accompanied with many thousands of Protestants and Papists. Here the citizens had liberty to pick out such as they liked for their service, to the number of three hundred persons. As for those that were sick, or had sick children, they remained in their quarters; but ten men who had recovered their health in the hospital, and were desirous to serve the farmers in the Protestant villages, joined themselves to those that were to go away: but before they went, the rev. Mr. Hildebrand, early in the morning, made a pious discourse to them, upon the cxxvi Psalm. Afterwards, the gospel was again preached unto these poor people in the open fields, in several places, by the two senior rectors of the ministry, Mr. Urlsperger, and Mr. Weidner, and six other ministers; who having fervently exhorted them to be stedfast in the true faith, and sincere godliness, committed them unto the grace of God, in the presence of a great multitude of people, high and low, Protestants, Papists, Jews, and others. Such a remarkable publication of the gospel, and attended with such sensible impressions, hath not been known at Augsburg since the time that the Augustin Confession was first presented to the emperor Charles V. in the year 1530, in this place. A great bitterness of mind had shewn itself at first among the Papists; but having observed nothing amiss, and hearing the exiles exhorted unto patience and stedfastness, some went

away ashamed, and others with a secret inclination to turn to the truth of the gospel; insomuch that there appears a great disposition among the Popish inhabitants, to embrace the Protestant faith.

As they went along, they, with hearts full of thankfulness, blessed once more all their kind benefactors, and sung their hymn, "An exile in distress I am," &c. Many thousand spectators returned blessings and thanks for the awakenings the Lord was pleased to give them by their means. Mr. Urlsperger went somewhat beyond the territory of Augs-burg; and as the first troop passed by him, he took his leave, and blessed them once more: and returning homewards, he met the second troop, and committing them also to the grace of God, he distributed some books, as Arndt's *True Christianity*, &c. amongst them; and so hastening to Shooters-field, he found the last ready to march, and made a farewell discourse unto them; every one of whom offering his hand to him and his colleague, they set forward in the name of the Lord.

These people are very sincere and religious; they are content with mean diet and clothes, and a great deal of hard labour, which they perform diligently: and, as they are very attentive in hearing the word of God, it is not to be doubted but his blessing will attend it. In their journey, the Papists in some places insulted them, and threw dirt at them, which they bore with great resignation, and returned only with blessings on their enemies. But they were received at Nordlingen and Haaburg with great cheerfulness; insomuch, that even the Jews at Haaburg offered them lodgings.

And here we may again observe, that several Jews have been sensibly affected with the persecution of these people: a Jew at Batzheim, not far from Ulm, seeing two hundred of them together, and hearing the cause of their wandering about, stood astonished for some time, and at last broke out into this exclamation; "Sure God designs to do some great work. [See the Account of their Sufferings, and the farther Account.]

## C H A P. IV.

*Of a religious Society of Students at Oxford, which began about the End of 1729.—Their careful Improvement of Time in Works of Piety and Charity.—Their Zeal and Success in Preaching the Gospel.*

[ Introduction from MR. WILLISON'S Testimony. ]

At that time, the Lord was pleased to raise up and qualify a number of students at the college of Oxford, in our neighbour nation of England, to be instruments of much good, although not altogether purged from the corruptions of that land. They joined in a religious society, wherein they agreed upon certain methods and rules for spending their time in fasting, praying, communicating, visiting the sick and the prisoners, instructing the ignorant, &c. and hence they were called methodists. And being afterwards ordained to the ministry, they preached with great warmth, chusing subjects very much neglected in that church, such as the doctrines of justification by faith in the righteousness of Christ, of original sin, of the necessity of regeneration, &c. They used also a good deal of freedom in speaking against the loose and negligent clergy, for which they were at length denied the use of churches; whereupon they went and preached in the fields, and houses, collecting money for erecting schools, hospitals, and other pious uses, travelling to many places, and preaching every day, and several times in one day, having many thousands to hear them, in London, Bristol, Gloucester, through Wales, and very many places in England. Many of their hearers were brought under great impressions, shedding tears, and crying out, "What shall we do to be saved?" and great changes were made upon very profligate persons, and upon severals who went to scoff and ridicule them. Also many of the clergy were quickened to their work by them,

## S E C T I O N I.

[ From MR. JOHN WESLEY'S Journals. ]

*Preface to the first Journal.—Letter containing an Account of the Rise of the Society in Oxford.*

It was in pursuance of an advice given by bishop Taylor, in his *Rules for Holy Living and Dying*, that about fifteen years ago<sup>a</sup>, I began to take a more exact account than I had done before, of the manner wherein I spent my time, writing down how I had employed every hour. This I continued to do, wherever I was, till the time of my leaving England. The variety of scenes which I then passed through, induced me to transcribe from time to time, the more material parts of my diary, adding here and there such little reflections as occurred to my mind. Of this journal thus occasionally compiled, the following is a short extract: it not being my design to relate all those particulars, which I wrote for my own use only; and which would answer no va-



luable end to others, however important they were to me. Indeed I had no design or desire to trouble the world with any of my little affairs, as cannot but appear to every impartial mind, from my having been so long as one that heareth not, notwithstanding the loud and frequent calls I have had, to answer for myself. Neither should I have done it now, had not captain Williams's affidavit, published as soon as he had left England, laid an obligation upon me, to do what in me lies, in obedience to that command of God, let not the good which is in you be evil-spoken of. With this view I do at length give an answer to every man that asketh me a reason of the hope which is in me, that in all these things I have a conscience void of offence, towards God and towards man. I have prefixed hereto a letter wrote several years since, containing a plain account, of the rise of that little society in Oxford, which has been so variously represented. Part of this was published in 1733, but without my consent or knowledge. It now stands as it was wrote, without any addition, diminution, or amendment: it being my only concern herein, nakedly to declare the thing as it is. Perhaps my employments of another kind may not allow me to give any further answer to them who say all manner of evil of me falsely, and seem to think that they do God service. Suffice it, that both they and I shall shortly give an account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead.

*Oxon, October 18th, 1730.*—"Sir, The occasion of my giving you this trouble is of a very extraordinary nature. On Sunday last I was informed (as no doubt you will be ere long) that my brother and I had killed your son: that the rigorous fasting which he had imposed upon himself, by our advice, had increased his illness, and hastened his death. Now though, considering it in myself, it is a very small thing with me to be judged by man's judgment; yet as the being thought guilty of so mischievous an imprudence might make me less able to do the work I came into the world for, I am obliged to clear myself of it, by observing to you, as I have done to others, that your son left off fasting about a year and a half since, and that it is not yet half a year since I began to practise it.

I must not let this opportunity slip of doing my part towards giving you a juster notion of some other particulars relating both to him and myself, which have been industriously misrepresented to you. In March last he received a letter from you, which being not able to read, he desired me to read to him; several of the expressions whereof I perfectly remember, and shall do, 'till I too am called hence. I then determined, that if God was pleased to take away your son before me, I would justify him and myself, which I now do with all plainness and simplicity, as both my character and cause requires. In one practice for which you blamed your son, I am only concerned as a friend, not as a partner. That therefore I shall consider first: your own account of it was in effect this, 'He frequently went into poor people's houses in the villages 'about Holt, called their children together, and instructed them in 'their duty to God, their neighbour, and themselves. He likewise explained to them the necessity of private as well as public prayer, and

provided them with such forms as were best suited to their several capacities: and being well apprized how much the success of his endeavours depended on their good-will towards him, to win upon their affections, he sometimes distributed among them a little of that money, which he had saved from gaming, and the other fashionable expenses of the place.' This is the first charge against him; upon which all that I shall observe is, that I will refer it to your own judgment, whether it be fitter to have a place in the catalogue of his faults, or of those virtues, for which he is now numbered among the sons of God. If all the persons concerned in 'that ridiculous society, whose follies you have so often heard repeated,' could but give such a proof of their deserving the glorious title<sup>a</sup> which was once bestowed upon them, they would be contented that their lives too should be counted madness, and their end thought to be without honour. But the truth is, their title to holiness stands upon much less stable foundations; as you will easily perceive when you know the ground of this wonderful outcry, which it seems England is not wide enough to contain

In November, 1729, at which time I came to reside at Oxford, your son, my brother, myself, and one more, agreed to spend three or four evenings in a week together. Our design was to read over the classics, which we had before read in private, on common nights, and on Sunday some book in divinity. In the Summer following Mr. M. told me he had called at the goal, to see a man who was condemned for killing his wife; and that, from the talk he had with one of the debtors, he verily believed it would do much good, if any one would be at the pains of now and then speaking with them. This he so frequently repeated, that on August 24th, 1730, my brother and I walked with him to the castle. We were so well satisfied with our conversation there, that we agreed to go thither once or twice a-week; which we had not done long, before he desired me to go with him to see a poor woman in the town, who was sick. In this employment too when we came to reflect upon it, we believed it would be worth while to spend an hour or two in a week, provided the minister of the parish, in which any such person was, was not against it. But that we might not depend wholly on our own judgments, I wrote an account to my father of our whole design; withal begging that he, who had lived seventy years in the world, and seen as much of it as most private men have ever done, would advise us whether we had yet gone too far, and whether we should now stand still, or go forward.

Part of his answer, dated September 21st, 1730, was this. "And now as to your own designs and employments, what can I say less of them than *valde probè*: and that I have the highest reason to bless God, that he has given me two sons together at Oxford, to whom he has given grace and courage to turn the war against the world and the devil, which is the best way to conquer them. They have but one more enemy to combat with, the flesh; which if they take care to subdue by fasting and prayer, there will be no more for them to do but to proceed steadily in the same course, and expect the crown which fadeth not a-

<sup>a</sup> The Holy Club.

<sup>b</sup> I greatly approve.

way. You have reason to bless God, as I do, that you have so fast a friend as Mr. M—, who, I see, in the most difficult service is ready to break the ice for you. You do not know of how much good that poor wretch who killed his wife has been the providential occasion. I think I must adopt Mr. M— to be my son, together with you and your brother Charles; and when I have such a ternion to prosecute that war, wherein I am now *miles emeritus*, I shall not be ashamed, when they speak with their enemies in the gate.

I am afraid lest the main objection you make against your going on in the business with the prisoners, may secretly proceed from flesh and blood. For who can harm you if you are followers of that which is so good, and which will be one of the marks by which the Shepherd of Israel will know his sheep at the last day? Though if it were possible for you to suffer a little in the cause, you would have a confessor's reward. You own none but such as are out of their senses would be prejudiced against your acting in this manner; but say, These are they that need a physician. But what if they will not accept of one who will be welcome to the poor prisoners? Go on then, in God's name, in the path to which your Saviour has directed you, and that track wherein your father has gone before you! for when I was an under-graduate at Oxford, I visited those in the castle there, and reflect on it with great satisfaction to this day. Walk as prudently as you can, though not fearfully, and my heart and prayers are with you. Your first regular step is to consult with him (if any such there be) who has a jurisdiction over the prisoners; and the next is, to obtain the direction and approbation of your bishop. This is Monday morning, at which time I shall never forget you. If it be possible, I should be glad to see you all three here in the fine end of the Summer: but if I cannot have that satisfaction, I am sure I can reach you every day, though you were beyond the Indies. Accordingly, to Him who is every where, I now heartily commit you, as being Your most affectionate and joyful Father."

In pursuance of these directions, I immediately went to Mr. Gerard, the bishop of Oxford's chaplain, who was likewise the person that took care of the prisoners when any were condemned to die; (at other times they were left to their own care.) I proposed to him our design of serving them as far as we could, and my own intention to preach there once a-month, if the bishop approved of it. He much commended our design, and said he would answer for the bishop's approbation, to whom he would take the first opportunity of mentioning it. It was not long before he informed he had done so, and that his lordship not only gave his permission, but was greatly pleased with the undertaking, and hoped it would have the desired success. Soon after a gentleman of Merton-college, who was one of our little company, which now consisted of five persons, acquainted us, that he had been much rallied the day before for being a member of the holy club; and that it was become a common topick of mirth at his college, where they had found out several of our customs, to which we were ourselves utter strangers. Upon this I consulted my father again, in whose answer were these words:

December 1. — "This day I received both yours; and this evening in

our course of our reading, I thought I found an answer that would be more proper than any I myself could dictate; though since it will not be easily translated, I send it in the original: 2 Cor. vii. 4. Πολλή μοι καὶ χάρις ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πεπληρωμαι τῇ παρακλήσει, ὑπερπερισσεύωμαι τῇ χαρᾷ<sup>a</sup>. What would you be? Would you be angels? I question whether a mortal can arrive to a greater degree of perfection than steadily to do good, and for that very reason patiently and meekly to suffer evil. For my part, on the present view of your actions and designs, my daily prayers are, that God would keep you humble; and then I am sure that if you continue to suffer for righteousness sake, though it be but in a lower degree, the Spirit of God and of Glory shall in some good measure rest upon you. Be never weary of well-doing: never look back, for you know the prize and the crown are before you: though I can scarce think so meanly of you, as that you would be discouraged with the crackling of thorns under a pot. Be not high-minded, but fear: preserve an equal temper of mind under whatever treatment you meet with from a not very just or well-natured world. Bear no more sail than is necessary, but steer steady. The less you value yourselves for these unfashionable duties, (as there is no such thing as works of supererogation) the more all good and wise men will value you, if they see your actions are of a piece; or, which is infinitely more, He by whom actions and intentions are weighed, will both accept, esteem, and reward you.

Upon this encouragement we still continued to sit together as usual; and to confirm one another as well as we could in our resolutions, to communicate as often as we had opportunity (which is here once a-week;) and do what service we could to our acquaintance, the prisoners, and two or three poor families in the town. But the outcry daily increasing, that we might shew what ground there was for it, we proposed to our friends, or opponents, as we had opportunity, these, or the like questions:

I. Whether it does not concern all men of all conditions, to imitate him as much as they can, "who went about doing good?" Whether all Christians are not concerned in that command, "While we have time, let us do good to all men?" Whether we shall not be more happy hereafter, the more good we do now? Whether we can be happy at all hereafter, unless we have, according to our power, "fed the hungry, clothed the naked, visited those that are sick, and in prison," and made all these actions subservient to a higher purpose, even the saving of souls from death? Whether it be not our bounden duty always to remember that he did more for us than we can do for him; who assures us, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me?"

II. Whether upon these considerations we may not try to do good to our acquaintance? Particularly, whether we may not try to convince them of the necessity of being Christians? Whether of the consequent necessity of being scholars? Whether of the necessity of method and industry in order to either learning or virtue? Whether we may not try to persuade them to confirm and increase their industry, by

<sup>a</sup> Great is my glorying of you. I am filled with comfort. I am exceeding joyful.

communicating as often as they can? whether we may not mention to them the authors whom we conceive to have wrote best on those subjects? whether we may not assist them as we are able from time to time, to form resolutions upon what they read in those authors, and to execute them with steadiness and perseverance?

III. Whether, upon the considerations above-mentioned, we may not try to do good to those that are hungry, naked, or sick? in particular, whether if we know any necessitous family, we may not give them a little food, cloaths, or physick, as they want? Whether we may not give them, if they can read, a Bible, Common-Prayer book, or Whole Duty of Man? Whether we may not now and then enquire how they have used them; explain what they do not understand, and enforce what they do? Whether we may not enforce upon them more especially the necessity of private prayer, and of frequenting the church and sacrament? Whether we may not contribute what little we are able toward having their children cloathed and taught to read? Whether we may not take care that they be taught their Catechism, and short prayers for morning and evening?

IV. Lastly, Whether upon the considerations abovemention'd we may not try to do good to those that are in prison? In particular, whether we may not release such well-disposed persons as remain in prison for small sums? Whether we may not lend smaller sums to those that are of any trade, that they may procure themselves tools and materials to work with? Whether we may not give to them who appear to want it most, a little money, or cloaths, or physick? Whether we may not supply as many as are serious enough to read, with a Bible, and whole Duty of man? Whether we may not, as we have opportunity, explain and enforce these upon them, especially with respect to publick and private prayer, and the blessed sacrament?

I do not remember that we met with any person who answered any of these questions in the negative, or who even doubted, whether it were not lawful to apply to this use that time and money, which we should else have spent in other diversions: but several we met with who increased our little stock of money for the prisoners and the poor, by subscribing something quarterly to it; so that the more persons we proposed our designs to, the more were we confirmed in the belief of their innocency, and the more determined to pursue them in spite of the ridicule, which increased fast upon us during the Winter. However, in Spring I thought it would not be improper to desire farther instructions from those, who were wiser and better than ourselves; and accordingly (on May 18. 1731) I wrote a particular account of all our proceedings to a clergyman of known wisdom and integrity. After having informed him of all the branches of our design as clearly and simply as I could, I next acquainted him with the success it had met with in the following words:—"Almost as soon as we had made our first attempts this way, some of the men of wit in Christ-Church entered the lists against us, and between mirth and anger made a pretty many reflections upon the sacramentarians; as they were pleas'd to call us. Soon after their allies at Merton chang'd our title, and did us the honour of styling us

*The Holy Club.* But most of them being persons of well-known characters, they had not the good fortune to gain any proselytes from the sacrament, 'till a gentleman, eminent for learning, and well esteem'd for piety, joined them, told his nephew, that if he dared to go to the weekly communion any longer, he would immediately turn him out of doors. That argument indeed had no success; the young gentleman communicated next week; upon which his uncle having again tried to convince him that he was in the wrong way, by shaking him by the throat to no purpose, changed his method, and by mildness prevailed upon him to absent from it the Sunday following, as he has done five Sundays in six ever since." This much delighted our "gay opponents, who increased their number apace, especially when shortly after one of the seniors of the college having been with the doctor, upon his return from him, sent for two young gentlemen severally, who had communicated weekly for some time; and was so successful in his exhortations, that for the future they promis'd to do it, only three times a year. About this time there was a meeting (as one who was present at it informed your son) of several of the officers and seniors of the college, wherein it was consulted what would be the speediest way to stop the progress of enthusiasm in it. The result we know not, only it was soon publicly reported, that Dr. ——— and the censors were going to blow up *the Godly Club*. This was now our common title, though we were sometimes dignified with that of the *Enthusiasts*, or the *Reformed Club*."

Part of the answer I received was as follows: "Good Sir, A pretty while after the date yours came to my hand. I waved my answer 'till I had an opportunity of consulting your father, who upon all accounts is a more proper judge of the affair than I am. But I could never find a fit occasion for it. As to my own sense of the matter, I confess, I cannot but heartily approve that serious and religious turn of mind that prompts you and your associates to those pious and charitable offices; and can have no notion of that man's religion or concern for the honour of the university, that opposes you as far as your design respects the colleges. I should be loth to send a son of mine to any seminary, where his conversing with virtuous young men, whose profest design of meeting together at proper times, was to assist each other in forming good resolutions, and encouraging one another to execute them with constancy and steadiness, was inconsistent with any received maxims or rules of life among the members. As to the other branch of your design, as the town is divided into parishes, each of which has its proper incumbent, and as there is probably an ecclesiastic, who has the spiritual charge of the prisoners, prudence may direct you to consult them: for though I dare not say you would be too officious, should you of your own meer motion seek out the persons that want your instructions and charitable contributions, yet should you have the concurrence of their proper pastor, your good offices would be more regular, and less liable to censure."

Your son was now at Holt; however, we continued to meet at our usual times, though our little affairs went on but heavily without him.

But at our return from Lincolnshire, in September last, we had the pleasure of seeing him again; when, though he could not be so active with us as formerly, yet we were exceeding glad to spend what time we could in talking and reading with him. It was a little before this time my brother and I were at London, when going into a bookseller's shop (Mr. Rivington's in St. Paul's church-yard) after some other conversation he asked us whether we lived in town; and upon our answering, "No, at Oxford:" Then gentlemen, said he, let me earnestly recommend to your acquaintance a friend I have there, Mr. Clayton of Brazen-Nose. Of this, having small leisure for contracting new acquaintance, we took no notice for the present. But in the Spring following (April 20th,) Mr. Clayton meeting me in the street, and giving Mr. Rivington's service, I desired his company to my room, and then commenced our acquaintance. At the first opportunity I acquainted him with our whole design, which he immediately and heartily closed with; and not long after, Mr. M——having then left Oxford, we fixed two evenings in a week to meet on, partly to talk upon that subject, and partly to read something in practical divinity.

The two points, whereunto by the blessing of God, and your son's help, we had before attained, we endeavoured to hold fast: I mean, the doing what good we can, and in order thereto communicating as often as we have opportunity. To these, by the advice of Mr. Clayton, we have added a third, the observing the fasts of the church; the general neglect of which we can by no means apprehend to be a lawful excuse for neglecting them. And in the resolution to adhere to these, and all things else which we are convinced God requires at our hands, we trust we shall preserve, 'till he calls us to give an account of our stewardship. As for the names of Methodists, Supererogation-men, and so on, with which some of our neighbours are pleased to compliment us, we do not conceive ourselves to be under any obligation to regard them, much less to take them for arguments. To the law and to the testimony we appeal, whereby we ought to be judged. If by these it can be proved we are in an error, we will immediately and gladly retract it: if not, we have not so learned Christ, as to renounce any part of his service, though men should say all manner of evil against us, with more judgment, and as little truth as hitherto. We do indeed use all the lawful means we know, to prevent the good which is in us from being evil-spoken of; but if the neglect of known duties be the one condition of securing our reputation, why fare it well:—We know whom we have believed, and what we thus lay out he will pay us again. Your son already stands before the judgment-seat of him who judges righteous judgment; at the brightness of whose presence the clouds remove; his eyes are open, and he sees clearly whether it was "Blind zeal and a thorough mistake of true religion, that hurried him on in the error of his way," or whether he acted like a faithful and wise servant, who from a just sense that his time was short, made haste to finish his work before his Lord's coming, that when laid in the ballance he might not be found wanting.

I have now largely and plainly laid before you the real ground of all the strange outcry you have heard; and am not without hope that by

this fairer representation of it than you probably ever received before, both you and the clergyman you formerly mentioned may have a more favourable opinion of a good cause, though under an ill name. Whether you have or no, I shall ever acknowledge my best services to be due to yourself and your family, both for the generous assistance you have given my father, and for the invaluable advantages your son has (under God) bestowed on, Sir, Your, &c.

1735.

*He sets out for Georgia.*

Tuesday, Oct. 14. Mr. Benjamin Ingham, of Queen's-college, Oxford, Mr. Charles Delamotte, son of a merchant in London, who had offered himself some days before, my brother Charles Wesley, and myself, took boat for Gravesend, in order to embark for Georgia. In the afternoon we found the Simmons off Gravesend, and immediately went on board. Wednesday and Thursday we spent with one or two of our friends; partly on board, and partly on shore, in exhorting one another to "shake off every weight, and to run with patience the race set before us."

1736.

*He preaches at Savannah.—Converses with the Indians.*

Sunday, March 7. I entered upon my ministry at Savannah, by preaching on the Epistle for the day, being the xiii. of the First of Corinthians. In the second lesson, Luke xviii. was our Lord's prediction of the treatment which he himself (and consequently his followers) was to meet with from the world; and his gracious promise to those who are content, *Nudi nudum Christum sequi*: "Verily I say unto you, there is no man that hath left house, or friends, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, which shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come everlasting life." Yet notwithstanding these plain declarations of our Lord, notwithstanding my own repeated experience, notwithstanding the experience of all the sincere followers of Christ, whom I have ever talked with, read or heard of; nay, and the reason of the thing, evincing to a demonstration, that all who love not the light must hate him, who is continually labouring, to pour it in upon them; I do here bear witness against myself, that when I saw the number of people crowding into the church, the deep attention with which they received the word, and the seriousness that afterwards sat on all their faces: I could scarce refrain from giving the lie to experience, and reason, and scripture, all together. I could hardly believe that the greater, the far greater part of this attentive, serious people, would hereafter trample under foot that word, and say all manner of evil falsely of him that spake it. O who can believe, what their heart abhors? Jesus, Master, have mercy on us! Let us love thy cross! Then shall we believe, "If we suffer with thee, we shall also reign with thee!"

Not finding as yet any door open, for the pursuing our main design,



we considered, in what manner we might be most useful to the little flock at Savannah. And we agreed, 1st, To advise the more serious among them, to form themselves into a sort of little society, and to meet once or twice a week, in order to reprove, instruct and exhort one another. 2. To select out of these a smaller number for a more intimate union with each other, which might be forwarded, partly by our conversing singly with each, and partly by inviting them all together to our house, and this accordingly we determined to do every Sunday in the afternoon.

Wednesday, June 30. I hoped a door was opened, for going up immediately to the Choctaws, the least polished, i. e. the least corrupted of all the Indian nations. But upon my informing Mr. Oglethorpe of our design, he objected, not only the danger of being intercepted, or killed by the French there; but much more, the inexpediency of leaving Savannah destitute of a minister. These objections I related to our brethren in the evening, who were all of opinion, "We ought not to go yet."

Thursday, July 1. The Indians had an audience, and another on Saturday, when Chicali, their head man, dined with Mr. Oglethorpe. After dinner, I asked the grey-headed old man, "What he thought he was made for?" He said, "He that is above knows what he made us for. We know nothing. We are in the dark. But white men know much. And yet white men build great houses, as if they were to live for ever. But white men can't live for ever. In a little time white men will be dust as well as I." I told him, "If red men will learn the good book, they may know as much as white men. But neither we nor you can understand that book, unless we are taught by him that is above: and he will not teach, unless you avoid what you already know is not good." He answered, "I believe that; he will not teach us while our hearts are not white. And our men do what they know is not good. They kill their own children. And our women do what they know is not good. They kill the child before it is born. Therefore he that is above, does not send us the good book."

1737.

*Religious Discourse at a Visitation.—Negroes.—Young People.—  
Mr. Wesley returns to England.*

Friday, April 22. It being the time of their annual visitation, I had the pleasure of meeting with the clergy of South-Carolina: among whom in the afternoon there was such a conversation for several hours on "Christ our righteousness," as I had not heard at any visitation in England, or hardly on any other occasion.

Saturday 23. Mentioning to Mr. Thompson, minister of St. Bartholomew's, near Ponpon, my being disappointed of a passage home by water, he offered me one of his horses, if I would go by land, which I gladly accepted of. He went with me twenty miles, and sent his servant to guide me the other twenty to his house. Finding a young negroe there, who seemed more sensible than the rest, I asked her how long she

had been in Carolina? She said, two or three years; but that she was born in Barbadoes, and had lived there in a minister's family from a child. I asked, Whether she went to church there? She said, Yes, every Sunday,—to carry my mistress's children. I asked what she had learned at church? She said, "Nothing: I heard a deal; but did not understand it." But what did your master teach you at home? Nothing. Nor your mistress? No. I asked, "But don't you know, that your hands and feet, and this you call your body, will turn to dust in a little time? She answered, Yes. But there is something in you that will not turn to dust, and this is what they call your soul. Indeed, you can't see your soul, though it is within you, as you can't see the wind, though it is all about you. But if you had not a soul in you, you could no more see, or hear, or feel, than this table can. What do you think will become of your soul, when your body turns to dust? "I don't know." Why, it will go out of your body, and go up there, above the sky, and live always. God lives there. Do you know who God is? No. You can't see him any more than you can see your own soul. It is he that made you and me, and all men and women, and all beasts and birds, and all the world. It is he that makes the sun shine, and rain fall, and corn and fruits to grow out of the ground. He makes all these for us. But what do you think he made us, what did he make you and me for? "I can't tell." He made you to live with himself above the sky. And so you will, in a little time,—if you are good, when your body dies, your soul will go up, and want nothing, and have whatever you can desire. No one will beat or hurt you there. You will never be sick. You will never be sorry any more, nor afraid of any thing. I can't tell you, I don't know how happy you will be; for you will be with God. The attention with which this poor creature listened to instruction is inexpressible. The next day she remembered all, readily answer'd every question; and said, "She would ask him that made her, to shew her how to be good."

Sunday 24. I preached twice at Ponpon-chapel, on the 13th chapter of the 1st epistle to the Corinthians. O how will even these men of Carolina, who come eight, ten, or twelve miles to hear the gospel, rise in judgment against those who hear it not, when it is preached at their own doors!

Wednesday 27. I came to Mr. Belinger's plantation at Chulifinny, where the rain kept me till Friday. Here I met with an half Indian, (one that had an Indian mother, and a Spanish father) and several negroes, who were very desirous of instruction. One of them said, "When I was at Ashley-Ferrey, I went to church every Sunday. But here we are buried in the woods. Though if there was any church within five or six miles, I am so lame, I can't walk, but I would crawl thither." Mr. Belinger sent a negroe-lad with me to Purrysburg, or rather to the poor remains of it. O how hath God stretched over this place "the lines of confusion, and the stones of emptiness!" Alas for those whose lives were here vilely cast away. This lad too I found both very desirous and very capable of instruction. And perhaps one of the easiest and shortest ways, to instruct the American negroes in Christianity,

would be first to enquire after and find out, some of the most serious of the planters. Then having inquired of them, which of their slaves were best inclined, and understood English, to go to them from plantation to plantation, staying as long as appeared necessary at each. Three or four gentlemen in Carolina I have been with, that would be sincerely glad of such an assistant; who might pursue his work with no more hindrances than must every where attend the preaching of the gospel.

May 29. Being Whitsunday, four of our scholars, after having been instructed daily for several weeks, were at their earnest and repeated desire, admitted to the Lord's table. I trust their zeal hath stirred up many to remember their Creator in the days of their youth, and to redeem the time, even in the midst of an evil and adulterous generation. Indeed about this time, we observed the Spirit of God to move upon the minds of many of the children. They began more carefully to attend to the things that were spoken both at home and at church, and a remarkable seriousness appeared in their whole behaviour and conversation.

October the 7th, I consulted my friends, whether God did not call me, to return to England? the reason for which I left it had now no force; there being no possibility as yet of instructing the Indians. And as to Savannah, having never engaged myself, either by word or letter, to stay there a day longer than I should judge convenient, nor even taken charge of the people any otherwise, than as in my passage to the Heathens, I looked upon myself to be fully discharged therefrom, by the vacating of that design. Besides, there was a probability of doing more service to that unhappy people, in England than I could do in Georgia, by representing without fear or favour, to the trustees, the real state the colony was in.

Friday, December 2. I left Georgia, after having preached the gospel there (not as I ought, but as I was able) one year, and nearly nine months.

1738.

*He visits Hernhuth in Germany—The Constitution of the Church there, as it was in the Year 1733—He returns to England—Preaches frequently—Northampton Narrative.*

Wednesday, June 7. I determined, if God should permit, to retire for a short time into Germany. I had fully proposed before I left Georgia so to do, if it should please God to bring me back to Europe. I hoped the conversing with those holy men<sup>a</sup>, who were themselves living witnesses of the full power of faith, and yet able to bear with those that are weak, would be a means, under God, of so establishing my soul, that I might go on from faith to faith, and from strength to strength.

Tuesday August 1. I came to Hernhuth, about thirty English miles

<sup>a</sup> This was the opinion Mr. Wesley had formed of them, from those he had already conversed with in the ship in his passage to America.

from Dresden. It lies in Upper Lusatia, on the border of Bohemia, and contains about an hundred houses, built on a rising ground.

On Friday and Saturday (and so every day in the following week) I had much conversation with the most experienced of the brethren, concerning the great work which God had wrought in their souls, purifying them by faith: and with Martin Dober, and the other teachers and elders of the church, concerning the discipline used therein.

The sermon which Christian David preached, concerning the ground of our faith, made such an impression upon me, that when I went home, I could not but write down the substance of it, [part of] which follows:

“The word of reconciliation which the apostles preached, as the foundation of all they taught, was, that we are reconciled to God, not by our own works, nor by our own righteousness, but wholly and solely by the blood of Christ. But you will say, must I not grieve and mourn for my sins? must I not humble myself before God? is not this just and right? and must I not first do this before I can expect God to be reconciled to me? I answer, it is just and right. You must be humbled before God. You must have a broken and contrite heart. But then observe, this is not your own work. Do you grieve that you are a sinner? this is the work of the Holy Ghost. Are you contrite? are you humbled before God? do you indeed mourn, and is your heart broken within you? all this worketh the self-same Spirit. Observe again, this is not the foundation. It is not this by which you are justified. This is not the righteousness, this is no part of the righteousness by which you are reconciled unto God. You grieve for your sins. You are deeply humble. Your heart is broken. Well. But all this is nothing to your justification. Understand this well. To think you must be more contrite, more humble, more grieved, more sensible of the weight of sin, before you can be justified; is, to lay your contrition, your grief, your humiliation for the foundation of your being justified; at least for a part of the foundation. The foundation is, not your contrition (though that is not your own) not your righteousness, nothing of your own: nothing that is wrought in you by the Holy Ghost; but it is something without you, viz. the righteousness and the blood of Christ. For this is the word, “To him that believeth on God that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.” See ye not, that the foundation is nothing in us? There is no connexion between God and the ungodly. There is no tie to unite them. They are altogether separate from each other. They have nothing in common. There is nothing less or more in the ungodly, to join them to God. Works, righteousness, contrition? No. Ungodliness only. This then do, if you will lay a right foundation. Go straight to Christ with all your ungodliness. Tell him, thou whose eyes are as a flame of fire searching my heart, seest that I am ungodly. I plead nothing else. I do not say, I am humble or contrite; but I am ungodly. Therefore bring me to him that justifieth the ungodly. Let thy blood be the propitiation for me. For there is nothing in me but ungodliness. Here is a mystery. Here the wise men of the world are lost, are taken in their own craftiness. This the learn-

ed of the world cannot comprehend. This is the word of reconciliation which we preach. This is the foundation which never can be moved. By faith we are built upon this foundation: and this faith also is the gift of God. It is his free gift, which he now and ever giveth to every one that is willing to receive it. And when they have received this gift of God, then their hearts will melt for sorrow that they have offended him. But this gift of God lives in the heart, not in the head. The faith of the head, learned from men or books, [if alone] is nothing worth. It brings neither remission of sins, nor peace with God. Labour then to believe with your whole heart. So shall you have redemption through the blood of Christ. So shall you be cleansed from all sin. So shall ye go on from strength to strength, being renewed day by day in righteousness and all true holiness."

*Here Mr. WESLEY inserts an Extract of the Constitution of the Church of the Moravian Brethren at Hernhuth, laid before the Theological Order at Wirtemberg, in the Year 1733. [Part of which follows.]*

1. THEY have a senior, or eldest, who is to assist the church by his counsel and prayers. Of him it is required, that he be well experienced in the things of God, and witnessed to by all for holiness of conversation. 2. They have deacons, or helpers, who are to take care that outward things be done decently and in order; and to see that every member of the church grows in grace, and walks suitably to his holy calling. 3. The pastor, or teacher, is to be an overseer of the whole flock, and every person therein; to baptize the children; diligently to form their minds, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord: when he finds in them a sincere love of the cross, then to receive them into the church: to administer the supper of the Lord: to join in marriage those who are already married to Christ: to reprove, admonish, quicken, comfort, as need requires: to declare the whole counsel of God: taking heed at all times, to speak as the oracles of God, and agreeably to the analogy of faith: to bury those who have died in the Lord, and to keep that safe which is committed to his charge, even the pure doctrine and apostolical discipline which we have received from our fore-fathers. 4. We have also another sort of deacons, who take care that nothing be wanting to the Orphan-house, the poor, the sick, and the strangers. Others again there are, who are peculiarly to take care of the sick; and others of the poor. And two of these are intrusted with the public stock, and keep accounts of all that is received or expended. 5. There are women who perform each of the above-mentioned offices among those of their own sex: for none of the men converse with them, beside the eldest, the teacher, and one, or sometimes two of the deacons. 6. Towards magistrates, whether of a superior or inferior rank, we bear the greatest reverence. We cheerfully submit to their laws; and even when many of us have been spoiled of their goods, driven out of their houses, and

every way oppress by them, yet they resisted them not, neither opening their mouths, nor lifting up their hand against them. In all things which do not immediately concern the inward, spiritual kingdom of Christ, we simply, and without contradicting, obey the higher powers. But, with regard to conscience, the liberty of this we cannot suffer to be any way limited or infringed. And to this head we refer whatever directly and in itself tends to hinder the salvation of souls: or, whatsoever things Christ and his holy apostles (who we know meddled not with outward worldly things) took charge of, and performed, as necessary for the constituting and well-ordering of his church. In these things we acknowledge no head but Christ; and are determined, God being our helper, to give up not only our goods (as we did before) but life itself, rather than this liberty which God hath given us. 7. As it behoves all Christians not to be slothful in business, but diligently to attend the works of their calling; there are persons chosen by the church, to superintend all those who are employed in outward business. And by this means also, many things are prevented which might otherwise be an occasion of offence. 8. We have also censors and monitors. In those experience and perspicacity; in these wisdom and modesty are chiefly required. The censors signify what they observe (and they observe the smallest things) either to the deacons or monitors. Some monitors there are, whom all know to be such; others who are secretly appointed; and who, if need require, may freely admonish in the love of Christ, even the rulers of the church. 9. The church is so divided, that first the husbands, then the wives, then the widows, then the maids, then the young men, then the boys, then the girls, and lastly, the little children, are in so many distinct classes: each of which is daily visited, the married men by a married man, the wives by a wife, and so of the rest<sup>a</sup>. These larger are also (now) divided into near ninety smaller classes or bands, over each of which one presides who is of the greatest experience. All these leaders meet the senior every week, and lay open to him and to the Lord, whatsoever hinders or furthers the work of God, in the souls committed to their charge. 10. In the year 1727, four and twenty men, and as many women agreed, that each of them would spend an hour in every day, in praying to God for his blessing on his people; and, for this purpose, both the men and women chose a place, where any of their own sex who were in distress might be present with them. The same number of unmarried women, of unmarried men, of boys, and of girls, were afterwards, at their desire, added to them; who pour out their souls before God, not only for their own brethren, but also for other churches and persons, that have desired to be mentioned in their prayers. And this has never ceased day or night, since its first beginning. 11. And as the members of the church are divided, according to their respective states and sexes; so they are also, with regard to their proficiency in the knowledge of God. Some are dead, some quickened by the Spirit of God: of these, some

<sup>a</sup> This work all the married brethren and sisters, as well as the unmarried, perform in their turns.

again are untractable, some diligent, some zealous, burning with their first love; some babes, and some young men. Those who are still dead, are visited every day. And of the babes in Christ especial care is taken also, that they may be daily inspected and assisted to grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus. 12. In the Orphan-house, about seventy children are brought up, separate according to their sex. Beside which, several experienced persons are appointed to consult with the parents, touching the education of the other children. In teaching them Christianity, we make use of Luther's Catechism, and study the amending their wills as well as understanding; finding by experience, that when their will is moved, they often learn more in a few hours, than otherwise in many months. Our little children we instruct chiefly by hymns; whereby we find the most important truths most successfully insinuated into their minds. 13. We highly reverence marriage, but neither our young men nor women enter into it till they assuredly know they are married to Christ. When any know it is the will of God, that they should change their state, both the man and woman are placed for a time with some married persons, who instruct them how to behave, so that their married life may be pleasing to God. Then their design is laid before the whole church, and after about fourteen days, they are solemnly joined, tho' not otherwise habited, than they are at other times. If they make any entertainment (which is not always) they invite only a few intimate friends, by whose faithful admonitions they may be the better prepared to bear their cross, and fight the good fight of faith. If any woman is with child, not only especial mention is made of her in the public prayers, but she is also exhorted in private, wholly to give herself up into the hands of her faithful Creator. As soon as a child is born, prayer is made for it, and if it may be, it is baptized in the presence of the whole church. Before it is weaned, it is brought into the assembly on the Lord's days. \* \* \* \* \*

15. Once or twice a month, either at Bertholdsdorf, or if it may be, at Hernhuth, all the church receives the Lord's supper. It cannot be expressed how greatly the power of God is then present among us. The seniors first receive; then the rest in order, without any regard had to worldly dignity, in this, any more than in any other of the solemn offices of religion. After receiving all the men (and so the women) meet together, to renew their covenant with God, to seek his face, and exhort one another to the patience of hope and the labour of love. \* \* \*

17. At eight in the morning, and in the evening we meet to pray to and praise God, and to read and hear the holy scriptures: the time we usually spend in sleep, is from eleven at night 'till four in the morning. So that allowing three hours a day for taking the food both of our bodies and souls, there remain sixteen for work. And this space those who are in health spend therein, with all diligence and faithfulness. 18. Two men keep watch every night in the streets, as do two women, in the women's apartment: that they may pour out their souls for those that sleep; and by their hymns raise the hearts of any who are awake to God. 19. For the further stirring up the gift

which is in us, sometimes we have public, sometimes private love-feasts: at which we take a moderate refreshment, with gladness and singleness of heart, and the voice of praise and thanksgiving. 20. If any man among us, having been often admonished, and long forbore, persists in walking unworthy of his holy calling, he is no longer admitted to the Lord's supper. If he still continues in his fault, hating to be reformed, the last step is, publicly, and often in the midst of many prayers and tears, to cast him out of our congregation. But great is our joy, if he then see the error of his ways, so that we may receive him among us again. 21. Most of our brethren and sisters, have in some part of their life, experienced holy mourning and sorrow of heart; and have afterwards been assured, that there was no more condemnation for them, being passed from death unto life. They are therefore far from fearing to die, or desiring to live on earth; knowing that to them to die is gain, and being confident that they are the care of him, whose are the issues of life and death. Wherefore they depart as out of one chamber into another. And after the soul has left its habitation, their remains are deposited in the earth, appointed for that purpose. And the survivors are greatly comforted, and rejoice over them, with a joy the world knoweth not of<sup>a</sup>.

a That other friends of religion as well as Mr. Wesley, thought favourably of these people at the first, and judged their ministrations in some instances to be subservient to the success of the gospel, will appear from the two following passages.

1. [ *From Mr. WILLISON's Testimony,*  
1744. ]

"Near to the same time (viz. of the Saltz-burgers) or about the year 1735 or 1736, the Lord poured out his Spirit on many in Moravia, another country in Germany, to enlighten them in the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and inspire them with extraordinary zeal to propagate it to others; in so much, that count Zinzendorf, bishop of the Moravian church, hath sent forth his missionaries to preach the gospel, not only in Germany and other parts of Europe, but in many places of the Heathen world, where they call the Indians, the Negroes, Hottentots and Greenlanders, to the knowledge of a crucified Christ; and we are told of the great success of their ministry: and the count himself travels and preaches in very many different and remote places; tho' it is matter of regret to hear that those zealous preachers of Christ are tainted with several errors; and so indeed were several of our reformers at the first. May the Lord purge them from all error whatsoever."

2. [ *From Mr. ROBE's Monthly History,*  
February, 1744. ]

From two Letters of some Negroes in the American Island of St. Thomas, belonging to the king of Denmark, which are brought to the Communion of the Gospel of our

blest Lord and Saviour, and baptized by the Ministry of some Moravian Brethren. *From Letter first, from the whole Congregation to the King of Denmark.*

"Most gracious king, we are now in hope, your royal majesty, will give order, that the doctrine of our Lord Jesus may be still propagated among us. We stand hitherto fast after the good pleasure of God, whereas we are very much oppressed of all. They come to beat and cut us when we learn something about our Saviour; they burn our books, and reject our baptism, they miscall the brethren for beasts, saying a Negroe ought not to be baptized, and a baptized Negroe be like a piece of burnt wood in hell. For three months ago they have brought our brethren especially Mr. Martin (whom the Lord hath blessed to us all, and who of twenty brethren that died, alone is left) and his brethren into the castle, and have a mind to drive them out of the land. They all pretend your majesty's order, saying you have prohibited the Negroes to come to the knowledge of the Saviour, and that you would soon drive Mr. Martin from us. But we don't believe that, and have therefore sent two brethren to you, in order to get notice thereabout, viz. Jens Basing and Andries, deacons of the congregation of Negroes, praying you'll give us leave to come to know the saviour, and to stay with the congregation of the brethren, because we will go along with them to the Saviour. We will be obedient to our masters in all things, and only direct our souls towards Heaven to the Lord Jesus; for we stole be-



Sunday, September 17. I began again to declare in my own country the glad tidings of salvation, preaching three times, and afterwards expounding the holy scripture to a large company in the Minories. On Monday I rejoiced to meet with our little society, which now consisted of thirty-two persons. The next day I went to the condemned felons in Newgate, and offered them free salvation. In the evening I went to a society in Bear-Yard, and preached repentance and remission of sins. The next evening at a society in Aldersgate-street. Some contradicted at first; but not long: so that nothing but love appeared at our parting.

On Monday 9. I set out for Oxford. In walking I read the truly surprising Narrative of the conversions lately wrought in and about the town of Northampton in New-England. Surely this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

1739.

*Field Preaching.*—*Many wounded in Spirit.*—*Newgate.*—*Warning against relying on bodily Effects.*—*Nature of the Doctrines preached.*—*Prayer heard.*—*Gross Sinners reformed.*—*Ignorance in some Parts of Wales.*—*Letter of Approbation from one formerly prejudiced.*—*Kingswood.*

Thursday, March 29. I left London, and in the evening expounded to a small company at Basingstoke. Saturday 31. In the evening I

fore from our masters, were away to Porto Rico, have been lazy, and have cheated our masters; but now it is quite otherwise with us, as our masters themselves know very well. Many Negroes (before) have suffered, with the utmost courage, their hands and feet to be cut off for their misbehaviours and crimes. Now we will fain lay down our life for the Saviour's sake and his church, if our masters will kill us as they say. The Lord blefs our most gracious king a thousand times. Written at St. Thomas, Feb. 15th, 1739, in name of above six hundred and fifty Negroes, disciples of Jesus Christ, which Mr. Martin teacheth, especially them whom he hath baptized.

Peter. Abraham. Madlena. Mattatine. Mungo. Andries. Rebecca. Anna-Maria.

*From Letter second, from a Negro Woman to the Queen of Denmark.*

"In Popo I worshipped one lord Mau after the manner of my ancestors;—I neither knew nor loved him.—Now I hear that it is the Lord Jesus who giveth me salvation: him my soul loveth, and now when I have a mind to worship and love him with all my heart, the blanks [thus they call the white people or pretended Christians] will not permit it. Formerly we stole away from our masters, ran away from them to Porto Rico to the Spaniards: for these and other wickednesses we got our deserved stripes, but now we fain will do it no more, and

yet we are so badly used of the blanks. Whereas the blanks will not love our Lord Jesus, yet they may do so, but me and two hundred and fifty Negroe women they shall not hinder it. Remember most gracious queen the sighs of the poor Negroe women whose souls I bind on your motherly heart. I am ready for the sake of Jesus to let them cast my head under belly, and suffer all things for his names sake."

ANNA VAN POPO.

[ But alas! how promising soever the first zeal of the Moravians was; whatever good any of their missionaries have been made the instruments of; and whatever may still be said in favours of many of their people, as distinguished from their leaders; notwithstanding of all this, it is certain that very dreadful errors and corruptions have broke out among them. Against which both Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitefield, as well as several others, have given a public testimony. Mr. Wesley so early as 1744, in his fourth Journal, and Mr. Whitefield in his Expostulatory Letter. See also the Account of Andrew Frey, who was for some time a member of their community. May the Lord yet enlighten and purify them, by his Holy Spirit for Christ's sake, and make them observe his blessed word as the only rule. And may he prevent their doing farther hurt to the glorious cause which they seem, in some of the above instances, to have been zealous

reached Bristol, and met Mr. Whitefield there. I could scarce reconcile myself at first to this strange way of preaching in the fields, of which he set me an example on Sunday: having been all my life (till very lately) so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that I should have thought the saving of souls almost a sin, if it had not been in a church.

Bristol, April 1. In the evening (Mr. Whitefield being gone) I begun expounding our Lord's sermon on the mount (one pretty remarkable precedent of field-preaching, I suppose there were churches at that time also) to a little society which was accustomed to meet once or twice a week in Nicholas-street.

Monday 2. At four in the afternoon, I submitted to be more vile, and proclaimed in the highways the glad tidings of salvation, speaking from a little eminence in a ground adjoining to the city, to about three thousand people. The scripture on which I spoke was this, (Is it possible, any one should be ignorant, that it is fulfilled in every true minister of Christ?) "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor. He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind: to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

Tuesday 17. At five in the afternoon, I was at a little society in the Back-lane. The room in which we were was propped beneath; but the weight of people made the floor give way, so that in the beginning of the expounding the post which propped it fell down with a great noise. But the floor sunk no further, so that after a little surprize at first they quietly attended to the things that were spoken. Thence I went to Baldwin-street, and expounded as it came in course the iv. chap. of the Acts. We then called upon God, to confirm his word. Immediately one that stood by (to our no small surprize) cried out aloud, with the utmost vehemence, even as in the agonies of death. But we continued in prayer, till a new song was put in her mouth, a thanksgiving unto our God. Soon after, two other persons (well known in this place, as labouring to live in all good conscience towards all men) were seized with strong pain, and constrained to roar for the disquietness of their heart. But it was not long before they likewise burst forth into praise to God their Saviour. The last who called upon God as out of the belly of hell, was I——E——, a stranger in Bristol. And in a short space he also was overwhelmed with joy and love, knowing that God had healed his backslidings.

Saturday 21. At Weavers-hall a young man was suddenly seized with a violent trembling all over; and, in a few minutes, the sorrows of his heart being enlarged, sunk down to the ground. But we ceased not calling upon God, till he raised him up full of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.

Thursday 25. While I was preaching at Newgate on these words,

<p>to promote. O that they would rightly consider that scripture, Matth. xviii. 7. "It must needs be that offences come; but wo</p>	<p>to that man by whom the offence cometh." The Lord grant them repentance, that they may not lye under such condemnation. ]</p>
---	--

"He that believeth hath everlasting life;" I was insensibly led, without any previous design, to declare strongly and explicitly, That God willeth all men to be thus saved; and to pray that "If this were not the truth of God, he would not suffer the blind to go out of the way; but if it were, he would bear witness to his word." Immediately one and another and another sunk to the earth: they dropped on every side as thunderstruck. One of them cried aloud. We besought God in her behalf, and he turned her heaviness into joy. A second being in the same agony, we called upon God for her also; and he spoke peace unto her soul. In the evening I was again prest in spirit to declare, that Christ gave himself a ransom for all. And almost before we called upon him, to set to his seal, he answered; one was so wounded by the sword of the Spirit, that you would have imagined she could not live a moment. But immediately his abundant kindness was shewed, and she loudly sang of his righteousness.

Monday 29. We understood that many were offended at the cries of those on whom the power of God came: among whom was a physician, who was much afraid, there might be fraud or imposture in the case. To-day one whom he had known many years, was the first (while I was preaching in Newgate) who broke out into strong cries and tears. He could hardly believe his own eyes and ears. He went and stood close to her, and observed every symptom, 'till great drops of sweat ran down her face, and all her bones shook. He then knew not what to think, being clearly convinced, it was not fraud, nor yet any natural disorder. But when both her soul and body were healed in a moment, he acknowledged the finger of God.

Tuesday, May 1. Many were offended again, and indeed, much more than before. For at Baldwin-street my voice could scarce be heard, amidst the groanings of some, and the cries of others, calling aloud to him that is mighty to save. I desired all that were sincere of heart, to beseech with me the Prince exalted for us, that he would proclaim deliverance to the captives. And he soon shewed that he heard our voice. Many of those who had been long in darkness, saw the dawn of a great light: and ten persons (I afterwards found) then began to say in faith, "My Lord and my God!"

Tuesday 15. As I was expounding in the Back-lane, on the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, many who had before been righteous in their own eyes, abhorred themselves as in dust and ashes. But two, who seemed to be more deeply convinced than the rest, did not long sorrow as men without hope; but found in that hour, that they had an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: as did three others in Gloucester-lane the evening before, and three at Baldwin-street this evening. About ten, two who, after having seen a great light, had again [falsely] reasoned themselves into darkness, came to us, heavy-laden. We cried to God, and they were again filled with peace and joy in believing.

Wednesday 16. While I was declaring at Baptist-mills, "He was wounded for our transgressions," a middle-aged man began violently beating his breast, and crying to him by whose stripes we are healed.

During our prayer, God put a new song in his mouth. Some mocked, others owned the hand of God; particularly a woman of Bap ist-mills, who was now convinced of her own want of an advocate with God, and went home full of anguish, but was in a few hours filled with joy, knowing he had blotted out all her transgressions.

During this whole time, I was almost continually asked, either by those who purposely came to Bristol, to enquire concerning this strange work, or by my old or new correspondents, "How can these things be?" And innumerable cautions were given me (generally grounded on gross misrepresentations of things) "Not to regard visions or dreams, or to fancy people had remission of sins, because of their cries or tears, or bare outward professions." To one who had many times wrote to me on this head, my answer was [in part] as follows: "The question between us turns chiefly, if not wholly on matter of fact. You deny, that God does now work these effects: at least, that he works them in this manner. I affirm both; because I have heard these things with my own ears, and seen them with my eyes. I have seen (as far as a thing of this kind can be seen) very many persons changed in a moment, from the spirit of fear, horror, despair, to the spirit of love, joy and peace; and from sinful desire till then reigning over them, to a pure desire of doing the will of God. These are matters of fact, whereof I have been, and almost daily am, an eye or ear-witness. What I have to say, touching visions or dreams is this: I know several persons in whom this great change was wrought, in a dream, or during a strong representation to the eye of their mind, of Christ either on the cross or in glory. This is the fact; let any judge of it as they please. And that such a change was then wrought, appears (not from their shedding tears only, or falling into fits, or crying out: these are not the fruits, as you seem to suppose, whereby I judge) but from the whole tenor of their life, 'till then many ways wicked; from that time, holy, just and good. I will shew you him that was a lion 'till then, and is now a lamb; him that was a drunkard, and is now exemplarily sober: the whoremonger that was, who now abhors the very garment spotted by the flesh. If it be not so, I am found a false witness before God.

[As to the effects on their bodies, which accompanied the concern that was upon their minds; many ascribed these to other causes, saying,] "The people fainted away, only because of the heat and closeness of the rooms." And others were sure, "It was all a cheat: they might help it if they would. Else why were these things only in their private societies? Why were they not done in the face of the sun?" To-day, Monday 21. [This objection was removed.] For while I was enforcing these words, "Be still and know that I am God," he began to make bare his arm, not in a close room, neither in private, but in the open air, and before more than two thousand witnesses. One and another, and another, was struck to the earth, exceedingly trembling at the presence of his power. Others cried, with a loud and bitter cry, "What must we do to be saved?" And in less than an hour, seven persons, wholly unknown to me till that time, were rejoicing and singing, and with all their might giving thanks to the God of their

salvation. In the evening, I was interrupted at Nicholas-street, almost as soon as I had begun to speak, by the cries of one who was pricked at the heart, and strongly groaned for pardon and peace. Yet I went on to declare what God had already done, in proof of that important truth, "that he is not willing any should perish, but that all should come to repentance." Another person dropped down, close to one who was a strong assertor of the contrary doctrine. While he stood astonished at the sight, a little boy near him was seized in the same manner. A young man who stood behind, fixed his eyes on him, and sunk down himself as one dead. Mean while many others began to cry out to the Saviour, that he would come and help them. We continued in prayer; and, before ten, the greater part found rest to their souls. I was called from supper to one who feeling in herself such a conviction as she never had known before, had run out of the society in all haste, that she might not expose herself. But the hand of God followed her still, so that after going a few steps, she was forced to be carried home, and when she was there, grew worse and worse. She was in a violent agony when we came. We called upon God, and her soul found rest. About twelve I was greatly importuned to go and visit one person more. She had only one struggle after I came, and was then filled with peace and joy. I think twenty-nine, in all, had their heaviness turned into joy this day.

Monday 28. I began preaching at Weaver's-hall, at eleven in the forenoon; where two persons were enabled to cry out in faith, "My Lord and my God!" As were seven, during the sermon in the afternoon, before several thousand witnesses; and ten in the evening at Baldwin-street; of whom two were children.

Tuesday 29. I was unknowingly engaged in conversation with a famous infidel, a confirmer of the unfaithful in these parts. He appeared a little surprized, and said, "He would pray to God to shew him the true way of worshipping him."

Friday, June 22. I called on one who did run well, till he was hindered by some of those called French Prophets. "Wo unto the prophets, saith the Lord, who prophesy in my name, and I have not sent them." At Weavers-hall, I endeavoured to point them out, and earnestly exhorted all that followed after holiness, to avoid, as fire, all who do not speak according to the law and the testimony. In the afternoon I preached at the Fish-ponds, but had no life or spirit in me; and was much in doubt, whether God would not lay me aside, and send other labourers into his harvest. I came to the society full of this thought; and began, in much weakness, to explain, "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they be of God." I told them, "They were not to judge of the spirit, whereby any one spoke, either by appearances, or by common report, or by their own inward feelings. No nor by any dreams, visions or revelations, supposed to be made to their souls, any more than by their tears, or any involuntary effects wrought upon their bodies." I warned them, all these were in themselves, of a doubtful, disputable nature: they might be from God; and they might not; and were therefore not simply to be

relied on (any more than simply to be condemned) but to be tried by a farther rule, to be brought to the only certain test, the law and the testimony." While I was speaking, one before me dropt down as dead, and presently a second and a third. Five others sunk down in half an hour, most of whom were in violent agonies. "The pains as of hell came about them; the snares of death overtook them." In their trouble we called upon the Lord, and he gave us an answer of peace. One indeed continued an hour in strong pain; and one or two more for three days. But the rest were greatly comforted in that hour, and went away rejoicing and praising God.

Saturday 23. I spoke severally with those who had been so troubled the night before. Some of them, I found, were only convinced of sin; others had indeed found rest to their souls. This evening another was seized with strong pangs. But in a short time her soul also was delivered.

Saturday 30. At Weaver's-hall, seven or eight persons were constrained to roar aloud, while the sword of the Spirit was dividing asunder their souls and spirits, and joints and marrow. But they were all relieved upon prayer, and sang praises unto our God, and unto the Lamb that liveth for ever and ever.

I gave a particular account, from time to time of the manner wherein God here carried on his work to those whom I believed to desire the increase of his kingdom, with whom I had an opportunity of corresponding. Part of the answer, which I received (some time after) from one of these I cannot but here subjoin.—"I desire to bless the Lord, for the good and great news your letter bears, about the Lord's turning many souls from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; and that such a great and effectual door is opened among you, as the many adversaries cannot shut. O may "He that hath the keys of the house of David, that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth," set the door of faith more and more open among you, 'till his house be filled, and till he gather together the outcasts of Israel. And may that prayer for the adversaries be heard, "Fill their faces with shame, that they may seek thy name, O Lord." As to the outward manner you speak of, wherein most of them were affected, who were cut to the heart by the sword of the Spirit, no wonder that this was at first surprizing to you, since they are indeed so very rare, that have been thus pricked and wounded. Yet some of the instances you give, seem to be exemplified, in the outward manner wherein Paul and the Jailor were at first affected: as also Peter's hearers, Acts ii. The last instance you gave, of some struggling as in the agonies of death, and in such a manner as that four or five strong men can hardly restrain a weak woman from hurting herself or others: this is to me somewhat more inexplicable: if it do not resemble the child spoke of, Mark ix. 26. and Luke ix. 42. of whom it is said, that "while he was yet a coming, the devil threw him down and tare him." Or what influence sudden and sharp awakenings may have upon the body I pretend not to explain. But I make no question Satan, so far as he gets power, may exert himself on such occasions, partly to

hinder the good work in the persons who are thus touched with the sharp arrows of conviction, and partly to disparage the work of God, as if it tended to lead people to distraction.—However, the merciful issue of these conflicts in the conversion of the persons thus affected, is the main thing. When they are brought, by the saving arm of God, to receive Christ Jesus, to have joy and peace in believing, and then to walk in him, and give evidence that the work is a saving work at length, whether more quickly or gradually accomplished, there is great matter of praise.—All the outward appearances of peoples being affected among us, may be reduced to these two sorts; one is, hearing with a close, silent attention, with gravity and greediness, discovered by fixt looks, weeping eyes, and sorrowful or joyful countenances: another sort is, when they lift up their voice aloud, some more depressedly, and others more highly; and, at times, the whole multitude in a flood of tears, all as it were crying out at once, 'till their voice be ready to drown the minister's, that he can scarce be heard for the weeping noise that surrounds him<sup>a</sup>.—The influence on some of these, like a land-flood, dries up; we hear of no change wrought. But in others, it appears in the fruits of righteousness, and the tract of a holy conversation. May the Lord strengthen you to go on in his work! And in praying for the coming of his kingdom with you and us, and I hope you shall not be forgotten among us, in our joint applications to the throne of grace. I am, Reverend Dear Sir,

Your very affectionate Brother and Servant in Christ,

RALPH ERSKINE.

Sunday, July 1. At Hannam, and at Rose-Green, I explained the latter part of the vii. of Luke: that verse especially, "When they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both." A young woman sunk down at Rose-Green, in a violent agony both of body and mind: as did five or six persons in the evening at the New-Room, at whose cries many were greatly offended. The same offence was given in the morning by one at Weavers-hall, and by eight or nine others, at Gloucester-lane in the evening. The first that was deeply touched was L—W—, whose mother had been not a little displeased a day or two before, when she was told how her daughter had exposed herself before all the congregation: the mother herself was the next who dropped down; but went home with her daughter, full of joy, as did most of those that had been in pain.

Saturday 7. I had an opportunity to talk with Mr. Whitefield of those outward signs, which had so often accompanied the inward work of God. I found his objections were chiefly grounded on gross misrepresentations of matter of fact. But the next day he had an opportunity of informing himself better. For no sooner had he begun (in the application of his sermon) to invite all sinners to believe in Christ, than four persons sunk down close to him, almost in the same moment. One of them lay without either sense or motion. A second trembled

<sup>a</sup> The Compiler is credibly informed, that many years ago there was uncommon concern at some communions, where Mess. E. and R. ERSKINE, and their brethren, assisted.

exceedingly. The third had strong convulsions all over his body, but made no noise, unless by groans. The fourth, equally convulsed, called upon God, with strong cries and tears. From this time, I trust, we shall all suffer God to carry on his own work in the way that pleaseth him.

Thursday 13. I went to a gentleman who is much troubled with what they call lowness of spirits. Many such I have been with before; but, in several of them, it was no bodily distemper. They wanted something; they knew not what, and were therefore heavy, uneasy, and dissatisfied with every thing. The plain truth is, they wanted God, they wanted Christ, they wanted faith. And God convinced them of their want, in a way their physicians no more understood than themselves. Accordingly nothing availed till the Great Physician came: for, in spite of all natural means, he who made them for himself, would not suffer them to rest, till they rested in him.

Monday, August 27. For two hours I took up my cross, in arguing with a zealous man, and labouring to convince him, "That I was not an enemy to the church of England." He allowed, "I taught no other doctrines than those of the church;" but could not forgive my teaching them out of the church-walls. He allowed too (which none indeed can deny, who has either any regard to truth or sense of shame) that "by this teaching, many souls, who till that time were perishing for lack of knowledge, have been, and are brought from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God." But he added, "No one can tell what may be hereafter; and therefore, I say, these things ought not to be suffered." Indeed the report now current in Bristol was, "That I was a Papist, if not a Jesuit." Some added, "That I was born and bred at Rome;" which many cordially believed. O when will ye understand, that the preaching justification by faith alone, the allowing no meritorious cause of justification, but the death and the righteousness of Christ, and no conditional or instrumental cause, but faith, is overturning Popery from the foundation? When will ye understand, that the most destructive of all those errors, which Rome, the mother of abominations hath brought forth (compared to which transubstantiation and an hundred more, are trifles light as air) is, "That we are justified by works," (or to express the same thing a little more decently) by faith and works. Now, do I preach *THIS*? I did for ten years: I was (fundamentally) a Papist, and knew it not. But I do now testify to all (and it is the very point for asserting which I have to this day been called in question) that "no good works can be done before justification, none which have not in them the nature of sin."

Monday September 3. I talked largely with my mother, who told me, that 'till a short time since, she had scarce heard such a thing mentioned, as the having forgiveness of sins now, or God's Spirit bearing witness with our spirit: much less did she imagine, that this was the common privilege of all true believers. "Therefore (said she) I never durst ask for it myself. But two or three weeks ago, while my son Hall was pronouncing those words, in delivering the cup to me, "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee;" the words struck



through my heart, and I knew God for Christ's sake had forgiven me all my sins." I asked, whether her father (Dr. Annesly) had not the same faith? and, whether she had not heard him preach it to others? she answered, "He had it himself, and declared a little before his death, that for more than forty years, he had no darkness, no fear, no doubt at all, of his being accepted in the beloved. But that nevertheless, she did not remember to have heard him preach, no not once, explicitly upon it: whence she supposed he also looked upon it as the peculiar blessing of a few, not as promised to all the people of God."

Thursday 13. A serious clergyman desired to know, in what points we differed from the church of England? I answered, "To the best of my knowledge, in none: the doctrines we preach, are the doctrines of the church of England: indeed the fundamental doctrines of the church, clearly laid down, both in her prayers, articles, and homilies." He asked, in what points then do you differ from the other clergy of the church of England? I answered, "In none from that part of the clergy who adhere to the doctrines of the church; but from that part of the clergy who dissent from the church (though they own it not) I differ in the points following: First, They speak of justification, either as the same thing with sanctification, or as something consequent upon it. I believe justification to be wholly distinct from sanctification, and necessarily antecedent to it. Secondly, They speak of our own holiness or good works, as the cause of our justification; or, that for the sake of which, on account of which we are justified before God. I believe, neither our own holiness nor good works, are any part of the cause of our justification; but that the death and righteousness of Christ, are the whole and sole cause of it; or that for the sake of which, on account of which, we are justified before God. Thirdly, They speak of good works, as a condition of justification, necessarily previous to it. I believe no good work can be previous to justification, nor consequently a condition of it: but that we are justified, (being 'till that hour ungodly, and therefore incapable of doing any good work) by faith alone, faith without works, faith (tho' producing all, yet) including no good work. Fourthly, They speak of sanctification (or holiness) as if it were an outward thing, as if it consisted chiefly, if not wholly, in these two points, 1. The doing no harm, 2. The doing good (as it is called) i. e. the using the means of grace, and helping our neighbour. I believe it to be, an inward thing, namely, "The life of God in the soul of man; a participation of the divine nature; the mind that was in Christ; or the renewal of our heart, after the image of him that created us." Lastly, They speak of the new birth, as an outward thing, as if it were no more than baptism; or, at most, a change from outward wickedness to outward goodness; from vicious to (what is called) a virtuous life. I believe it to be an inward thing; a change from inward wickedness to inward goodness; an entire change of our inmost nature from the image of the devil, (wherein we are born) to the image of God: a change from the love of the creature to the love of the Creator, from earthly and sensual, to heavenly and holy affections: in a word, a change from the tempers of the spirits of darkness, to those of the angels of God in Heaven.

Tuesday, 12. A young woman came to us at Illington, in such an agony as I have seldom seen. Her sorrow and fear were too big for utterance; so that after a few words, her strength as well as her heart failing, she sunk down to the ground. Only her sighs and groans shewed she was yet alive. We cried unto God in her behalf. We claimed the promises made to the weary and heavy-laden: and he did not cast out our prayer. At Mr. B——'s at six, I was enabled earnestly to call all the weary and heavy-laden: and at Mr. C——'s at eight, when many roared aloud; some of whom utterly refused to be comforted, 'till they should feel their souls at rest in the blood of the Lamb, and have his love shed abroad in their hearts.

Friday 28. I met with a fresh proof, that "whatsoever ye shall ask, believing, ye shall receive." A middle-aged woman desired me to return thanks for her to God, who as many witnesses then present testified, was a day or two before really distracted, and as such tied down in her bed. But upon prayer made for her, she was instantly relieved, and restored to a sound mind.

Wednesday, October 10. Finding many to be in heaviness, whom I had left full of peace and joy, I exhorted them at Baptist-Mills, to "look unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith." We poured out our complaint before him in the evening, and found that he was again with us of a truth. Thursday 11. We were comforted by the coming in of one, who was a notorious drunkard and common swearer. But he is washed, and old things are passed away. "Such power belongeth unto God." In the evening our Lord rose on many who were wounded, "with healing in his wings:" and others who 'till then were careless and at ease, felt the two-edged sword that cometh out of his mouth.

Saturday 20. I returned to Bristol. I have seen no part of England so pleasant for sixty or seventy miles together, as those parts of Wales I have been in. And most of the inhabitants are indeed ripe for the gospel. I mean (if the expression appear strange) they are earnestly desirous of being instructed in it: and as utterly ignorant of it they are, as any Creek or Cherokee Indian. I do not mean they are ignorant of the name of Christ. Many of them can say both the Lord's Prayer and the Belief. Nay, and some, all the Catechism: but take them out of the road of what they have learned by rote, and they know no more (nine in ten of those with whom I conversed) either of gospel-salvation, or of that faith, whereby alone we can be saved, than Chicali or Tomo Chachi. Now, what spirit is he of, who had rather these poor creatures should perish for lack of knowledge, than that they should be saved, even by the exhortations of Howell Harris or an itinerant preacher?

About this time I received a letter from the author of those reflections, which I mentioned July 31. An extract of which I have subjoined.—Rev. Sir, As I wrote the rules and considerations, [in N<sup>o</sup> 25. of *Country Common-Sense*] with an eye to Mr. Whitefield, yourself and your opposers, from a sincere desire to do some service to Christianity according to the imperfect notions I had at that time of the real merits

of the cause: I at the same time resolved, to take any opportunity that should offer for my better information. On this principle it was, that I made one of your audience, October 23, at Bradford. And because I thought I could form the best judgment of you and your doctrines from your sermon, I resolved to hear that first: which was the reason, that altho' by accident, I was at the same house, and walked two miles with you, to the place you preached at, I spoke little or nothing to you. I must confess, Sir, that the discourse you made that day, wherein you press your hearers in the closest manner, and with the authority of a true minister of the gospel, not to stop at faith only, but to add to it all virtues, and to shew forth their faith, by every kind of good works, convinced me of the great wrong done you by a public report, common in peoples mouths, that you preach faith without works. For that is the only ground of prejudice which any true Christian can have: and is the sense in which your adversaries would take the words, when they censure them. For that we are justified by faith only, is the doctrine of Jesus Christ, the doctrine of his apostles and the doctrine of the church of England. I am ashamed that after having lived twenty-nine years since my baptism into this faith.—I should speak of it in the lame, unfaithful, I may say, false manner I have done in the paper above-mentioned! What mere darkness is man, when truth hideth her face from him! Man is by nature a sinner, the child of the devil, under God's wrath, in a state of damnation. The Son of God took pity on this our misery: he made himself man, he made himself sin for us; that is, he hath borne the punishment of our sin, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his stripes we are healed. To receive this boundless mercy, this inestimable benefit, we must have faith in our benefactor, and through him in God.—But then, true faith is not a lifeless principle, as your adversaries seem to understand it. They and you mean quite another thing by faith. They mean, a bare believing, that Jesus is the Christ. You mean a living, growing, purifying principle, which is the root both of inward and outward holiness; both of purity and good works: without which no man can have faith, at least no other than a dead faith. This faith, Sir, you explained in your sermon at Bradford, Sunday, Oct. 28. to near ten thousand people, who all stood to hear you, with awful silence and great attention. I have since reflected how much good the clergy might do, if instead of shunning, they would come to hear and converse with you; and in their churches and parishes, would farther inforce those catholic doctrines which you preach: and which I am glad to see have such a surprizing good effect, on great numbers of souls. I think indeed too many clergymen are culpable, in that they do not inform themselves better of Mr. W—d, yourself, and your doctrines, from your own mouths: I am persuaded, if they did this with a Christian spirit, the differences between you would soon be at an end. Nay, I think, those whose flocks resort so much to hear you, ought to do it, out of their pastoral duty to them: that if you preach good doctrine, they may edify them, on the impressions so visibly made by your sermons, or

if evil, they may reclaim them from error.—I shall conclude this letter with putting you in mind, in all sermons, writings, and practice, nakedly to follow the naked Jesus: I mean, to preach the pure doctrine of the gospel without respect of persons or things. Many preachers, many reformers, many missionaries, have fallen by not observing this; by not having continually in mind, “Whoever shall break the least of these commandments, and teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven.”

Tuesday, November 27. I writ Mr. D. (according to his request) a short account of what had been done in Kingwood, and of our present undertaking there. The account was as follows. “Few persons have lived long in the west of England, who have not heard of the Colliers of Kingwood, a people famous from the beginning hitherto, for neither fearing God, nor regarding man: so ignorant of the things of God that they seemed but one remove from the beasts that perish; and therefore utterly without desire of instruction, as well as without the means of it. Many last Winter used tauntingly to say of Mr. Whitefield, if he will convert Heathens, why does not he go to the Colliers of Kingwood? In Spring he did so. When he was called away, others went into the highways and hedges, to compel them to come in. And, by the grace of God, their labour was not in vain. The scene is already changed. Kingwood does not now, as a year ago, resound with cursing and blasphemy. It is no more filled with drunkenness and uncleanness, and the idle diversions that naturally lead thereto. It is no longer full of wars and fightings, of clamour and bitterness, of wrath and envyings. Peace and love are there. Great numbers of people are mild, gentle, and easy to be intreated. They do not cry, neither strive, and hardly is their voice heard in the streets: or indeed in their own Wood, unless when they are at their usual evening-diversion, singing praise unto God their Saviour. That their children too might know the things which make for their peace, it was some time since proposed to build a house in Kingwood: and after many foreseen and unforeseen difficulties, in June last the foundation was laid. The ground made choice of was, in the middle of the wood, between the London and Bath roads, not far from that called Two-Mile Hill, about three measured miles from Bristol. Here a large room was begun for the school, having four small rooms at either end, for the school-masters, (and perhaps, if it should please God, some poor children) to lodge in. Two persons are ready to teach, so soon as the house is fit to receive them, the shell of which is nearly finished: so that it is hoped the whole will be compleated in Spring, or early in the Summer.

Wednesday, November 28. We left Tiverton, and the next day reached Bristol. On Friday many of us joined in prayer, for one that was grievously tormented. She raged more and more for about two hours, and then our Lord gave her rest. Five were in the same agony in the evening. I ordered them to be removed to the door, that their cries might neither drown my voice, nor interrupt the attention of

the congregation. But after sermon, they were brought into the room again, where a few of us continued in prayer to God (being very unwilling to go till we had an answer of peace) till nine the next morning. Before that time, three of them sang praise to God. And the others were eased, tho' not set at liberty.

Tuesday, December 4. I was violently attacked by some, who were exceeding angry at those who cried out so, being sure (they said) "It was all a cheat, and that any one might help crying out, if he would." J. Bl. was one of those who were sure of this. About eight, the next morning, while he was alone in his chamber, at private prayer, so horrible a dread overwhelmed him, that he began crying out with all his might. All the family was alarmed. Several of them came running up into his chamber; but he cried out so much the more, till his breath was utterly spent. God then rebuked the adversary; and he is now less wise in his own conceit.

1740.

*Some remarkable Instances of the Power of the Word, and of Prayer.*

Wednesday, March 5. We came to Bristol. Here convictions sink deeper and deeper. Love and joy are more calm, even and steady. Wednesday 12. I found a little time (having been much importuned) to spend with the soldier in Bridewell, who was under sentence of death. This I continued to do once a day; whereby there was also an opportunity, of declaring the gospel of peace to several that were confined in the same place.

Saturday 29. I think it was about this time that the soldier was executed. For some time I had visited him every day. But afterwards I was informed, that the commanding officer had given strict orders, "Neither Mr. Wesley, nor any of his people should be admitted; for they were all atheists." But did that man die like an atheist? Let my last end be like his!

Thursday, April 3. I went to the room, weak and faint. The scripture that came in course was, "After the way that you call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers." I know not whether God hath been so with us, from the beginning hitherto. He proclaimed, as it were, a general deliverance to the captives. The chains fell off: they arose and followed him. The cries of desire, joy, and love, were on every side. Fear, sorrow, and doubt fled away. Verily, thou hast "sent a gracious rain upon thine inheritance, and refreshed it when it was weary."

Friday, April 4. I was much comforted by Mr. T——'s sermon at All-Saints, which was according to the truth of the gospel: as well as by the affectionate seriousness wherewith he delivered the holy bread to a very large congregation. May the good Lord fill him with all the life of love, and with all spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus.

Wednesday, May 7. I prayed with a poor helpless sinner, who had been all his lifetime subject to bondage. But our Lord now proclaimed deliverance to the captive, and he rejoiced with joy unspeakable. All

the next day his mouth was filled with praise, and on Friday he fell asleep.

Friday, August 22. I was desired to pray with an old, hardened sinner, supposed to be at the point of death. He knew not me, nor ever had heard me preach. I spoke much, but he opened not his mouth. But no sooner did I name, "the Saviour of sinners," than he burst out, "The Saviour of sinners indeed! I know it. For he has saved me. He told me so on Sunday morning. And he said, I should not die yet, till I had heard his children preach his gospel, and had told my old companions in sin, that he is ready to save them too."

## 1741.

*Conversion of an Atheist.—Comfortable Death of an eminent Christian.*

Tuesday, April 7. I dined with one who had been a profest atheist, for upwards of twenty years. But coming some months since to make sport with the word of God, it cut him to the heart. And he could have no rest day nor night, till the God whom he had denied spoke peace to his soul.

Friday, July 31. Hearing that one of our sisters (Jane Muncy) was ill, I went to see her. She was one of the first women-bands at Fetter-Lane: and when the controversy concerning the means of grace began, stood in the gap, and contended earnestly for the ordinances once delivered to the saints. Nor could all the sophistry of those who are, of all men living the wisest in their generation, induce her either to deny the faith she had received, or to use less plainness of speech, or to be less zealous in recommending, and careful in practising good works. Inasmuch that many times, when she had been employed in the labour of love till eight or nine in the evening, she then sat down and wrought with her hands till twelve or one in the morning: not that she wanted any thing herself, but that she might have to give to others for necessary uses. From the time that she was made leader of one or two bands, she was more eminently a pattern to the flock: in self-denial of every kind, in openness of behaviour, in simplicity and Godly sincerity, in stedfast faith, in constant attendance on all the publick and all the private ordinances of God. And as she had laboured more than they all, so God now called her forth to suffer. She was seized at first with a violent fever, in the beginning of which they removed her to another house. Here she had work to do which she knew not of. The master of the house was one who cared for none of these things. But he observed her, and was convinced. So that he then began to understand and lay to heart, the things that bring a man peace at the last. In a few days the fever abated, or settled, as it seemed, into an inward Imposthume; so that she could not breath without violent pain, which increased day and night. When I came in, she stretched out her hand and said, "art thou come? praised be the name of my Lord for this." I asked, "do you faint, now you are chastened of him?" she said, "O no, no, no. I faint not. I murmur not. I rejoice evermore." I said, "God will make all your bed

in your sickness." She cried out, "he does, he does. I have nothing to desire. He is ever with me, and I have nothing to do but to praise him." In the same state of mind, though weaker in body, she continued till Tuesday following: when several of those who had been in her band being present, she fix'd her eyes upon them and prayed, "that God would keep them from the evil one." In the afternoon when I came, all her words were prayer and praise. The same spirit she breathed, when Mr. Maxfield called the next day. And soon after, she slept in peace.

1742.

*Account of Sarah Whiskin.—John Woolley.—A Boy of thirteen. Of John Nelson.—Great Concern at Epworth.—Of David Taylor.—Death of Mrs. Wesley.—The Society at Bristol.—The Work at Newcastle.—Of those who cried out.*

Wednesday, January 27. I buried the body of Sarah Whiskin, a young woman late of Cambridge: a short account of whom [a part of it] follows, in the words of one that was with her. "The first time she went, intending to hear Mr.—was January 3. but he was then ill. She went again, Tuesday 5.—From that time she seemed quite taken up with the things above, and could willingly have been always hearing, or praying or singing hymns. Wednesday 13. She was sent for into the country: at which news she cried violently, being afraid to go, lest she should be again conformable to the world. With tears in her eyes she asked me, "What shall I do? I am in a great strait." And being advised, to commit her cause to God, and pray that his will might be done, not her own, she said, "She would defer her journey three days, to wait upon God, that he might shew his will concerning her." The next day she was taken ill of a fever. But, being something better on Friday, she sent and took a place in the Cambridge coach, for the Tuesday following. Sunday 17. She was ill again, and desired me to write a note, that she might be prayed for. I asked, what I should write? she answered, "You know what I want, a lively faith." Being better on Monday 18. she got up, to prepare for her journey; tho' still desiring God, to put a stop to it, if it was not according to his will. As soon as she rose from prayer, she fainted away. From this hour, she was almost continually praying to God, that he would reveal himself to her soul. On Tuesday 19. being in tears, she was asked, "What was the matter?" she answered, "The devil is very busy with me." One asking, "Who condemns you?" She pointed to her heart and said, "This: and God is greater than my heart." On Thursday, after Mr. Richards had prayed with her, she was much chearfuller, and said, "She could not doubt but God would fulfil the desire which he had given her." Friday 22. One of her sisters coming out of the country to see her, she said, "If I had come to you, [perhaps] evil would have befallen me. But I am snatched out of the hands of the devil. Though God has not yet revealed himself unto me, yet I believe, were I to die this night, before to-morrow I should be in Heaven." Her sister saying, "I hope God will restore you to health:" she replied, "Let him do what seemeth him

good." Saturday 23. She said, "I saw my mother and brother and sister in my sleep, and they all received a blessing." I asked, if she thought she should die? and whether she believed, the Lord would receive her soul? looking very earnestly, she said, "I have not seen the Lord yet. But I believe I shall see him and live. Altho' these are bold words, for a sinner to say. Are they not?" Sunday 24. I asked her, "How have you rested?" she answered, "Very well. Though I have had no sleep: and I wanted none: for I have had the Lord with me. O let us not be ashamed of him, but proclaim him upon the house-top. And I know, whatever I ask in the name of Jesus, according to his will, I shall have." Soon after she called hastily to me, and said, "I fear I have deceived myself. I thought the amen was sealed in my heart; but I fear, it is not. Go down and pray for me, and let him not go, 'till he has given my heart's desire." Soon after she broke out into singing and said, "I was soon delivered of my fears. I was only afraid of a flattering hope: but if it had been so, I would not have let him go." Her sister that was come to see her was much upon her mind. "You, said she, are in pain for her. But I have faith for this little child. God has a favour unto her." In the afternoon she desired me to write a bill for her. I asked, what shall I write? she said, return thanks for what God has done for me, and pray that he would manifest himself to my relations also. Go to the preaching. Leave but one with me." Soon after we were gone she rose up, called to the person that was with her and said, "Now it is done. I am assured my sins are forgiven." The person answering, "Death is a little thing, to them that die in the Lord:" she replied with vehemence, "A little thing! it is nothing." The person then desiring, she would pray for her, she answered, "I do: I pray for all. I pray for all I know, and for them I do not know. And the Lord will hear the prayer of faith." At our return, her sister kneeling by the bed-side she said, "Are you not comforted, my dear, for me?" Her speech then failing, she made signs for her to be by her, and kissed her and smiled upon her. She then lay about an hour without speaking or stirring; 'till about three o'clock on Monday morning, she cried out, "My Lord and my God!" fetch'd a double sigh, and died.

Saturday, February 20. I preached at Weaver's Hall. It was a glorious time. Several dropped to the ground as if struck by lightning. Some cried out in bitterness of soul: I knew not where to end, being constrained to begin anew, again and again. In this acceptable time we begged of God to restore our brethren, who are departed from us for a season; and to teach us all, to follow after the things that make for peace, and the things whereby one may edify another.

Sunday 21. In the evening I explained the exceeding great and precious promises which are given us: a strong confirmation whereof I read, in a plain, artless account, of a child, whose body then lay before us. The substance of this [a part of it] was as follows. "John Woolley was for some time in your school. But was turned out for his ill behaviour: soon after he ran away from his parents, lurking about for several days and nights together, and hiding himself in holes and corners, that his mother might not find him. During this time he suffered both



hunger and cold. Once he was three whole days without sustenance, sometimes weeping and praying by himself, and sometimes playing with other loose boys. One night he came to the New Room. Mr. — was then speaking of disobedience to parents. He was quite confounded, and thought there never was in the world, so wicked a child as himself. He went home, and never ran away any more. His mother saw the change in his whole behaviour, but knew not the cause. He would often get up stairs by himself to prayer, and often go alone into the fields, having done with all his idle companions. And now the devil began to set upon him with all his might, continually tempting him to self-murder. Sometimes he was vehemently prest to hang himself, sometimes to leap into the river. But this only made him the more earnest in prayer: in which after he had been one day wrestling with God, he was so filled with joy and the love of God, that he scarce knew where he was, and with such love to all mankind, that he could have laid himself on the ground, for his worst enemies to trample upon. From this time his father and mother were surprized at him, he was so diligent to help them in all things. When they went to the preaching, he was careful to give their supper to the other children: and when he had put them to bed, hurried away to the room, to light his father or mother home. Mean time, he lost no opportunity of hearing the preaching himself, or of doing any good he could, either at home or in any place where he was. One day walking in the fields, he fell into talk with a farmer, who spoke very slightly of religion. John told him, he ought not to talk so; and enlarged upon that word of the apostle, (which he begged him to consider deeply) “Without holiness no man shall see the Lord.” The man was amazed; caught the child in his arms, and knew not how to part with him. His father and mother once hearing him speak pretty loud in the next room, listened to hear what he said. He was praying thus: “Lord, I do not expect to be heard for my much speaking. Thou knowest my heart. Thou knowest my wants.” He then descended to particulars. Afterward he prayed very earnestly for his parents, and for his brothers and sisters by name: then for Mr. John and Charles Wesley, then for all the other ministers he could remember by name, and for all that were, or desired to be, true ministers of Christ. In the beginning of his illness, his mother asked him, if he wanted any thing? he answered, “Nothing but Christ, and I am as sure of him, as if I had him already.” He often said, “O mother, if all the world believed in Christ, what a happy world would it be? and they may. I was the worst of sinners, and he died for me.”

On Wednesday he said to his mother, “I am in very great trouble for my father. He has always taken an honest care of his family. But he does not know God: if he dies in the state he is in now, he cannot be saved. If God should give him the true faith, and then take him to himself, do not you fear: do not you be troubled. God has promised to be a father to the fatherless and a husband to the widow. And I hope we shall sing hallelujah in heaven together.” To his eldest sister he said, “do not puff yourself up with pride. When you receive your wages, which is not much, lay it out in plain necessities. And

if you are inclined to be merry, do not sing songs. Do you sing psalms and hymns. Remember your Creator in the days of your youth. When you are at work, you may lift up your heart to God. And be sure never to rise or go to bed, without asking his blessing." He added, "I shall die. But do not cry for me. Why should you cry for me? Consider what a joyful thing it is, to have a brother go to heaven. I am not a man. I am but a boy. But is it not in the bible, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast ordained strength?" I know where I am going. I would not be without this knowledge for a thousand worlds. For tho' I am not in heaven yet, I am as sure of it, as if I was." He said to his mother, "That school was the saving of my soul: for there I began to seek the Lord. But how is it, that a person no sooner begins to seek the Lord, but Satan strait stirs up all his instruments against him? When he was in agony of pain he cried out, "O Saviour give me patience. Thou hast given me patience. But give me more. Give me thy love, and pain is nothing. I have deserved all this, and a thousand times more. For there is no sin but I have been guilty of." A while after he said, "O my mother, how is this? If a man does not his work, the masters in the world will not pay him his wages. But it is not so with God. He gives me good wages: and yet I am sure I have done nothing to gain them. O it is a free gift."

On Thursday morning his mother asked him, how he did? He said, "I have had much struggling to night. But my Saviour is so loving to me, I do not mind it: it is no more than nothing to me." Then he said, "I desire to be buried from the room, and I desire Mr. Wesley would preach a sermon over me, on those words of David (unless he thinks any other to be more fit.) "Before I was afflicted I went astray: but now I have kept thy word." I asked him, how do you find yourself now? he said, "In great pain, but full of love." I asked, but does not the love of God overcome pain? He answered, "Yes; pain is nothing to me. I did sing praises to the Lord in the midst of my greatest pain. And I could not help it." I asked him, if he was willing to die? He replied, "O yes; with all my heart." I said, but if life and death were set before you, what would you chuse then? he answered, "To die and to be with Christ. I long to be out of this wicked world." On thursday night he slept much sweeter than he had done for some time before. In the morning he begged to see Mr. John Wesley. When Mr. Wesley came, and after some other questions, asked him, what he should pray for? He said, "That God would give him a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within him." When prayer was ended, he seemed much enlivened and said, "I thought I should have died to day. But I must not be in haste. I am content to stay. I will tarry the Lord's leisure." On Sunday he spoke exceeding little. On Monday his speech began to falter. On Tuesday it was gone; but he was fully in his senses, almost continually lifting up his eyes to heaven. On Wednesday his speech was restored. The next morning he spent in continual prayer, often repeating the Lord's prayer, and earnestly commending his soul into the hands of God. He then called for his little brother and sister to kiss them; and for his mother, whom

he desired to kiss him. Then (between nine and ten) he said, "Now let me kiss you:" which he did, and immediately fell asleep. He lived, some months above thirteen years.

Tuesday, May 25. I set out early in the morning with John Taylor, (since settled in London) and Wednesday 26. at eight or nine o'clock, reached Birstal, six miles beyond Wakefield. John Nelson had wrote to me some time before: but at that time I had little thought of seeing him. Hearing he was at home, I sent for him to our inn: whence he immediately carried me to his house; and gave me an account of the strange manner wherein he had been led on, from the time of our parting at London. He had returned home in the year 1740. His relations and acquaintance soon began to enquire, "What he thought of this new faith?" And whether he believed there was any such thing as a man's knowing that his sins were forgiven? John told them point blank, That this new faith, as they called it, was the old faith of the gospel; and that he himself was sure his sins were forgiven. This was soon noised abroad: more and more came to enquire, concerning these strange things. Some put him upon the proof of the great truths, which such inquiries naturally led him to mention. And thus he was brought unawares to quote, explain, compare, and inforce several parts of scripture. This he did at first, sitting in his house, 'till the company increased so, that the house could not contain them. Then he stood at the door, which he was commonly obliged to do, in the evening, as soon as he came from work. God immediately set his seal to what was spoken: and several believed, and therefore declared, that God was merciful also to their unrighteousness, and had forgiven all their sins.

Tuesday, June 8. At Epworth I largely inforced that great truth (so little understood in what is called a Christian country) "Unto him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted to him for righteousness." I went to the place where the little society met, which was sufficiently thronged both within and without. Here I found some from Hainton (a town twenty miles off,) who informed us, that God had begun a good work there also, and constrained several to cry out, in the bitterness of their soul, "What must I do to be saved?"

Friday 11. I visited the sick, and those who desired, but were not able to come to me. At six I preached at Overthorp, near Haxey, a little village about two miles from Epworth, on that comfortable scripture, "When they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both." I preached at Epworth, about eight, on Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of the dry bones. And great indeed was the shaking among them. Lamentation and great mourning were heard; God bowing their hearts, so that on every side, as with one accord, they lift up their voice and wept aloud. Surely he who sent his Spirit to breathe upon them, will hear their cry, and will help them.

Saturday 12. I preached on the righteousness of the law, and the righteousness of faith. While I was speaking, several dropped down as dead: and, among the rest, such a cry was heard, of sinners groaning

for the righteousness of faith, as almost drowned my voice. But many of these soon lifted up their heads with joy, and broke out into thanksgiving: being assured, they now had the desire of their soul, the forgiveness of their sins.—I observed a gentleman there, who was remarkable for not pretending to be of any religion at all. I was informed, he had not been at public worship of any kind, for upwards of thirty years. Seeing him stand as motionless as a statue, I asked him abruptly, “Sir, are you a sinner?” He replied with a deep and broken voice, “Sinner enough,” and continued staring upwards, ’till his wife and a servant or two, who were all in tears, put him into his chaise, and carried him home.

Sunday 13. At seven I preached at Haxey, on “What must I do to be saved?” Thence I went to Wroote, of which (as well as Epworth) my father was rector for several years. Mr. Whitelam offering me the church, I preached in the morning, on “Ask and it shall be given you:” In the afternoon on the difference between the righteousness of the law, and the righteousness of faith. But the church could not contain the people; many of whom came from far. — At six I preached for the last time in Epworth church-yard (being to leave the town the next morning,) to a vast multitude on the beginning of our Lord’s sermon on the mount. I continued among them for near three hours: and yet we scarce knew how to part. O let none think his labour of love is lost, because the fruit does not immediately appear. Near forty years did my father labour here. But he saw little fruit of all his labour. I took some pains among this people too: and my strength also seemed spent in vain. But now the fruit appeared. There were scarce any in the town, on whom either my father or I had taken any pains formerly, but the seed sown so long since now sprung up.

Monday 14. Having a great desire to see David Taylor, whom God had made an instrument of good to many souls, I rode to Sheffield: but not finding him there, I was minded to go forward immediately. However the importunity of the people constrained me to stay, and preach both in the evening and the morning. Tuesday 15. He came. I found he had occasionally exhorted multitudes of people in various parts. But after that he had taken no thought about them. So that the greater part were fallen asleep again.—In the evening I preached on the inward kingdom of God: in the morning, Wednesday 16. on the spirit of fear, and the spirit of adoption. It was now first I felt that God was [graciously] here also: though still more at Barley-hall (five miles from Sheffield) where I preached in the afternoon. Many were here melted down, and filled with love toward him whom God hath exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour.

Thursday 17. I began preaching about five, on the righteousness of faith. But I had not half-finished my discourse, when I was constrained to break off in the midst: our hearts were so filled with a sense of the love of God, and our mouths with prayer and thanksgiving. When we were somewhat satisfied herewith, I went on to call sinners to the salvation ready to be revealed.—The same blessing from God we found in the evening while I was shewing, how he justifies the ungodly. A-

mong the hearers was one, who some time before had been deeply convinced of her ungodliness; infomuch that she cried out, day and night, "Lord, save, or I perish." All the neighbours agreeing that she was stark mad, her husband put her into a physician's hands, who blooded her largely, gave her a strong vomit, and laid on several blisters. But all this proving without success, she was in a short time judged to be incurable. He thought however he would speak to one person more, who had done much good in the neighbourhood. When Mrs. Johnson came, she soon saw the nature of the disease, having herself gone through the same. She ordered all the medicines to be thrown away, and exhorted the patient to look unto Jesus: which this evening she was enabled to do by faith. And he healed the broken in heart.

I left Bristol in the evening of Sunday, July 18. and on Tuesday came to London. I found my mother on the borders of eternity. But she had no doubt or fear; nor any desire, but (as soon as God should call) to depart, and to be with Christ.

Friday 30. About three in the afternoon, I found her change was near. I sat down on the bed-side. She was in her last conflict, unable to speak, but I believe quite sensible. Her look was calm and serene, and her eyes fixt upward, while we commended her soul to God. From three to four, the silver cord was loosing, and the wheel breaking at the cistern: and then, without any struggle, or sigh or groan, the soul was set at liberty. We stood round the bed, and fulfilled her last request, uttered a little before she lost her speech, "Children, as soon as I am released, sing a Psalm of praise to God."

Sunday, August 1. About five in the afternoon, I committed to the earth, the body of my mother, to sleep with her fathers. The portion of scripture from which I afterwards spoke was, "I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it; from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead small and great stand before God, and the books were opened," &c. It was one of the most solemn assemblies I ever saw, or expect to see on this side eternity.

We set up a plain stone at the head of her grave, inscribed with the following words: "Here lies the body of Mrs. Susannah Wesley, the youngest and last surviving daughter of Dr. Samuel Annesley<sup>a</sup>."

"In sure and stedfast hope to rise  
And claim her mansion in the skies,  
A Christian here her flesh laid down,  
The cross exchanging for a crown.

True daughter of affliction she  
Inured to pain and misery,  
Mourn'd a long night of griefs and fears,  
A legal night of seventy years.

The Father then reveal'd his Son,  
Him in the broken bread made known<sup>b</sup>.  
She knew and felt her sins forgiven,  
And found the earnest of her heaven." &c.

I cannot but further observe, that even she (as well as her father and grandfather, her husband, and her three sons) had been, in her measure and degree, a preacher of righteousness. This I learned from a letter, wrote long since to my father; part of which I have here subjoined.

February 6. 1711-12.—“As I am mistress of a large family; tho’ the superior charge of the souls contained in it, lies upon you,—yet in your absence, I cannot but look upon every soul you leave under my care, as a talent committed to me under a trust, by the great Lord of all the families, both of heaven and earth. And if I am unfaithful to him or you, in neglecting to improve these talents, how shall I answer unto him, when he shall command me to render an account of my stewardship? As these and other such like thoughts, made me at first take a more than ordinary care of the souls of my children and servants, so knowing our religion requires a strict observation of the Lord’s day, and not thinking that we fully answered the end of the institution, by going to church, unless we filled up the intermediate spaces of time by other acts of piety and devotion: I thought it my duty to spend some part of the day, in reading to and instructing my family.

Soon after you went to London last, I light on the Account of the Danish Missionaries. I was, I think, never more affected with any thing.—I could not forbear spending good part of that evening, in praising and adoring the divine goodness, for inspiring them with such ardent zeal for his glory.—For several days I could think or speak of little else. At last it came into my mind, though I am not a man, nor a minister, yet if my heart were sincerely devoted to God, and I was inspired with a true zeal for his glory, I might do somewhat more than I do. I thought I might pray more for them, and might speak to those with whom I converse with more warmth of affection,” &c.

Sunday, September 12. I was desired to preach in an open place, commonly called the Great Gardens, lying between Whitechappel and Coverlets-fields, where I found a vast multitude gathered together. Taking knowledge that a great part of them were little acquainted with the things of God, I called upon them in the words of our Lord, “Repent ye, and believe the gospel.” Many of the people laboured much to disturb those who were of a better mind. They then threw whole showers of stones, one of which, struck me just between the eyes. But when I had wiped away the blood, I went on testifying with a loud voice, that God hath given to them that believe, “not the spirit of fear, but of power and love and of a sound mind.” And by the spirit which now appeared through the whole congregation, I plainly saw what a blessing it is, when it is given us, even in the lowest degree, to suffer for his name’s sake.

Monday 13. I preached about nine at Windsor, and the next evening came to Bristol, I spent the remainder of this, and the following week, in examining those of the society: speaking severally to each, that I might more perfectly know the state of their souls to Godward.

Thursday 23. In the evening, almost as soon as I began to pray in the society, a voice of lamentation and bitter mourning was heard, from the whole congregation. But in a while, loud thanksgivings were mixt

therewith, which in a short space spread over all: so that nothing was to be heard on every side, but "Praise to God and to the Lamb for ever and ever!"

Friday 24. I had notes from nineteen persons, desiring to return God thanks. Some of them follow. "John Merriman, a blind man, desires to return thanks to almighty God, for the discovery of his love, to him, an old sinner. Edith W—— desires to return thanks, for great and unspeakable mercies, which the Lord was pleased to reveal to her heart. And I desire, that the praise of the Lord, may be ever in my heart. Ann Simmonds desires to return hearty thanks to God, for the great mercies she received last night. For she has a full assurance, of her redemption in the blood of Christ. Mary K—— desires to return thanks to God, for giving her a fresh sense of forgiveness. Mary F—— desires to return thanks, for that the Lord hath made her triumph, over sin, earth and hell. Mary W——n desires to return thanks to almighty God, for a fresh sense of forgiveness. Sir, I desire to return humble thanks to almighty God, for the comfortable assurance of his pardoning love." E. C——. Many others took an opportunity of speaking to me, and declaring, what God had done for their souls.

Newcastle, Thursday November 18. The grace of God flows here with a wider stream than it did at first either in Bristol or Kingswood. But it does not sink so deep, as it did there. Few are thoroughly convinced of sin, and scarce any can witness, that the Lamb of God has taken away their sins. Sunday 21. After preaching in the room at five, I began preaching about eight at the hospital. It rained all the time; but that did not disturb either me or the congregation, while I explained, "Thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins." Tuesday 23. There seemed in the evening to be a deeper work in many souls than I had observed before. Many trembled exceedingly: six or seven (both men and women) dropped down as dead. Some cried unto God out of the deep: others would have cried; but their voice was lost. And some have found that the Lord is "gracious and merciful, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin."

Thursday 25. In the evening God was pleased, to wound many more who were quiet and at ease. And I could not but observe, that here the very best people, so called, were as deeply convinced as open sinners. Several of these were now constrained to roar aloud, for the disquietness of their hearts: and these generally not young, (as in most other places) but either middle-aged, or well stricken in years. I never saw a work of God in any other place, so evenly and gradually carried on. It continually rises step by step. Not so much seems to be done at any one time, as hath frequently been at Bristol or London: but something, at every time. It is the same with particular souls. I saw none in that triumph of faith, which has been so common in other places. But the believers go on, calm and steady. Let God do as seemeth him good.

Thursday, December 30. I carefully examined those, who had lately cried out in the congregation. Some of these, I found, could give no account at all, how or wherefore they had done so: only, that of a sudden they dropt down they knew not how; and what they afterwards

said or did they knew not: others could just remember, they were in fear; but could not tell, what they were in fear of. Several said, they were afraid of the devil: and this was all they knew. But a few gave a more intelligible account, of the piercing sense they then had of their sins, both inward and outward, which were set in array against them round about: of the dread they were in, of the wrath of God and the punishment they had deserved, into which they seemed to be just falling, without any way to escape. One of them told me, "I was as if I was just falling down, from the highest place I had ever seen. I thought the devil was pushing me off, and that God had forsaken me." Another said, "I felt the very fire of hell, already kindled in my breast: and all my body was in as much pain, as if I had been in a burning fiery furnace." What wisdom is that, which rebuketh these, "that they should hold their peace?" Nay, let such an one cry after Jesus of Nazareth, till he saith, "Thy faith hath made thee whole!"

What encouragement have we to speak for God! At our inn we met an antient man, who seemed by his conversation, never to have thought, whether he had any soul, or no. Before we set out, I spoke a few words, concerning his cursing and idle conversation. The man appeared quite broken in pieces. The tears started into his eyes. And he acknowledged his own guilt and the goodness of God.

1743.

*He preaches at Placey.—The Isles of Scilly.—Trezuthan-downs.  
—Grimby.—The Spen.*

April 1. There is a little village called Placey, about ten measured miles North of Newcastle. It is inhabited by colliers only, and such as had been always in the first rank for savage ignorance and wickedness of every kind. Their grand assembly used to be on the Lord's day, on which men, women, and children met together, to dance, fight, curse and swear, and play at chuck, ball, span-farthing, or whatever came next to hand. I felt great compassion for these poor creatures, from the time I heard of them first; and the more, because all men seemed to despair of them. Between seven and eight I set out with John Heally, my guide. The North wind, being unusually high, drove the fleet full in our face. When we came to Placey, we could very hardly stand. As soon as we were a little recovered, I went into the square, and declared HIM who "was bruised for our sins, and wounded for our iniquities." The poor sinners were quickly gathered together, and gave earnest heed to the things which were spoken. And so they did in the afternoon again, in spite of the wind and snow, when I besought them to receive him for their king; "to repent and believe the gospel."—On Monday and Tuesday I preached there again, the congregation continually increasing. And as most of these had never in their lives pretended to any religion of any kind, they were the more ready to cry to God, as mere sinners, for the free redemption which is in Jesus.

Monday, September 12. I preached at one on Trezuthan-downs, and in the evening at St. Ives. The dread of God fell upon us while



I was speaking, so that I could hardly utter a word: but most of all in prayer, wherein I was so carried out, as scarce ever before in my life.

I had had for some time a great desire to go and publish the love of God our Saviour, if it were but for one day, in the isles of Scilly. And I had occasionally mentioned it to several. This evening three of our brethren came and offered to carry me thither. So the next morning, John Nelson, Mr. Shepherd and I, with three men and a pilot, sailed from St. Ives. About half an hour after one, we landed on St. Mary's, the chief of the inhabited islands. We immediately waited upon the governor, with the usual present, viz. a news-paper. I desired him likewise to accept of an Earnest Appeal. The minister not being willing I should preach in the church, I preached, at six, in the streets, to almost all the town, and many soldiers, sailors, and workmen, on, "Why will ye die, O house of Israel?" It was a blessed time, so that I scarce knew how to conclude. After sermon I gave them some little books and hymns, which they eagerly received.

At Trezuthan-downs, September 20. I preached to two or three thousand people, on "The high-way of the Lord, the way to holiness." We reached Gwynap a little before six, and found the plain covered from end to end. It was supposed there were ten thousand people; to whom I preached Christ our "Wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption." I could not conclude 'till it was so dark, we could scarce see one another. And there was on all sides the deepest attention, none speaking, or scarce looking aside. Sure here, though in a temple not made with hands, was God worshipped in the beauty of holiness!—One of those who were present was Mr. P— once a violent adversary. Before sermon began he whispered one of his acquaintance, "Captain stand by me, don't stir from me." He soon burst out into a flood of tears; and quickly after sunk down. His friend caught him, and prevented his falling to the ground. O may the friend of sinners lift him up!

Saturday, October 22. In the evening, the house at Grimsby not being able to contain one fourth of the congregation, I stood in the street, and exhorted every prodigal, to "arise and go to his Father." One or two endeavoured to interrupt; but they were soon stilled by their own companions. The next day, Tuesday 25. one in the town promised us the use of a large room. But he was prevailed upon to retract his promise, before the hour of preaching came. I then designed going to the cross; but the rain prevented: so that we were a little at a loss, 'till we were offered a very convenient place, by a woman which was a sinner. I there declared HIM (about one o'clock) whom God hath exalted to give repentance and remission of sins. However, the prodigal held out till the evening, when I enlarged upon her sins and faith, who washed our Lord's feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. She was then utterly broken in pieces (as indeed, was well nigh the whole congregation) and came after me to my lodging, crying out, "O Sir! "What must I do to be saved?" Being now informed of her case, I said, "Escape for your life. Return in-

stantly to your husband." She said, "But how can it be? Which way can I go? He is above an hundred miles off. I have just received a letter from him; and he is at Newcastle upon Tyne." I told her, "I am going for Newcastle in the morning. You may go with me. William Blow shall take you behind him." And so he did. Glory be to the Friend of sinners! He hath plucked one more brand out of the fire.—Thou poor sinner, thou hast received a prophet in the name of a Prophet: and thou art found of Him that sent him.

During our whole journey to Newcastle, I scarce observed her to laugh or even smile once. Nor did she ever complain of any thing, or appear moved in the least with those trying circumstances which many times occurred in our way. A steady seriousness or sadness rather appeared in her whole behaviour and conversation, as became one that felt the burden of sin, and was groaning after salvation. In the same spirit, by all I could observe or learn, she continued during her stay at Newcastle. Not long after, her husband removed from thence, and wrote to her to follow him. She set out in a ship bound for Hull. A storm met them by the way. The ship sprung a leak. But though it was near the shore, on which many people flocked together, yet the sea ran so exceeding high, that it was impossible to make any help. Mrs. S. was seen standing on the deck, as the ship gradually sunk: and afterwards hanging by her hands on the ropes, till the masts likewise disappeared. Even then, for some moments, they could observe her floating upon the waves, till her clothes, which buoy'd her up, being thoroughly wet, she sunk—I trust, into the ocean of God's mercy.

Sunday, November 13. And the following days I preached and regulated the societies at Painshar, Tanfield, Horsely and Placey. Thursday 17. I preached at the Spen on "Christ Jesus our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." I have seldom seen an audience so greatly moved, since the time of my first preaching at Bristol. Men, women and children wept, and groaned, and trembled exceedingly. Many could not contain themselves in these bounds, but cried with a loud and bitter cry. It was the same at the meeting of the society; and likewise, in the morning, while I was shewing the happiness of those "whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sin is covered," I afterwards spake with twelve or fourteen of them severally, and found good ground to believe, that God had given them to "taste of the good word, and of the powers of the world to come."

1744.

*Letter from the Soldiers at Lisle and Ghent.—Gross Sinners at St. Just reformed.—Comfortable Deaths.—Persecution.—More Letters from the Soldiers Abroad.*

Wednesday, February 1. About this time the soldiers abroad began to meet together, as we learned from the following letter; [part of which is.]

Ghent, February 2. 1744.—"Sir, I make bold to send you these lines. Feb. 18. 1743. We began our march for Germany. I was then

much cast down, and my heart was ready to break. But the day we marched to Mastricht, I found the love of God shed abroad in my heart, that I thought my very soul was dissolved into tears. But this lasted not above three weeks, and then I was in heaviness again: till, on April 24. I was walking in the fields, God broke my hard heart in pieces. And yet I was not delivered from the fear of death. I went to my quarters very sick and weak, in great pain of soul and body. By the morning I was so weak I could scarce go. But this proved a sweet night to my soul. For now I knew, there was no condemnation for me, believing in Christ Jesus. June 16. The day we engaged the French at Dettingen, as the battle began, I said, "Lord, in thee have I trusted; let me never be confounded." Joy overflowed my soul, and I told my comrades, "If I fall this day, I shall rest in the everlasting arms of Christ." Now I felt, I could be content to be cast into the sea, for the sake of my dear brethren, so their eyes might be opened, and they might see, before it was too late, the things that belong unto their peace. When we came to Winter quarters, there were but three of us joined together. But now, by the blessing of God, we are increased to twelve. And we have reason to believe the hand of the Lord is with us. I desire, for the sake of HIM whom we follow after, that you would send us some instructions, how to proceed in our little society.—God has blest even my words to some of their souls. All praise, and glory, and honour, be unto HIM, and to the LAMB, for ever and ever!" From your affectionate Brother, J. H.

St. Ives, April 4. Both this morning and evening the congregation was as large as the house could well contain. In the society, God darted into all (I believe, hardly one excepted) the melting flame of love: so that their heads were as water, and their eyes as a fountain of tears. Friday 6. I spoke with the members of the society severally, and observed with great satisfaction, that persecution had driven only three or four away, and exceedingly strengthened the rest. The wind and rain beat hard upon us, as we walked from Morva to St. Just; however some hundreds were there, to whom I declared, "If you have nothing to pay, God will frankly forgive you all." It is remarkable, that those of St. Just, were the chief of the whole country, for hurling, fighting, drinking, and all manner of wickedness. But many of the lions are become lambs, are continually praising God, and calling their old companions in sin, to come and magnify the Lord together.

Monday June, 11. I left Newcastle, and in the afternoon met John Nelson at Durham, with Thomas Beard: another quiet and and peaceable man, who had lately been torn from his trade and wife and children, and sent away as a soldier: that is, banished from all that was near and dear to him, and constrained to dwell among lions, for no other crime either committed or pretended, than that of calling sinners to repentance. But his soul was in nothing terrified by his adversaries. Yet the body, after a while, sunk under its burden. He was then lodged in the hospital of Newcastle, where he still praised God continually. His fever increasing, he was let blood. His arm festered, mortifi-

fied and was cut off: two or three days after which God signed his discharge, and called him up to his eternal home.

Thursday, September 6. I committed to the dust the remains of Elizabeth Marih, a young woman who had received a sense of the pardoning Love of God about four years before her death, and had never left her first love. She had scarce known health or ease from that hour. But she never murmured or repined at any thing. I saw her many times after she was confined to her bed; and found her always chearful, praising God though longing to depart and to be with Christ. I could not learn that her mind was ever clouded, no, not a moment, from the beginning of her illness. But a few days before she died, she told me, "I am concerned I spoke a hasty word to day. One told me, you shall recover within ten days. And I said, I do not want to recover." I could only speak a few words at her grave. But when I returned to the Foundery, God made his word as a flame of fire. I spoke from that passage in the Revelation, "And one of the elders said unto me, what are these that are arrayed in white robes; and whence came they? And I said, Sir, thou knowest. And he said unto me, these are they which came out of great tribulation, and they washed their garments, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." A young man, servant to Mrs. C. of Newington, went home deeply affected. The next day he was taken ill, and every day grew worse; so that when I came to the house on Monday the 10th, (though I knew nothing of him, or of his illness before) he was just gasping for breath. It was a melancholy sight. Death stared him in the face, and he knew not God. He could but just say, "For God's sake, pray for me." John Nelson coming in, we asked life for our brother, in full confidence of the promise. All this day as his illness so his terrors increased. But the next day, God gave him life from the dead. He told me, "Now I am not afraid to die: for I know God loves me. I did not use to love you or your people: but now I love you as my own soul. I love you all: I know you are the people of God; and I am just going to him." He continued praising God as often as he could speak, and when he could not, his eyes were fixed upwards. Between one and two on Wednesday morning he cried out, "I have lost my God! where is he?" But he soon recovered himself and said, "Now I have found him: and I shall lose him no more." About seven I prayed with him, and praised God on his behalf, and not long after he fell asleep.

Sunday 16. I buried one who had soon finished her course, going to God in the full assurance of faith, when she was little more than four years old. In her last sickness (having been deeply serious in her behaviour for several months before) she spent all the intervals of her convulsions, in speaking of, or to God. And when she perceived her strength to be near exhausted, she desired all the family to come near, and prayed for them all, one by one; then for her ministers, for the church, and for all the world. A short time after, recovering from a fit, she lifted up her eyes, said, "Thy kingdom come," and died.

Sunday, November 4. Poor Richard I. who in spite of his former

conviction, was now determined to renounce us and join the Quakers, ventured however once more to the Lord's table. He had no sooner received, than he dropt down, and cried with a loud voice, "I have sinned; I have sinned against God." At that instant, many were pierced to the heart. I could hardly speak for some time. Several mourners were filled with strong consolation. And all said, "Surely God is in this place!"

About this time I received a letter, dated from the camp at Lisle. Part of it ran as follows. "May 1. We marched to the camp, near Brussels. There a few of us joined into a society, being sensible, where two or three are gathered together in his name, there is our Lord in the midst of them. Our place of meeting was a small wood near the camp. We remained in this camp eight days, and then removed to a place called Arsk. Here I began to speak openly, at a small distance from the camp, just in the middle of the English army. And here it pleased God to give me some evidences, that my labour was not in vain. We sung an hymn, which drew about two hundred soldiers together, and they all behaved decently. After I had prayed, I begun to exhort them, and though it rained very hard, yet very few went away. Many acknowledged the truth; in particular a young man, John Greenwood, by name; who has kept with me ever since, and whom God has lately been pleased to give me for a fellow-labourer. Our society is now increased to upwards of two hundred, and the hearers are frequently more than a thousand; although many say, I am mad; and others have endeavoured to incense the field-marshal against us. I have been sent for, and examined several times. But, blessed be God, he has always delivered me. Many of the officers have come to hear for themselves, often nine or ten at a time. I endeavoured to lose no opportunity. During our abode in the camp at Arsk, I have preached thirty-five times in seven days. One of those times a soldier who was present, called aloud to his comrades, to come away, and not hear that fool any longer. But it pleased God, to send the word spoken to his heart: so that he roared out in the bitterness of his soul, for a considerable time: and then he who never fails those that seek him, turned his heaviness into joy. He is now never so happy as when he is proclaiming the loving-kindness of God his Saviour. I was a little shocked at my first entrance on this great work, because I was alone, having none to help me. But the Lord helped me, and soon raised up William Clements, and in June, John Evans belonging to the train, to my assistance. Since we have been in this camp, we have built two small tabernacles, in which we meet at eight in the morning, at three in the afternoon, and seven at night: and commonly two whole nights in each week. Since I began to write this, we are come to our Winter quarters: so that our society is now parted. We are some in Bruges, some in Ghent. But it has pleased the Lord, to leave neither without a teacher. For John Greenwood and I are in this city. And B. Clements and Evans are in Ghent. So that we trust our Lord will carry on his work in both places." We that are in Bruges have hired a small place, in which we meet. And our dear Lord is in the midst of us. Many times the tears run down every face, and joy reigns in every heart."

I shall conclude with a full assurance of your prayers, with a longing desire to see you. O when will the joyful meeting be? perhaps not on this side death. If not, my Master's will be done." Your unworthy Brother in the Lord, J. H.

Monday, December 3. I answered another letter I had received from Flanders; an extract of which is here subjoined.

Ghent, November 12. O. S. 1744.—"Rev. Sir, We made bold to trouble you with this, to acquaint you with some of the Lord's dealings with us here. We have hired two rooms, one small one, wherein a few of us meet every day at one o'clock; and another large one for public service, where we meet twice a day, at nine in the morning, and four in the afternoon: and the hand of the omnipotent God is with us, to the pulling down of the strong holds of Satan.—The seventh instant, when we were met together in the evening, as I was at prayer, one that was kneeling by me, cried out (like a woman in travail) "My Redeemer! my Redeemer!" which continued about ten minutes. When he was asked, "What was the matter," he said, "He had found that which he had often heard of, that is, an heaven upon earth:" and some others had much a-do to forbear crying out in the same manner. Dear Sir, I am a stranger to you in the flesh. I know not if I have seen you above once, when I saw you preaching on Kennington-Common. And then I hated you, as much as now (by the grace of God) I love you. The Lord pursued me with convictions from my infancy, and I often made abundance of good resolutions. But finding as often, that I could not keep them (as being made wholly in my own strength) I at length left off all striving and gave myself over to all manner of lewdness and profaneness. So I continued for some years, till the battle of Dettingen. The balls then came very thick about me, and my comrades fell on every side. Yet I was preserved unhurt. A few days after this, the Lord was pleased to visit me again. The pains of hell gat hold upon me, the snares of death encompassed me. I durst no longer commit any outward sin, and I prayed God to be merciful to my soul. Now I was at a loss for books. But God took care for this also. One day as I was at work, I found an old Bible in one of the train-waggons. To read this, I soon forsook my old companions; all but one, who was still a thorn in my flesh. But not long after he sickened and died. My Bible was now my only companion, and I believed myself a very good Christian, till we came to Winter-quarters, where I met with John Haime. But I was soon sick of his company. For he robbed me of my treasure; he stole away my gods, telling me, "I and my works were going to hell together." This was strange doctrine to me, who being wholly ignorant of the righteousness of Christ, sought only to establish my own righteousness. And being naturally of a stubborn temper, my poor brother was so perplexed with me, that sometimes he was resolved (as he afterwards told me) to forbid my coming to him any more. When the Lord had at length opened my eyes, and shewn me that "by grace we are saved, through faith," I began immediately to declare it to others, though I had not as yet experienced it myself. But October 23. as William Clements was at prayer, I felt on a sudden a great alteration in my soul.

My eyes overflowed with tears of love. I knew I was through Christ reconciled to God; which enflamed my soul with fervent love to him, whom I now saw to be my complete Redeemer. O the tender care of almighty God, in bringing up his children! How are we bound to love so indulgent a Father, and to fall down in wonder and adoration of his great and glorious name for his tender mercies!—Dear Sir, I beg you will pray for him who is not worthy to be a door-keeper to the least of my Master's servants." JOHN EVANS.

He continued both to preach and to live the gospel, till the battle of Fontenoy. One of his companions saw him there, laid across a cannon, (both his legs having been taken off by a chain-shot) praising God and exhorting all that were round about him; which he did till his spirit returned to God.

1745.

*Awakening in Cornwall.—Comfortable Deaths.—Publick Affairs.—Letters from the Soldiers abroad.—More seriousness than ordinary in England.*

Friday, April 19. William Fenwick rode with me to L—d, the minister of which had told him again and again, "Be sure to bring Mr. Wesley with you when he comes. It is for my soul: for the good of my poor soul." When we were alone, he told me, "Sir, I have read your writings: but I could not believe them till very lately. Now I know your doctrine is true. God himself has shewn it to me. A few days since I was in a great agony of soul, praying to God to forgive my sins. And there was such a light about me as I cannot express: and I knew, God had heard my prayer. And my heart was filled with the love of God; and ever since I pray and praise him all day long." I asked, If he had told this to any one else? He said, "I began to tell it one I thought a very good Christian; but he seemed to think I was distracted. So I spoke no more. And indeed I don't know any that would hear me." I told him, "You will meet with many such trials as this, and with many others which you are not yet aware of." He answered, "I know that I cannot bear them of myself. I have no strength, unless I watch and pray always. But I do pray always. And what are trials to me? I am not in the world. I live in eternity. I cannot turn any way but I see God. He is with me continually, and on every side."

Monday, July 15. Mr. Bennet met us at Trewint, and told us, Francis Walker had been driven thence, and had since been an instrument of great good, where-ever he had been. Indeed I never remember so great an awakening in Cornwall, wrought in so short a time, among young and old, rich and poor, from Trewint quite to the sea-side.

I had now leisure to look over the letters I had received this Summer: some extracts of which are here subjoined.

Bristol, June 6th, 1745.—"I have delivered another of my charge to the Lord. On Saturday night Molly Thomas was taken home. She was always constant in the use of all the means, and behaved well, both at home and abroad. After she was taken ill, she was distressed indeed, between the pain of her body, and the anguish of her soul. But where

is all pain gone, when Jesus comes? When he manifests himself to the heart? In that hour she cried out, "Christ is mine! I know my sins are forgiven me." Then she sung praise to him that loved her, and bought her with his own blood. The fear of death was gone, and she longed to leave her father, her mother, and all her friends. She said, "I am almost at the top of the ladder. Now I see the towers before me, and a large company coming up behind me. I shall soon go. 'Tis but for Christ to speak the word, and I am gone. I only wait for that word, "Rise up, my love, and come away." When they thought her strength was gone, she broke out again,

"Christ hath the foundation laid,  
And Christ shall build me up;  
Surely I shall soon be made  
Partaker of my hope.  
Author of my faith he is;  
He its finisher shall be:  
Perfect love shall seal me his  
To all eternity."

So she fell asleep. O Lord, my God, glory be to thee for all things. I feel such desires in my soul after God, that my strength goes away. I feel there is not a moment's time to spare; and yet how many do I lose? Lord Jesus give me to be more and more diligent and watchful in all things. It is no matter to me, how I was an hour ago. Is my soul now waiting upon God? O that I may in all things, and through all things, see nothing but Christ. O that when he comes, he may find me watching!" S. C.

Wednesday, September 18. About five we came to Newcastle, in an acceptable time. We found the generality of the inhabitants in the utmost consternation; news being just arrived, that the morning before, at two o'clock, the Pretender had entered Edinburgh. A great concourse of people were with us in the evening, to whom I expounded the third chapter of Jonah: insisting particularly on that verse, "Who can tell, if God will return, and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not?" Friday 20. I had desired all our brethren, to join with us this day, in seeking God by fasting and prayer. About one we met, and poured out our souls before him. And we believed he would send an answer of peace.

Sunday, November 3. I preached about half an hour after eight, to a larger congregation than any before, on "The kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye and believe the gospel." And were it only for the sake of this hour, I should not have thought much of staying here longer than I intended. Between one and two in the afternoon, I went to the camp once more. Abundance of people now flocked together, horse and foot, rich and poor, to whom I declared, "There is no difference, for all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." I observed many Germans standing disconsolate at the skirts of the congregation: to these I was constrained (though I had discontinued it so long) to speak a few words in their own language. Immediately they gathered up close together, and drank in every word.



Friday 22. The alarm daily increafing, concerning the rebels on one hand, and the French on the other, we perceived the wifdom and goodnefs of HIM, who hath his way in the whirlwind. The generality of people were a little inclined to think. And many began to own the hand of God. Monday 25. I retired to Newington, in order to finifh the *Farther Appeal*: the ftate of the public affairs loudly demanding, that whatever was done, fhould be done quickly. Thursday 28. I wrote *A Word to a Drunkard*. Friday 29. I fpent an hour with Mr. La——, who had been a deift for many years, till it pleafed God, by the *Earneft Appeal*, to bring him to a better mind.

About this time I received another letter from abroad, the fubftance of which follows:

Leare near Antwerp, Oct. 21. 1745.—“ Since I wrote to you laft, I have gone through great trials. It was not the leaft, that I have loft my dear brother Clements for a feafon, being fhoot through both the arms. To try me farther, C. Evans and Bifhop were both killed in the battle, as was C. Greenwood foon after. Two more who did fpeak boldly in the name of Jefus, are fallen into the world again. So I am left alone. April 30. The Lord was pleafed to try our little flock, and to fhew them his mighty power. Some days before, one of them ftanding at his tent-door, broke out into raptures of joy, [thinking] his departure was at hand, and was fo filled with the love of God, that he danced before his comrades. In the battle, before he died, he openly declared, “ I am going to reft from my labours in the bofom of Jefus.” I believe nothing like this was ever heard of before, in the midft of fo wicked an army as ours. Some were crying out in their wounds, “ I am going to my beloved,” others, “ Come, Lord Jefus, come quickly:” and many that were not wounded, crying to their Lord, to take them to himfelf. There was fuch boldnefs in the battle among this little, defpifed flock, that it made the officers, as well as common foldiers, amazed. And they acknowledge it to this day. As to my own part, I ftood the fire of the enemy for above feven hours. Then my horfe was fhoot under me, and I was expofed both to the enemy and our own horfe. But that did not difcourage me at all; for I knew the God of Jacob was with me. I had a long way to go, the balls flying on every fide; and thoufands lay bleeding, groaning, dying, and dead on each hand. Surely I was in the fiery furnace, but it never finged one hair of my head. The hotter it grew, the more ftrength was given me. I was full of joy and love, as much as I could well bear. Going on, I met one of our brethren, with a little difh in his hand, seeking for water. He fmiled, and faid, He had got a fore wound in his leg: I afked, “ Have you gotten Chrift in your heart?” He answered, “ I have, and I have had him all the day. Bleffed be God that I ever faw your face.” Lord, what am I, that I fhould be counted worthy to fet my hand to the gospel-plough? Lord, humble me, and lay me in the duft!” J. H.

Wednesday, December 18. Being the day of the national faft, we met at four in the morning. I preached on Joel ii. 12. &c. At nine our fervice in Weft-Street began. At five I preached at the Foundery a-

gain, on "The Lord sitteth above the water-floods." Abundance of people were at West-Street chape, and at the Foundry both morning and evening: as also (we understood) at every place of publick worship, throughout London and Westminster. And such a solemnity and seriousness every where appeared as had not lately been seen in England. We had within a short time given away some thousands of little tracts among the common people. And the lord mayor had ordered a large quantity of papers, dissuading from cursing and swearing, to be printed, and distributed to the train-bands. And this day, an earnest exhortation to serious repentance, was given at every church door in or near London, to every person that came out, and one left at the house of every householder who was absent from church. I doubt not but God gave a blessing therewith. And perhaps then the sentence of desolation was recalled. It was on this very day, that the duke's army was so remarkably preserved, in the midst of the Ambuscades at Clifton-moor. The rebels fired many volleys upon the king's troops, from the hedges and walls, behind which they lay. And yet, from first to last, only ten or twelve men fell, the shot flying over their heads.

[See also several remarkable particulars in the year 1746, in pages 123, 125, 133, 151, 156, 158, of Mr. WESLEY's Sixth Journal.]

#### C O N C L U S I O N .

*Letter from Dr. DODDRIDGE to Mr. WESLEY.—A Passage from Mr. WESLEY's Answer to Mr. CHURCH's second Letter.—Nature of the main Doctrines preached.—The Fruits.*

[ From the Sixth Journal. ]

Wednesday, July 2. 1746. I received the following letter from that amiable man, who is now with God.

Northampton, June 29. 1746.—"Rev. and Dear Sir, I am truly glad, that the long letter I last sent you was agreeable to you. I bless God that my prejudices against the writers of the establishment were so early removed and conquered. And I greatly rejoice when I see in those, whom upon other accounts, I must highly esteem as the excellent of the earth, that their prejudices against their brethren of any denomination are likewise subsided, and that we are coming nearer to the harmony in which I hope we shall ever be one in Christ Jesus. I have always esteemed it to be the truest act of friendship, to use our mutual endeavours to render the characters of each other as blameless, and as valuable as possible. And I have never felt a more affectionate sense of my obligations, than when those worthy persons who have honoured me with their affection and correspondence, have freely told me what they thought amiss, in my temper and conduct. This, therefore, dear Sir, is an office which you might reasonably expect from me, if I had for some time enjoyed an intimate knowledge of you. But it has always been a maxim with me, Not to believe any flying story, to the prejudice of those, whom I had apparent reason from what I knew of them to esteem. And consequently, as I should never make this a foun-

dation, you must be contented to wait longer, before you will be likely to receive that office of fraternal love which you ask from,

Rev. and dear Sir, your obliged and affectionate Brother and Servant,

P. DODDRIDGE.

[ From Mr. WESLEY'S Answer to Mr. CHURCH'S second Letter, page 65. ]

From the year 1725 to 1729, I preached much, but saw no fruit of my labour. Indeed it could not be that I should; for I neither laid the foundation of repentance, nor of believing the gospel: taking it for granted, that all to whom I preached, were believers; and that many of them needed no repentance. 2. From the year 1729 to 1734, laying a deeper foundation of repentance, I saw a little fruit. But it was only a little; and no wonder. For I did not preach faith in the blood of the covenant. 3. From 1734 to 1738, speaking more of faith in Christ, I saw more fruit of my preaching and visiting from house to house, than ever I had done before: tho' I know not, if any of those who were outwardly reformed, were inwardly and thoroughly converted to God. 4. From 1738 to this time, speaking continually of Jesus Christ, laying him only for the foundation of the whole building, making him all in all, the First and the Last: preaching wholly on this plan, "The kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye and believe the gospel." The word of God ran as fire among the stubble; it was glorified more and more: multitudes crying out, "What must we do to be saved?" And afterwards witnessing, "By grace we are saved thro' faith." 5. I considered deeply with myself, what I ought to do? whether to declare the things I had seen or not? I consulted the most serious friends I had. They all agreed, I ought to declare them: that the work itself was of such a kind, as ought in no wise to be concealed; and indeed, that the unusual circumstances now attending it, made it impossible that it should. 6. This very difficulty occurred, "Will not my speaking of this be boasting? at least, will it not be accounted so?" They replied, "If you speak of it as your own work, it will be vanity and boasting all over: but if you ascribe it wholly to God, if you give him all the praise, it will not. And if, after this, some will account it so still, you must be content, and bear the burden." 7. I yielded, and transcribed my papers for the press; only labouring, as far as possible, to "render unto God the things which are God's," to give him the praise of his own work.

[As to doctrines] I have again and again, with all the plainness I could, declared, what our constant doctrines are: whereby we are distinguished only from Heathens, or nominal Christians; not from any that worship God in spirit and in truth. Our main doctrines, which include all the rest, are three, that of repentance, of faith, and of holiness. The first of these we account, as it were, the porch of religion: the next, the door; the third is religion itself.

That repentance, or conviction of sin, which is always previous to faith (either in a higher or lower degree, as it pleases God) we describe in words to this effect: "When men feel in themselves the heavy burden of sin, see damnation to be the reward of it, behold with the eye

of their mind, the horror of hell: they tremble, they quake, and are inwardly touched with sorrowfulness of heart, and cannot but accuse themselves, and open their grief unto almighty God, and call unto him for mercy. This being done seriously, their mind is so occupied, partly with sorrow and heaviness, partly with an earnest desire to be delivered from this danger of hell and damnation, that all desire of meat and drink is laid apart, and loathing of all worldly things and pleasure cometh in place. So that nothing then liketh them more, than to weep, to lament, to mourn, and both with words and behaviour of body, to shew themselves weary of life."

Concerning the gate of religion (if I may be allowed so to speak) the true, Christian, saving faith; we believe it implies abundantly more, than an assent to the truth of the Bible. "Even the devils believe, that Christ was born of a virgin; that he wrought all kind of miracles; that for our sakes he suffered a most painful death, to redeem us from death everlasting. These articles of our faith the very devils believe, and so they believe all that is written in the Old and New Testament. And yet for all this faith, they be but devils. They remain still in their damnable estate, lacking the very true, Christian faith. The right and true Christian faith is: not only to believe that the holy Scriptures and the articles of our faith are true, but also to have a sure trust and confidence, to be saved from everlasting damnation through Christ.

Religion itself (I chuse to use the very words, wherein I described it long ago) we define, "The loving God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourselves, and in that love abstaining from all evil, and doing all possible good to all men." The same meaning we have sometimes expressed a little more at large, thus: "Religion we conceive to be no other than love; the love of God and of all mankind: the loving God with all our hearts and soul and strength, as having first loved us, as the fountain of all the good we have received, and of all we ever hope to enjoy: and the loving every soul which God hath made, every man on earth as our own soul. This love we believe to be the medicine of life, the never-failing remedy, for all the evils of a disordered world, for all the miseries and vices of men. Wherever this is, there are virtue and happiness, going hand in hand. There is humbleness of mind, gentleness, long-suffering, the whole image of God, and at the same time, a peace that passeth all understanding, and joy unspeakable, full of glory. This religion we long to see established in the world, a religion of love, and joy, and peace; having its seat in the inmost soul, but ever shewing itself by its fruits: continually springing forth, not only in all innocence (for love worketh no ill to his neighbour) but likewise in every kind of beneficence, spreading virtue and happiness all around it."

However, with regard to the fruits of our teaching, you say, "It is to be feared, the numbers of serious men who have been perplexed and deluded, are much greater than the numbers of notorious sinners, who have been brought to repentance and good life." If the question were proposed, "Which are greater, the numbers of serious men who have been perplexed and deluded, or of notorious sinners who have been brought to repentance and good life" by these preachers, throughout

England within seven years: it might be difficult for you to fix the conclusion. For England is a place of wide dimensions; nor is it easy to make a satisfactory computation, unless you confine yourself within a smaller compass. Suppose then we were to contract the question, in order to make it a little less unweildy? We will bound our inquiry, for the present, within a square of three or four miles. It may be certainly known by candid men, both what has been, and what is now done within this distance. And from hence they may judge of those fruits elsewhere, which they cannot be so particularly informed of.

Enquire then, "Which are greater, the numbers of serious men perplexed and deluded by these teachers, or of notorious sinners brought to repentance and good life, within the forest of Kingswood?" Many indeed of the inhabitants are nearly as they were; are not much better or worse for their preaching: because the neighbouring clergy and gentry have successfully laboured to deter them from hearing it. But between three and four hundred of those who would not be deterred, are now under the care of those preachers. Now, what number of these were serious Christians before? Were fifty? were twenty? were ten? Peradventure, there might five such be found. But 'tis a question, whether there could or no. The remainder were gross, open sinners, common swearers, drunkards, Sabbath-breakers, whoremongers, plunderers, robbers, implacable, unmerciful, wolves and bears in the shape of men. Do you desire instances of more notorious sinners than these?

Not that all the "Methodists (so called) were very wicked people before they followed us." There are those among them, and not a few, who are able to stop the boasting of those that despise them, and to say, "Wherein soever any of you is bold, I am bold also:" only they "count all these things but loss, for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus." But these we found, as it were, when we sought them not. We went forth to call the most flagrant, hardened, desperate sinners to repentance. To this end we preached in the Horse-fair at Bristol, in Kingswood, in Newcastle: among the colliers in Staffordshire, and the tanners in Cornwall: in Southwark, Wapping, Moorfields, Drury-lane, London. Did any man ever pick out such places as these, in order to find "serious, regular, well-disposed people?" How many such might then be in any of them I know not. But this I know, that four in five of those who are now with us, were not of that number, but were wallowing in their blood, till God by us said unto them, LIVE.

Sir, I willingly put the whole cause on this issue: what are the general consequences of this preaching? are there more tares or wheat? more good men destroyed (that is the proper question) or wicked men saved? The last place where we began constant preaching, is a part of Wiltshire and Somersetshire, near Bath. Now, let any man enquire at Rhode, Bradford, Rexal, or among the colliers at Coleford, 1. What kind of people were those, "before they followed these men?" 2. What are the main doctrines they have been teaching for this twelve-month? 3. What effect have these doctrines upon their followers? What manner of lives do they lead now? And if you do not find,

1. That three in four of these were two years ago notoriously wicked men. 2. That the main doctrines they have heard since were, "Love God and your neighbour, and carefully keep his commandments." And 3. That they have since exercised themselves herein, and continue so to do: I say, if you or any reasonable man, who will be at the pains to enquire, does not find this to be an unquestionable fact, I will openly acknowledge myself an Enthusiast, or whatsoever else you shall please to stile me.

## SECTION II.

[ From Mr. WHITEFIELD's Journals. ]

1737, 1738.

*From London to Gibraltar.—From Gibraltar to Savannah.—His return to London.—The Work of God there.*

WEDNESDAY, December 28, 1737. After having continued instant in prayer with my friends at Mr. J. H's, and afterwards receiving the holy sacrament at St. Dunstan's, being recommended to the grace of God by a great number of weeping Christian brethren at the rev. Mr. H's, I set out at night for Deptford.

Saturday, December 31. Began this morning to have public prayers on open deck, at which the officer and soldiers attended with decency and reverence. After prayer I enlarged a little on those words of St. Paul, "I am determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified."

Gibraltar, Saturday Feb. 25, 1738. About six this morning went with friend H. to the church to pray with some devout soldiers, who I heard used to meet there at that time. I found that their society had been subsisting about twelve years, and that one serjeant B. now amongst them, was the first beginner of it. At first they told me they used to meet in dens and mountains, and caves in the rocks; but afterwards upon their applying for leave to build a little place to retire in, Dr. C. and governor S. gave them the free use of the church, where they constantly meet three times in a day, to pray, read, and sing psalms, and at any other season when they please. I conversed closely with several of them, and they made me quite ashamed of my little proficiency in the school of Christ. Many have joined with them for a time, but a servile fear of man, that bane of Christianity, made them draw back. However, some continue stedfast and immoveable, and though despised by the world, are no doubt highly favoured of God. Governor S. countenances them much, and has spoke of them often to me with respect. There is also another society of the Scots church. It has subsisted about a year, and is made up of many serious Christians, as I was informed. I sent them, as well as the other society, some proper books; had religious talk with several of them, and endeavoured to unite both societies together.

Tuesday, Feb. 28. Was asked by Dr. C. in the name of the governor colonel C. to preach every prayer-day whilst I stayed at Gibraltar,

which I promised to do. Many of the inhabitants pressed me to stay with them, and were exceeding kind to those who were with me.

Friday, March 3. I preached my sermon against *swearing*, and made a farewell application to the soldiers that were going over to Georgia out of that garrison. The governor had that morning reviewed them; and as I could not be in the same ship with them, I desired they might be ordered to come to church, that I might have an opportunity of telling them how to behave in that land which they were going over the sea to protect. The colonel and governor most readily consented; there was a most thronged audience, and God was pleased to set his seal to my sermon: many officers and soldiers wept sorely, and a visible alteration was observed in the garrison for some days after. "O that their convictions may end in their conversion, and that they may bring forth the fruits of the Spirit!"

Monday, March 6. Had near, if not more than a hundred at morning exposition; and it being the last day of my sojourning at Gibraltar, many came to me weeping, telling me what God had done for their souls, desiring my prayers, and promising me theirs in return.—Who more unlikely to be wrought upon than soldiers? and yet, God has made his power to be known. Many that were [in gross darkness have been enlightened;] many that have fallen back, have repented, and turned unto the Lord again; many that were ashamed to own Christ openly, have waxen bold; and many that were saints have had their hearts filled with joy unspeakable, and full of glory.

Sunday, March 26. This day God, I trust, magnified his power in the conversion of a young gentleman on board, whom he has been pleased to visit with a fever. His convictions were strong, and, as far as I could find, a thorough renovation began in his heart: "The Lord perfect it."—Exchanged some bad books that were on board (which I threw immediately into the sea) for some good ones; blessed be God, all that I have found them with, as yet, have been ready to surrender them up.

April 3. Had some farther conversation with the young gentleman whose conversion I mentioned before, and who I hope is really quickened from above. He told me he used to wonder to hear me talk that all our thoughts, words, and actions, ought to be dedicated unto God, but now he perceived what I said to be true. April 8. And now indeed we live more comfortably in the great cabin than can easily be imagined. We talk of little else but God and Christ. God has greatly blessed that excellent book, *The Country Parson's Advice to his Parishioners*.

April 15. I was called in a hurry to pray by one of the devout soldiers who came from Gibraltar, and who was supposed to be expiring. I came, and rejoiced in spirit; for his soul seemed full of God. Instead of being affrighted at the approach of the king of terrors, he welcomed it, and said, he was going to his dear Redeemer; then he fell as it were into a trance, and poured out his heart in repeating some very applicable verses out of the Psalms. Upon which we thought he would have died: but lo! God brought him from the nethermost hell. From that instant the fever left him, and he recovered. Oh, what difference is there between him that feareth God, and him that feareth him not, in

their last hours. April 16. This evening I was sent for by a sailor, who has been the most remarkable swearer on board; and whom I in an especial manner warned about two days ago; but he laughed at it. But to-night he sent for me, trembling, and burning with a fever, told me what grievous sins he had been guilty of, and prayed most fervently for repentance. Two or three of the same stamp have been taken in the same manner. "God grant they may flee from the wrath to come!" April 18. Several squalls came upon us, which afforded me glorious matter for adoring that great good God, whom winds and storms obey. The sailors were in great hurry and confusion, but not one single oath was heard all the while: a proof this, that sailors may pull their ropes without swearing, and that the words spoken to them have not altogether fallen to the ground: blessed be God!

Savannah, Friday, June 2. This evening parted with kind captain Whiting, and my dear friend Delamotte, who embarked for England about seven at night. The poor people lamented the loss of him, and went to the water-side to take a last farewell. And good reason had they to do so: for he has been indefatigable in feeding Christ's lambs with the sincere milk of the word, and many of them (blessed be God) have grown thereby. Surely, I must labour most heartily, since I come after such worthy predecessors. The good Mr. John Wesley has done in America, under God, is inexpressible. His name is very precious among the people; and he has laid such a foundation, that I hope neither men nor devils will ever be able to shake.

Tuesday, July 12. Returned from Ebenezer, the place where the Saltzburghers are settled, and was wonderfully pleased with their order and industry. They are blest with two such pious ministers, as I have not often seen: they have no courts of judicature, but all little differences are immediately and implicitly decided by their ministers, whom they look upon and love as their fathers. They have likewise an Orphan-house, in which are seventeen children, and one widow, and I was much delighted to see the regularity wherewith it is managed.—"Oh that God may stir up the hearts of his servants to contribute towards that and another which we hope to have erected at Savannah." Mr. Boltzius, one of their ministers, being with me on Saturday, I gave him some of my poor's store for his orphans, and when I came to Ebenezer, he called them all before him, catechised and exhorted them to give God thanks for his good providence towards them; then prayed with them, and made them pray after him; then sung a Psalm, and afterwards the little lambs came and shook me by the hand one by one, and so we parted, and I scarce was ever better pleased in my life.—Surely, whoever contributes to the relief of the Saltzburghers, will perform an acceptable sacrifice to our blessed Master.

Monday, August 28. This being the day of my departure [for England] it was mostly spent in taking leave of my flock, who expressed their affection now more than ever, coming to me from the morning, to the time I left them, with tears in their eyes, wishing me a prosperous voyage, and safe return, and giving me things proper for my passage.



Friday, December 8. About noon I reached London, was received with much joy by my Christian friends, and joined with them in psalms and thanksgiving for my safe arrival. December 10. Here seems to be a great pouring out of the Spirit; and many, who were awakened by my preaching a year ago, are now grown strong men in Christ, by the ministrations of my dear friends and fellow-labourers, John and Charles Wesley. Blessed be God! Sat. Dec. 30. Preached nine times this week, and expounded near eighteen times.—Blessed be God! I am employed from morning till midnight.—There's no end of people's coming and sending to me, and they seem more and more desirous, like new-born babes, to be fed with the sincere milk of the word.—What a great work has been wrought in the hearts of many within this twelvemonth!

1739.

*He preaches at Newgate.——To the Colliers of Kingswood.——Of Mr. Griffith Jones.——Letter from Mr. J. Wesley.——Of Howel Harris.——Mr. Benjamin Seward.——Very large Congregations.——Mr. Delamotte's Family.——The successful Ministry of Messrs. Tennent, Messrs. Freeling Housen, Crofts, &c. in America.*

London, January 3. Staid at home on purpose to receive those who wanted to consult me.—Blessed be God, from seven in the morning till three in the afternoon, people came, some telling me what God had done for their souls, and others crying out, "What shall we do to be saved? Being obliged to go out after this, I referred several till Thursday.—How does God work by my unworthy hands! His mercies melt me down. Oh that I was thankful!

Windfor, Feb. 8. I find much service might be done to religion on journeys, if we had but courage to shew ourselves Christians in all places: Others sing songs in public houses, why should not we sing psalms? And when we give the servants money, why may we not with that give them a little book, and some good advice? I know by experience it is very beneficial. "God grant this may be always my practice?" Friday, Feb. 16. Begun this morning to settle a daily exposition, and reading prayers to the prisoners in Newgate. I opened it by enlarging on the conversion of the jailor.

Saturday, Feb. 17. About one in the afternoon I went with my brother Seward, and another friend, to Kingswood, and was most delightfully entertained by an old disciple of the Lord.—My bowels yearned toward the poor colliers, who, as far as I can find, are very numerous, and yet are as sheep having no shepherd.—After dinner therefore, I went upon a mount, and spake to as many people as came unto me. They were upwards of two hundred.—"Blessed be God that I have now broke the ice; I believe I never was more acceptable to my Master than when I was standing to teach those hearers in the open fields."

Amongst the letters I received from religious correspondents, one writes thus, "We had such a remarkable and sensible presence of God with us at Beech-lane this evening, as my eyes and ears were never such witnesses of before. In the midst of Mr. J. Wesley's exposition, a woman

present had such convictions of her lost estate by nature, and such a sense of sin, that she could not forbear crying out aloud; upon which Mr. Wesley, breaking off, went to her, who earnestly desired him to pray for her, which he did in the presence of two or three hundred people, hardly one of whom, I think, could forbear tears; upon which she had comfort.

Thursday, February 22. I went with some Christian friends to Bath; where I was much comforted by meeting with several that love our Lord Jesus in sincerity.—More especially, I was edified by the pious conversation of the rev. Mr. Griffith Jones, whom I have desired to see of a long season. His words came with power, and the account he gave me of the many obstructions he had met with in his ministry, convinced me that I was but a young soldier, just entering the field.

Thursday, March 1. Amongst my other letters I received the following one from the rev. Mr. John Wesley: [Part of which is,]

February 20.—“My dear Brother, Our Lord’s hand is not shortened amongst us. Yesterday I preached at St. Katherine’s, and at Islington. I think I never was so much strengthened before. About three hundred were present at Mr. S——’s; thence I went to Mr. B——’s; where also we wanted room.—To-day I expound in the minories at four, at Mrs. W——’s at six, and to a large company of poor sinners in Gravel-lane (Bishopgate) at eight. The society at Mr. Crouch’s does not meet till eight; so that I expound before I go to him near St. James’ Square. On Wednesday at six, we have a noble company of women not adorned with gold or costly apparel, but with a meek and quiet spirit, and good works.—At the Savoy, on Thursday evening, we have usually two or three hundred, most of them, at least, thoroughly awakened. Mr. A——’s parlour is more than filled on Friday, as is Mr. P——’s room twice over. On Saturday se’ennight, a middle-aged, well-dressed woman at Beech-lane (where I expound usually to five or six hundred before I go to Mr. E——’s society) was seized, as it appeared to several about her, with little less than the agonies of death. We prayed that God, who had brought her to the birth, would give her strength to bring forth. Five days she was in bondage. On Thursday evening our Lord got himself the victory; and, from that moment, she has been full of love and joy, which she openly declared on Saturday last; so that thanksgivings were given to God by many on her account.”

The following paragraph was likewise in a letter I received from my dear brother Kinchin of Oxon. “God has greatly blessed us at Oxford of late. We have reason to think, that four, within this fortnight, have been born of God. The people crowd to the societies on Sunday nights, several gownsmen amongst the rest. God has much assisted me. Last night we had a thronged Society, and about forty gownsmen.”

Cardiff, March 8, I was much refreshed with the sight of my dear brother Howel Harris; whom, tho’ I knew not in person, I have long since loved in the bowels of Jesus Christ, and have often felt my soul drawn out in prayer in his behalf. “A burning and a shining light has he been in those parts; a barrier against profaneness and immorality, and an indefatigable promoter of the true gospel of Jesus Christ. About

three or four years God has inclined him to go about doing good. He is now above twenty five years of age. Twice he has applied (being every way qualified) for holy orders; but was refused, under a false pretence, that he was not of age, tho' he was then twenty two years and six months. About a month ago he offered himself again, but was put off. Upon this, he was, and is still resolved to go on in his work; and indefatigable zeal has been shewn in his Master's service. For these three years he has discoursed almost twice every day for three or four hours together; not authoritatively, as a minister; but as a private person, exhorting his Christian brethren. He has been, I think, in seven counties, and has made it his business to go to wakes, &c. to turn people from such lying vanities. Many alehouse people, fidlers, harpers, &c. sadly cry out against him for spoiling their business. \* \* \* \* \* He has been threatened with publick prosecutions, and had constables sent to apprehend him. But God has blessed him with inflexible courage; he is of a most catholic spirit, loves all that loves our Lord Jesus Christ, and therefore he is stiled by bigots, a Dissenter. He is contemned by all that are lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God; but God has greatly blessed his pious endeavours. Many own him as their spiritual father, and, I believe, would lay down their lives for his sake. He discourses generally in a field; but at other times in a house, from a wall, a table, or any thing else. He has established near thirty societies in South-Wales, and still his sphere of action is enlarged daily. After I had saluted him, and given an exhortation to a great number of people, who followed me to the inn, we spent the remainder of the evening in taking sweet counsel together, and telling one another what God had done for our souls. We [also] took an account of the several societies, and agreed on such measures as seem most conducive to promote the common interest of our Lord. Blessed be God, there seems to be a noble spirit gone out into Wales. They have many burning and shining lights both among the dissenting and church ministers, amongst whom Mr. Griffith Jones shines in particular. No less than fifty charity-schools have been erected by his means, without any settled visible fund, and fresh ones are setting up every day. People make nothing of coming twenty miles to hear a sermon, and great numbers there are who have not only been hearers, but doers also of the word; so that there is a most comfortable prospect of the spreading of the gospel in Wales.

Bath, March 12. Received news of the progress of the gospel in Yorkshire, under the ministry of my dear brother Ingham. Keinsam, Thursday March 22. Received a letter which brought me word of the flourishing of the gospel at Oxford.—Had many gracious souls come to me to consult me in spiritual cases, and could not but rejoice to see how secretly and irresistibly the kingdom of Jesus Christ is carried on, in spite of all opposition. Wednesday, March 28. Had the pleasure of hearing, that above an hundred people set apart a day for prayer in behalf of me and my dear brother Howel Harris, &c.

Thurs. March 29. Blessed be God, I hope a good work is begun to-

day. Having had several notices that the colliers of Kingswood were willing to subscribe, I collected above twenty pounds in money, and got above forty pounds in subscriptions toward building them a charity school. — It was surprizing to see with what cheerfulness they parted with their money on this occasion. — Was I to continue here, I would endeavour to settle schools all over the wood, as also in other places, as Mr. Griffith Jones has done in Wales. — But I have but just time to set it on foot. — I hope God will bless the ministry of my honoured friend Mr. John Wesley, and enable him to bring it to good effect. — It is a pity so many little ones as there are in Kingswood, should perish for lack of knowledge. — Stir up thy power, O Lord, and come amongst them, for the sake of Jesus Christ.

Cheapsow, April 7. Oh how swiftly has this week passed off! to me it has been but as one day. How do I pity those polite ones, who complain that time hangs heavy upon their hands! Let them but love Christ, and spend their whole time in his service, and they will find no dull melancholy hours. Want of the love of God I take to be the chief cause of indolence and vapours. Oh that they would up and be doing for Jesus Christ! they would not complain then for the want of spirits.

Gloucester, April 9. I was refreshed by a great packet of letters, giving me an account of the success of the gospel in different parts. God grant I may see it come as powerfully amongst my own countrymen.

Evetham, April 8. Several persons came to see me, amongst whom was Mr. Benjamin Seward, whom God has been pleased to call by his free grace very lately. It pleased God to cast him down, by eight days sickness; in which time, he scarce ever eat, or drank, or slept, and underwent great inward agonies and tortures. After this, God sent a poor travelling woman, that came to sell straw toys, to instruct him in the nature of our second birth, and now he is resolved to prepare for holy orders, and to preach Christ and those truths which once he endeavoured to destroy. — He is a gentleman of a very large fortune, which he has now devoted to God. Blessed be God, that although not many rich, not many mighty, not many noble are called, yet some are. — Who would but be accounted a fool for Christ's sake? How often has my companion and honoured friend, Mr. William Seward, been deemed a madman by this very brother, for going to Georgia? But lo! God now has made him an instrument of converting his brother.

London, April 30. Heard of the wonderful success of my honoured friend Mr. John Wesley's ministry in Bristol.

May 6. Preached this morning in Moorfields to about twenty thousand people, who were very quiet and attentive, and much affected. — Went to public worship morning and evening; — and at six preached at Kennington. But such a sight never did I see before. — I believe there were no less than fifty thousand people; and what is most remarkable, there was an awful silence amongst them, and the word of God came with power. God gave me great enlargement of heart. I continued my discourse for an hour and a half. May 7. Received several letters of the fruits of my ministry in several places, and had divers come to me awakened, under God, by my preaching in the fields.

Friday, June 1. Preached in the evening at a place called May-Fair, near Hyde-Park corner.—The congregation, I believe, consisted of near eighty thousand people.—It was, by far, the largest I ever preached to yet.—In the time of my prayer there was a little noise; but they kept a deep silence during my whole discourse.—An high and very commodious scaffold was erected for me to stand upon; and tho' I was weak in myself, yet God strengthened me to speak so loud that most could hear; and in such a manner, I hope, that most could feel. All love, all glory be to God through Christ.

So weak, so frail an instrument,  
If thou, my God, vouchsafe to use;  
'Tis praise enough to be employ'd,  
Reward enough, if thou excuse.  
If thou excuse, then work thy will  
By so unfit an instrument;  
It will at once thy goodness shew,  
And prove thy pow'r omnipotent.

June 4. Took leave of my weeping friends, and went in company with many of them to Blackheath, where was a very large congregation.—I think I never was so much enlarged since I have preached in the fields.—My discourse was near two hours long, and the people were so melted down, and wept so loud, that they almost drowned my voice.

Thursday, June 7. Received two letters from persons, confessing, that they came to hear me out of a bad motive, but were apprehended by the free grace of Jesus Christ.

Broad-oaks, June 20. Mr. Delamotte came from Cambridge to meet us.—I cannot but remark what wonderful mercies God has shewn this Mr. Delamotte's family.—About three or four years ago, God was pleased to touch the heart of his brother Charles, who hearing that Mr. Wesley was going to Georgia, (tho' his father would have settled him in a very handsome way) offered to go abroad with him as a servant.—His parents consent was asked, but they, and almost all their relations, opposed it strenuously.—However, the young man being resolute, and convinced that God called him, at length they somewhat consented. He went abroad, lived with Mr. Wesley, served under him as a son in the gospel, did much good, and endured great hardships for the sake of Jesus Christ.—Behold, how God rewarded him for leaving all.—Whilst he was absent, God was pleased to make use of the ministry of Mr. Ingham, and Mr. Charles Wesley, in converting his mother, two sisters, and this young gentleman before-mentioned at Cambridge.

Gloucester, Sunday July 1. Preached at seven in the morning to a much increased audience in my brother's field.—Breakfasted at Gloucester, and preached at 11 in the morning, read prayers in the afternoon, and preached at Randwick church, about seven miles from Gloucester. The church was quite full; about 2000 were in the church-yard, who, by taking down the window that lay behind the pulpit, had the convenience of hearing. Many wept sorely. After evening service I hasted to Hampton-common, and, to my great surprize, found no less than

20,000 ready to hear me. New strength was imparted to me from above. I spoke with greater freedom than I had done all the day before. About twelve at night I reached Gloucester much fresher [to my apprehension] than when I left it in the morning. "Surely Jesus Christ is a gracious Master. They that wait upon him shall renew their strength." Monday, July 2. Preached this morning in my brother's field to a larger audience than ever.—Found my spirits much exhausted by yesterday's labours, but notwithstanding a sweet power was amongst us.

Bristol, July 7. Preached at Baptist Mills, and found that Bristol had great reason to bless God for the ministry of Mr. J. Wesley.—The Congregation I observed to be much more serious and affected than when I left them.—And the exemplariness of their conversation in common life, plainly shews that they have not received the grace of God in vain.

Tuesday, July 10. Dined to day with my honoured fellow-labourer, Mr. Wesley, and many other friends at Two-Mile-Hill in Kingwood, and preached afterwards to several thousand people, and colliers, in the school-house, which has been carried on so successfully, that the roof is ready to be put up.—The design I think is good. Old as well as young are to be instructed. A great and a visible alteration is made in the behaviour of the colliers. Instead of cursing and swearing, they are heard to sing hymns about the woods: and the rising generation, I hope, will be a generation of christians.—They seem much affected by the word.—They melt in tears, and are observed to attend the churches and societies when Mr. Wesley is absent from them.—The prospect of their future welfare filled me with joy.

Saturday, July 21. Preached in the evening to upwards of ten thousand at Kennington-common.—The poor souls were ready to leap for joy at my return amongst them.—The word sunk deep into their hearts.—Great numbers melted into tears, and my own heart overflowed with love towards them.—Blessed be God for what has been done here, since I left London, by my honoured friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Charles Wesley. Surely we can see the fruits of our labours. All love, all glory be to God, for giving so great an increase.

July, 22. Received a letter from Mr. Ralph Erskine of Scotland. Some may be offended at my corresponding with him, but I dare not but confess my Lord's disciples.

July 23. My friend, Mr. William Seward received a letter from his brother, in which was the following paragraph: "The old clerk at Breferton, whom I before spoke of, having heard Mr. Whitefield at Badsey, was so affected, that he told me, he could have no rest in his spirit; but after searching the church-homilies, articles, &c. and finding the doctrine every way agreeable to them, he met with the landlord of Contercup, who discoursing about Mr. Whitefield, told him, he had some old books, that set forth the very same doctrine. Soon after this he went to work, being a taylor by trade, and asking for one of these books, the others being lent out, he said, he had not read above a page or two, before the truth broke in upon his soul like lightening. He said, he could not go on with his work with any satisfaction, but his fingers

itched to be at his book again, which the man lent him home with him; a few days after, he got the other, which so strengthened and confirmed him, that he could lay his life down in defence of the truth as it is in Jesus. He says the gospel appears to him, as though he had never read a line in it before; and it is a greater miracle to him, that he, an old sinner, with one foot in the grave, should be called at these years, than if he had seen the dead raised.—He always, by what I can learn, bore a fair character, and was esteemed by his neighbours, but now threatened with the loss of his bread, for coming to Badsey society, and declaring his testimony to the truth of Mr. Whitefield's doctrine, or rather, I should say, the doctrine of the gospel. The books he met with are very old, and, he says, were thrown by as waste paper, whereby the Contercup man met with them, and they seemed very providentially reserved for his use<sup>a</sup>."

August 15. On board the ship bound to Philadelphia. Began to put those of my family, who I thought were prepared for it, into bands.—In all we are eight men, four women, one boy, and two children, besides Mr. Seward and my self.—The conversion of one of the men was particularly remarkable.—Not long since he was a master of a ship, which was lost near the gulph of Florida.—Providence was pleased to throw him and his crew upon a sand-bank, where they continually expected the waters to overwhelm them. At the end of ten days they saw a ship, and made a signal of distress.—The ship made towards them; the captain (now with me) went out with his boat, and begged for a passage for himself and men.—It was granted him, on condition he would leave some of his crew behind upon the sand-bank, but he would not consent.—At length the other commander agreed to take all.—But as soon as ever my friend put off his boat to fetch them, the commander of the ship made sail and left them.—All this seemed quite against; but in the end God shewed it was intended for the good of my friend.—After thirty days continuance upon the sand-bank, having fitted up the boat with some planks they had took out of a ship which had been lost five months before, nine of them committed themselves to the providence of God.—The others cared not to venture themselves in so small a boat.—Having sailed about 140 leagues, they at length came to Tyby island, ten miles off Savannah.—An inhabitant being near that place, espied them, and brought them home with him.—Being then in Georgia, and informed of what had happened, I invited the captain to breakfast with me, and reminded him of the goodness of God.—He then seemed serious, and coming very providentially in the same ship with me, when I returned to England, God was pleased to work more effectually upon his soul, and he is now returned with me to Georgia again.

October 3. About five in the evening, we landed at Lewis Town, situated in the Southern part of the province of Pensilvania. We had not been long in the inn, but two or three of the chief inhabitants being apprized of my arrival, came and spent the evening with us, and de-

<sup>a</sup> One of them was Bolton's Directions, of whom see Vol. i. page 139. The other, some Pieces of Daniel Dykes, B. D. printed 1617.

fired me to give them a sermon on the morrow.—We supped very comfortably together, and after prayers, and singing with the family, I and my dear companions went to rest, admiring more and more the goodness and providence of the all-wise God. He is the great Householder of the whole world; all places and persons are so many little parts of his great family.—I pray to him before I go, and I find in answer to my prayer, he always commands some or other of his household to take care of, and provide for me.—As here's the same sun, so here's the same God in America as in England.—I bless God, all places are equal to me, so I am where God would have me to be. I hope I shall never account myself at home, till I arrive at my heavenly Father's house above.—However, I desire patiently to tarry till my blessed change comes. Heaven will be doubly sweet when I am worn out with distresses for the sake of Jesus Christ.—“Lord, grant I may continually be looking up to the glory which is to be revealed hereafter, and then deal with me as it seemeth good in thy sight, during my pilgrimage here.”

If rough and thorny be my way,  
My strength proportion to my day;  
'Till toil and grief, and pain shall cease,  
Where all is calm, and joy and peace!

New Brunswick in America, Nov. 20. Preached about noon, for near two hours, in worthy Mr. Tennent's meeting-house, to a large assembly gathered together from all parts; and amongst them, as Mr. Tennent told me, there was a great body of solid Christians. About three in the afternoon, I preached again, and at seven I baptized two children, and preached a third time with greater freedom than at either of the former opportunities.—It is impossible to tell with what pleasure the children of God heard those truths confirmed by a minister of the church of England, which for many years have been preached to them by their own pastor.—Mr. Tennent's opposers mouths were stopt, several were brought under strong convictions, and our Lord's dear disciples were ready to leap for joy.—Among others that came to hear the word, were several ministers whom the Lord has been pleased to honour, in making instruments of bringing many sons to glory. One was a Dutch minister, named Freeling Housen, pastor of a congregation about four miles off New Brunswick; he is a worthy soldier of Jesus Christ, and was the beginner of the great work which I trust the Lord is carrying on in these parts.—He has been strongly opposed by some persons, but God has always appeared for him in a surprising manner, and made him more than conqueror through his love.—He has long since learnt to fear him only who can destroy both body and soul in hell.—Another was one Mr. Cross, minister of a congregation at Barking-bridge, about twenty miles from Brunswick.—A most remarkable out-pouring of the Spirit has been frequently seen in his assembly, for which he has been opposed much by natural men.—He himself told me of many wonderful effects, and sudden conversions that had been wrought by the Lord under his ministry.—For some time eight or nine used to come to him together, in deep distress of soul; and I think he said, three hundred of his congregation, which is not



very large, were effectually brought home to Christ. He indeed is one who I believe would rejoice to suffer for the Lord Jesus.—Oh! that I may be like-minded!—A third minister was one Mr. Campbell, who has been a preacher of the doctrines of grace for these four years, was a regular moral liver, and accounted a very good man, but within these few months, being convinced of sin, and that he knew nothing experimentally of Jesus Christ, though he had pretended to preach him so long, after many struggles with himself, he told the synod he was unconverted, and therefore dared not preach till he was. [See the right determination of this question in a parallel case, page 120.]—He has laboured under great distress of soul.—By some he is looked upon as melancholy, and besides himself; but I had much discourse with him, and really believe these humiliations will prepare him for great and eminent services in the church of God.—His case puts me in mind of professor Frank, who being on Easter-day to preach on the nature of divine faith, and finding he had not that faith himself, was convicted by God of his unregenerate state, upon which he ran into the woods, was there deeply humbled, and at last became a most exalted instance of faith. At our persuasion, Mr. Campbell promised to preach next Sunday. November 21. Mr. Rowland, another faithful minister of Jesus Christ, gave us the meeting.—He has been a preacher about two years, has went about doing good, and had many seals to his ministry.—Much of the simplicity of Christ was discernible in his behaviour.

November 22. Set out for Neshamini (twenty miles distant from Trent Town) where old Mr. Tennent lives, and keeps an academy, and where I was to preach to day, according to appointment. We found above three thousand people gathered together in the meeting-house yard; and Mr. William Tennent, an eminent servant of Jesus Christ, preaching to them, because we had stayed beyond the time appointed. When I came up, he soon stopped, and sung a psalm, and then I began to speak as the Lord gave me utterance.—At first the people seemed unaffected, but in the midst of my discourse, the power of the Lord Jesus came upon me, and I felt such a struggling within myself for the people, as I scarce ever felt before.—The hearers began to be melted down immediately; and we had reason to hope the Lord intended good for many. After I had finished, Mr. Gilbert Tennent gave a word of exhortation to confirm what had been delivered. At the end of his discourse, we sung a psalm, and then dismissed the people with a blessing. Oh that the Lord may say amen to it!—After our exercises were over, we went to old Mr. Tennent, who entertained us like one of the ancient patriarchs. His wife to me seemed like Elizabeth, and he like Zachary; both as far as I can find, walk in all the ordinances and commandments of the Lord blameless.—Tho' God was pleased to humble my soul, so that I was obliged to retire for a while, yet we had sweet communion with each other, and spent the evening in concerting what

a Near the end of this fifth Journal (from which this passage is taken) Mr. Whitefield says, "Except Northampton in New-England, the work of conversion has not been

carried on with so much power in any parts of America, that I can hear of, as under the ministry of Messrs. Tennent, Cross, and the other labourers before-mentioned."

measures had best be taken for promoting our dear Lord's kingdom. It happens very providentially, that Mr. Tennent and his brethren are appointed to be a presbytery by the synod, so that they intend breeding up gracious youths, and sending them out from time to time into our Lord's vineyard.

Philadelphia, Nov. 25. After I had done preaching, a young gentleman, once a minister of the church of England, but now secretary to Mr. Penn, stood up with a loud voice, and warned the people against the doctrine I had been delivering, urging, that there was no such term as Imputed Righteousness in holy scripture; that such a doctrine put a stop to all goodness; that we were to be judged for our good works and obedience; and were commanded to do and live.—When he had ended, I denied his first proposition, and brought a text to prove an Imputed Righteousness was a scriptural expression; but thinking the church was an improper place for disputation, I said no more at that time. The portion of scripture appointed for the Epistle, was Jerem. xxiii. wherein were these words, “The Lord our Righteousness.” Upon these I discoursed in the afternoon, and shewed how the Lord Jesus was to be our whole Righteousness. Proved how the contrary doctrine overthrew Divine Revelation. Answered the objections that were made against the doctrine of an Imputed Righteousness. Produced the articles of our church to illustrate it, and concluded with an exhortation to all to submit to Jesus Christ, who is the end of the law for Righteousness, to every one that believeth. The verses at the beginning of the chapter out of which the text was taken, are very remarkable, (Jer. xxiii. 1, 2, 3, 4.) God was pleased to fulfil that promise in me; for, blessed be his name, I was not dismayed.—The word came with power; the church was thronged within and without, all wonderfully attentive, and many, as I was informed, convinced that the Lord Christ was our Righteousness.

Philadelphia, November 28. Redeemed a little time before it was light, to write a letter or two to my dear friends in England. I have not had a moment's time before, since my return from New-York. People are continually coming in, and enquiring with strong crying and many tears how they must come to Christ. It grieves me to send them away with such short answers.

I received the following letter from New-York. “R. D. S. I was heartily sorry that the disorder of a cold should hinder me from waiting upon you in the Jerseys: but am in hopes it was ordered by Divine Providence for the best. I found the next day, that you had left the town under a deep and universal concern: many were greatly affected, and I hope abiding impressions are left upon some.—Some that were before very loose and profligate, look back with shame upon their past lives and conversations, and seem resolved upon a thorough reformation.—I mention these things to strengthen you in the blessed cause you are engaged in, and support you under your abundant labours.—When I heard so many were concerned for their eternal welfare, I appointed a lecture on Wednesday evening, though it was not an usual season. And though the warning was short, we had a numerous and

attentive audience.—In short, I cannot but hope your coming among us has been the means of awakening some among us to a serious sense of practical religion, and may be the beginning of a good work in this secure and sinful place.—Dear Sir, Let your prayers be joined with mine for this desirable blessing. I desire your prayers for me in particular, that I may be faithful in my Master's work; that I may be an instrument in the hands of Christ of pulling down the strong holds of sin and Satan, and building the Redeemer's kingdom in this place, &c. Your affectionate Brother, E. PEMBERTON.

Williamsburg, Dec. 15. Paid my respects to Mr. Blair the commissary of Virginia. His discourse was savoury, such as tended to the use of edifying. He received me with joy, asked me to preach, and wished my stay was to be longer.

1740.

*His Success in America.*—*At Charles-Town.*—*Savannah.*—*Philadelphia.*—*Neshamini.*—*Nottingham.*—*Fog's Manor.*—*Baskinridge.*—*Boston, &c.*

Charlestown, March 18. I believe a good work is begun in many souls. Generally every day several came to me, telling me with weeping eyes, how God had been pleased to convince them by the word preached, and how desirous they were of laying hold on and having an interest in the complete and everlasting righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ. Numbers desired privately to converse with me.—Invitations were given me from some of the adjacent villages; and people daily came to town more and more from their plantations to hear the word.

Sunday, March 30. At Savannah found myself very sick and weak in body; but was strengthened notwithstanding, to go through most of the duties of the day, and to take an affectionate leave of my dear parishioners, because it appeared that providence called me at this time towards the northward. An unspeakable trouble of soul did I feel most part of the day, and was enabled to wrestle with my Lord in behalf of the people in general, and those belonging to the Orphan-House in particular. Blessed be God he has already, I trust, in a great measure, heard such prayers. All things belonging to the Orphan-House succeed beyond expectation, and some of my little flock have lately (as far as I can judge) been effectually called of God. One woman, that had been a constant attender on the means of grace, and thought herself a Christian for many years, came to me acknowledging, that she had been a self-deceiver, and knew nothing of the righteousness or true living faith in Jesus Christ. A tradesman of the same stamp, has felt the power of the doctrines of grace. A captain of a ship, who had been a strong opposer of the truth, wrote and came to me under great convictions, confessing his sin, and desirous to be a Christian indeed. Some others also there are who have received the love of God in the truth of it. So that I hope, if ten saints could preserve Sodom, the few righteous souls left behind, will prevent the utter desolation of declining Savannah.—  
“Blessed Jesus! let our extremity be thy opportunity.”

Philadelphia, April 14. O how did some here comfort my heart with

the account of what God had done for their own and many other people's souls, by the doctrine I had delivered when here last. A minister in particular, who has been made instrumental to water what God had planted, recounted to me many noble instances of God's power of free-grace, shewn in the conviction and conversion of some ministers, as well as common people.—Oh that the Lord may revive his work in the midst of the years. Thursday April 17. Preached at Abingdon, a district under the care of one Mr. Treat (a dissenting minister) to whom God has been pleased lately to shew mercy.—He has been a preacher of the doctrines of grace for some years; but was deeply convinced, when I was here last, that he had not experienced them in his heart.—And soon after I went away, he attempted to preach, but could not. He therefore told his congregation, how miserably he had deceived both himself and them; and desired them to pray for him.—Ever since, he has continued to seek Jesus Christ sorrowing, and is now under deep convictions, and a very humbling sense of sin.—He preaches as usual, though he has not a full assurance of faith; because he said it was best to be found in the way of duty. I believe God is preparing him for great services. I observed a great presence of God in our assembly, and the word, as I was informed afterwards, came with a soul-convicting and comforting power to many.—When I had done, I hastened to Philadelphia, where I preached to upwards of ten thousand people, upon the woman that was cured of her bloody issue.—Hundreds I found, were graciously melted; and many, I hope, not only thronged round, but also touched the Lord Jesus Christ by faith. Near ten came to me after sermon, under deep convictions, and could tell me the time when, and manner how the Lord Jesus made himself manifest to their souls.—What gives me greater hopes that this work is of God, is, because these convictions have remained on many ever since I was here last. Some have not only righteousness and peace, but also joy in the Holy Ghost.

Wednesday, April 23. Reached Neshaminy near three in the afternoon, and preached to upwards of five thousand people in old Mr. Tennent's meeting-house yard. When I came there, my body, thro' heat and labour, was so weak and faint, that my knees smote one against another, and I was ready to drop down as soon as I had finished my prayer. But God was pleased to revive me. A very great commotion was in the hearts of the hearers. Great numbers were much melted; and one in particular, after sermon, came to me, crying, "You have brought me under deep convictions, what shall I do to be saved!" I gave him the Apostle's answer: "Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved." Upwards of fifty, I hear, have been lately convicted about this place.—"The Lord grant his arrows may stick fast in them till they have got a closing interest with Jesus Christ." For many, I find, "receive the word with joy for a season, but having no true root in themselves, soon fall away." Better were it for them that always continue thus, that they had never been convicted at all. "Lord, have mercy on these and such-like unhappy apostates, and let them be renewed again unto repentance!" Amen and Amen.

New Brunswick, April 27. Was told last night by Mr. Gilbert Ten-

ment, of two that were savingly brought home by my ministry when here last. April 28. Took a sorrowful leave of captain Gladman, and my dear brother and fellow-traveller Mr. Seward, whom I have dispatched to England to bring me over a fellow-labourer, and to transact several affairs of importance. Captain Gladman is the person mentioned in my last Journal, who was cast away at the gulph of Florida, and whom God made me an instrument of converting in my passage to England.—Hitherto he has had the command of our sloop: but, being obliged to dispatch him on business to England, I have now committed the care of the sloop to his mate, whom God was pleased to bring home to himself when I was last at Philadelphia. Not long since he was an abandoned prodigal, and ring-leader in vice; but God struck him to the heart. Captain Gladman had prayed that God would send him a mate. This young man came and offered himself; the captain hired him; and now, I believe, he is a child of God. Numbers at Philadelphia cannot but see the new creature in him.

New-York, April 29. I met with Mr. William Tennent, who refreshed my heart, by telling me what the Lord was doing for numbers of souls in the highlands, where he had lately been.

Thursday, May 1. Went in a ferry this morning, over to Flat-Bush on Long-Island; on the east part of which, God has lately begun a most glorious work, by the ministry of two young Presbyterian ministers, who have walked in an uncommon light of God's countenance for a long while together. "Prosper thou O Lord, more and more the work of their hands!

Philadelphia, May 8. Was called up early in the morning to speak to poor souls under convictions. The first, I think, was an Indian trader, whom God was pleased to bring home by my preaching when here last. The account he gave of God's dealings with him was very satisfactory.—He is just come from the Indian nation, where he has been praying with and exhorting all he met, that were willing to hear: some of the Indians he had hopes of: but his fellow-traders endeavoured to prejudice them against him. However, he proposes visiting them again at the Fall. Conversed also with a poor negroe woman, who has been visited in a very remarkable manner. God was pleased to convert her by my preaching the last Fall; but being under dejection on Sabbath morning, she prayed that salvation might come to her heart, and that the Lord would be pleased to manifest himself to her soul that day. Whilst she was at meeting, hearing one Mr. M——n, whom the Lord has been pleased lately to send forth, the word came with such power upon her heart, that at last she was obliged to cry out; and such a great concern also fell upon many in the congregation, that several betook themselves to secret prayer. The minister stopped, and several persuaded her to hold her peace: but the glory of the Lord shone so brightly round about her, that she could not help praising and blessing God, and telling how God was revealing himself to her soul.

Philadelphia, May 11. After I had taken my leave, many came to my lodgings, I believe near 50 negroes came to give me thanks, under

God, for what had been done for their souls. Some of them have been effectually wrought upon, and in an uncommon manner. Many of them have now begun to learn to read.—And one that was free, said she would give me her two children, whenever I settle my school.—I intended, had time permitted, to have settled a society for negroe men and negroe women. But that must be deferred till it shall please God to bring me to Philadelphia again. I have been much drawn out in prayer for them, and have seen them exceedingly wrought upon under the word preached.—I cannot well express how many others of all sorts came to give me a last farewell. And indeed I never yet saw a more general awakening in any place. Many of the Quakers have been convinced of the righteousness of Jesus Christ; and openly profess the truth as it is in Jesus; for which I believe they will shortly be thrust out of their synagogues.

Tuesday, May 13. Preached at Willingtown. After sermon I rode towards Nottingham with Mr. Tennent, Mr. Craghead and Mr. Blair, all worthy ministers of the dear Lord Jesus. The last has been remarkably owned of God. Many others belonging to Philadelphia accompanied us, and we rode through the woods, most sweetly singing and praising God. We were all rejoiced to see our dear Lord's kingdom come with visible power, and endeavoured to strengthen one another against a suffering time should come.

Nottingham, May 14. I was invited thither by some of the inhabitants, who had a good work begun amongst them, some time ago, by the ministry of Mr. Blair, Messrs. Tennents and Mr. Cross, the last of which had been denied the use of the pulpit, and was obliged to preach in the woods, where the Lord manifested forth his glory, and caused many to cry out, "What shall we do to be saved?" It surprized me to see such a great multitude gathered together, at so short a warning, and in such a desert place. I believe there were near 12,000 hearers. I had not spoke long, but I perceived numbers melting. As I proceeded, the power increased, till at last, both in the morning and afternoon, thousands cried out, so that they almost drowned my voice. Never before did I see a more glorious sight! Oh what strong cryings and tears were shed and poured forth after the dear Lord Jesus.—Some fainted; and when they had got a little strength, they would hear and faint again. Others cried out in a manner, almost, as if they were in the sharpest agonies of death! I think I never was myself filled with greater power. After I had finished my last discourse, I was so pierced, as it were, and overpowered with God's love, that some thought (I believe) that I was about to give up the ghost.

Thursday, May 15. Preached at Fog's Mannor, about three miles from Mr. Blair's house; where I was earnestly invited to come, by him. And here also the Lord was pleased to cause much of his glory to pass before us. The congregation was about as large as that yesterday at Nottingham. As great, if not a greater commotion was in the hearts of the people. At Newcastle, gave a word of advice, and prayed with several, who came many miles under violent convictions. May, 19. On board the ship. Was much refreshed to-day by reading

the journal of an Indian trader mentioned a little before, and could not but think God would open a door for preaching the gospel among the Alleganian Indians. I wrote them a letter, wherein I laid down the principles of our holy religion, told them the promises of the gospel, that had especial reference to them, and cautioned them against such things, which I thought might be an hinderance to their embracing Christianity. The head or chief of them is well inclined.

Charlestown, July 20. Blessed be God for sending me once more among this people. Though the heat of the weather and frequency of preaching, have perhaps given an irrecoverable stroke to the health of my body; yet, I rejoice, knowing it has been for the conviction, and I believe conversion of many a soul. "Glory be to God on high." Numbers are seeking after Jesus. And two or three gracious dissenting ministers, by my advice, agreed to set up a weekly lecture. "May the Lord be with both ministers and people, and cause them to preach and hear as becometh the gospel of Christ." What makes the change more remarkable in Charlestown people is, that they seemed to be a people wholly devoted to pleasure. One well acquainted with their circumstances and manners told me, more had been annually spent on polite entertainments than the poor's-rate came to. But now an alteration is discernible in the ladies dress: the rooms that were usually employed for balls and assemblies, are now turned into society-rooms. But, I hope, the reformation has went further than externals. Many who before were settled on their lees, have been gloriously awakened to seek after Jesus Christ. And many a Lydia's heart hath the Lord opened to receive the things that were spoken. Indeed the word often came like a hammer and a fire. And a door, I believe, will be opened for reaching the poor Negroes. Several of them have done their work in less time than usual, that they may come to hear me. Many of their owners, who have been awakened, resolve to teach them. Had I time, and proper schoolmasters, I might immediately erect a Negro-school in South Carolina, as well as Pennsylvania. Many would willingly contribute both money and land.

August 24. Being but weak in body (except on Sundays) I have preached only once every day: but I hope with success.——I scarce know the time, wherein I did not see a considerable melting in some part or other of the congregation, and often it spread over all the parts of it. Several times I was so weak before I began to preach, that I thought it almost impossible I should go through half the discourse. But the Lord quickened, enlightened, and supported me above measure. Out of weakness I became strong, and the Lord manifested himself in the sanctuary.

New-Port, Rhode-Island, Sept. 15. Breakfasted this morning with old Mr. Clap, and was much edified by his conversation. I could not but think, whilst at his table, that I was sitting with one of the patriarchs. He is full of days, a bachelor, and has been minister of a congregation in Rhode-Island upwards of 40 years. People of all denominations, I find, respect him. He abounds in good works, gives all

away, and is wonderfully tender of little children; many of different persuasions come to be instructed by him.

Boston, Saturday Sept. 20. Was sweetly refreshed with several packets of letters sent to me from different parts in England and America, giving me an account of the success of the gospel. Monday, Sept. 22. Preached this morning at Mr. Webb's meeting-house to six thousand hearers in the house, besides great numbers standing about the doors. The presence of the Lord was amongst them. Look where I would around me, visible impressions were made upon the auditory. Most wept for a considerable time; and sometime after I received a letter wherein were these words: "But what I must give the preference to was that gracious season at the New North the Monday following, where there was more of the presence of God through the whole visitation than ever I had known at one time through the whole course of my life. Justly might it have been said of that place, "it was no other than the house of God and the gate of Heaven!" Indeed my own soul was so deeply abased and overwhelmed with such unusual meltings that I could have been glad of some private corner in that house to pour out my soul, without disturbance to the audience. The Spirit of God, seemed to be moving upon the face of the waters at that time, and who knows, but that to a great many souls, God was pleased to say, "Let there be light, and there was light."

Tuesday, September 23. Went this morning with Dr. Colman and the secretary to Roxbury, three miles from Boston, to see the rev. Mr. Warner, a good old puritan, who, with his predecessor the rev. Mr. Elliot, commonly called the apostle of the Indians, now with God, has been pastor of that congregation an hundred and six years.

Thursday, Sept. 25. Preached the weekly-lecture at Mr. Foxcroft's meeting-house. Here, the Lord was pleased to enable me, feelingly, to talk of my dearest Saviour's love, and I afterwards found that one stranger in particular, was in all probability effectually convinced by that morning's sermon. After public worship, I went, at his excellency's invitation, and dined with the governor. Most of the ministers of the town were invited with me. Before dinner, the governor sent for me up into his chamber: he wept, wished me good luck in the name of the Lord, and recommended himself, ministers and people to my prayers.

Friday, Sept. 26. Preached in the morning at Roxbury from a little ascent to many thousand people, with much of the divine presence amongst us. Several, I think, came afterwards to me, telling how they were struck at that time under the word. Sept. 27. Preached in the morning at Mr. Wellstead's meeting-house, and in the afternoon on the common to about fifteen thousand people. But oh how did the word run! After sermon, I visited and prayed with two different persons, and then went home to my lodgings. The power and presence of the Lord accompanied and followed me. Many now wept bitterly, and cried out under the word like persons that were really hungering and thirsting after righteousness; and after I left them, God gave me to wrestle with him in my chamber, in behalf of some dear friends then present, and others that were absent from us. Sept. 28. In the evening preached to a



great number of Negroes on the conversion of the Ethiopian, Acts viii. (at which the poor creatures, as well as many white people, were much affected) and, at my return, gave a word of exhortation to a crowd of people, who were waiting at my lodgings. My animal spirits were almost exhausted, and my legs, through expence of sweating and vomiting, almost ready to sink under me: but the Lord visited my soul; and I went to bed greatly refreshed with divine consolations. Sept. 29. Rode to Salem, four miles from Marble-Head, and preached there also to about two thousand. Here the Lord manifested forth his glory. One was, I believe, struck down by the power of the word. In every part of the congregation, persons might be seen under great concern; and one Mr. C——k, a good minister, as is granted by all lovers of God, seemed to be almost in heaven.

Portsmouth, Oct. 1. Preached to a polite auditory, and so very unconcerned, that I began to question whether I had been preaching to rational or brute creatures. Seeing no immediate effects of the word preached, I was a little dejected; but God sent one young man to me, crying out in great anguish of spirit, "What shall I do to be saved?" Friday, Oct. 3. Preached this morning at Portsmouth to a far greater congregation than before. Instead of preaching to dead stocks, I had now reason to believe I was preaching to living men. People began to melt soon after I began to pray, and the power increased more and more during the whole sermon. The word seemed to pierce through and through, and carried such conviction along with it, that many, who before had industriously spoken evil of me, were ashamed of themselves. Mr. Shutlif, the minister, afterwards wrote thus: "You have left great numbers under deep impressions, and I trust in God, they will not wear off; but that the convictions of some will be kept up and cherished, till they have had their desired effect." Amen and Amen.

Boston, Oct. 8. Preached in Mr. Webb's meeting-house, both morning and evening to very great auditories. Both times (especially in the morning) Jesus Christ manifested forth his glory. Many hearts melted within them, and I think I never was so drawn out to pray for and invite little children to Jesus Christ, as I was this morning. A little before, I had heard of a child, who was taken sick just after it had heard me preach, and said, "He would go to Mr. Whitefield's God," and died in a short time. This encouraged me to speak to little ones. But, oh how were the old people affected, when I said, "Little children, if your parents will not come to Christ, do you come and go to heaven without them." There seemed to be but few dry eyes. Look where I would, the word smote them, I believe, through and through, and my own soul was very much carried out.

October 9. A ticket was put up to me, wherein I was desired to pray "for a person just entered upon the ministry; but under apprehensions that he was not converted." God enabled me to pray for him with my whole heart. Oct. 10. Busyed from the moment I rose 'till I went out, in answering poor souls that came to me under great distress. About nine went to Mr. Cooper over Charlestown ferry, where I preached. Immediately after dinner we hastened to Redding, twelve

miles from Charlestown; there I preached to many thousands, and observed a considerable moving in the congregation. Returned and supped at Mr. R——l's. Was weak, very weak in body. But was refreshed to hear of a poor girl, who was found sitting at the gate in the cold. Upon being examined by a truly experienced friend, he found she was under very strong convictions, and had followed me from Roxbury. She said, "She wanted nothing but Christ, and Christ she would have." "Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." Lord let this promise be fulfilled in her heart!"

October 11. One little girl, about eight years old, came to me under deep concern. She, as her friends told, had been wrestling for Christ, and while she was wrestling, it came to her mind, "That Jesus being in an agony, prayed yet so much the more earnestly, and that an angel was sent from heaven to strengthen him." This encouraged her to persevere, and her soul soon received some comfort. Another minister's daughter has been quite restless after Christ night and day. And a young man about fourteen came to me crying and saying, "Sir, I am convicted, but not converted: Oh pray for me!"

New-Haven, Oct. 25. Was refreshed this morning by the sight of Mr. Jedediah Mills, a dear man of God, minister at Ripton near Stratford. He wrote to me some time ago. I felt his letter, and now also felt the man. My soul was much united to him. He has had a remarkable work in his parish some time ago, and talked like one that was no novice in divine things. With him I dined at the rev. Mr. C——s rector of New-Haven college, about one third part as big as that of Cambridge. It has one rector, three tutors, and about an hundred students. I preached twice to the consolation of God's people, many of which I have heard, live at New-Haven, and the countries round about. There were sweet meltings discernible both times. I spoke to the students, and shewed the dreadful ill consequences of an unconverted ministry. Dear Mr. Mills, when he took his leave, told me of one minister in particular, who had been wrought upon before, but now was gone home as full as he could hold. "Oh that God may quicken ministers! Oh that the Lord may make them a flaming fire! Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly." Amen and Amen.

Sunday, Oct. 26. Preached both morning and evening to much larger congregations than before, and in the afternoon observed an especial presence of God in the assembly. After sermon I waited on the governor: I observed him to be much affected under the word. When I came in, he said, "I am glad, Sir, to see you, and heartily glad to hear you." His heart was so full that he could not speak much. The tears trickled down his aged cheeks like drops of rain. "He was thankful to God, he said, for such refreshings in our way to our rest. Food does us good, when we eat it with an appetite." "The Lord support him, when his strength faileth him, and bring his grey hairs with comfort to the grave." About eight at night, we left New-Haven; and, after we had rode three miles, we arrived at a house, which, as a faithful minister told me before, was full of God. And my friends said, at departing, they were never in such a house before. Oh it was a sweet

time indeed ! God made his power to be felt and known. After I had given a word of exhortation, that they would study to adorn the gospel of our Lord in all things, we went forward on our journey.

Stanford, Oct. 29. Finding my heart much enlarged, I prayed. Most in the room were put under concern, and one old minister was so deeply convicted, that calling Mr. Noble and me out, with great difficulty, (because of his weeping) he desired our prayers : " For, says he, I have been a scholar, and have preached the doctrines of grace a long time ; but I believe I have never felt the power of them in my own soul ; " or words to that effect. I was much affected with his ingenuity, and by prayer recommended him to God.

Here I think it proper to set up my Ebenezer, before I enter into the province of New-York, to give God thanks for sending me to New-England. I have now had an opportunity of seeing the greatest and most populous part of it ; and, take it all together, it certainly, on many accounts, exceeds all other provinces in America ; and, for the establishment of religion, perhaps all other parts of the world. God has remarkably, in fundry times, and in divers manners, poured out of his Spirit in several parts of both provinces ; and it often refreshed my soul to hear of the faith of their good forefathers, who first settled in these parts. Notwithstanding they had their foibles, surely they were a set of righteous men. They followed our Lord's rule, " Sought first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and behold all other things God added unto them."

Tuesday, Nov. 4. Preached at Staten-Island to about three or four hundred people. The Lord came amongst them. One dear young man, in particular, as tho' his very heart-strings would break, came to me after sermon, with strong cryings, and tears, beseeching me, " to pray that he might be converted." Many others wept also, and several of God's children felt the presence of the dear Lord Jesus in their hearts. Many of them rejoiced to see me again. One grey-headed man came and told me how God had brought him from darkness to light, when I was here last. My soul was also much refreshed with the sight of dear Mr. Gilbert Tennent and Mr. Crofs. Mr. Tennent has been in the West Jerseys and Maryland, and told me how God had remarkably worked by his ministry in many places. Mr. Crofs also has seen great and wonderful things in his congregations, so great, that when I came to desire a particular account, he said, " It directly answered the account given by Mr. Edwards, of the work of God in Northampton." Rode after sermon to Newark, about ten miles from Staten-Island. Preached to a considerable congregation. Spent the remaining evening in hearing dear Mr. Tennent give an account of his late excursion. Oh he is a choice humble minister of the gospel ! " May I follow him, as he does Christ."

Wednesday, Nov. 5. Got to Baskinridge, the place where Mr. Crofs exercises his stated ministry. At the house where I waited in the way, a woman spoke to me under strong convictions. In prayer, I perceived my soul drawn out, and a stirring of affection among the people. I had not discoursed long, when the congregation melted into tears. This

abated for a few moments, till a little boy about seven or eight years of age cried out exceeding piteously indeed, and wept as though his little heart would break. Mr. Cross having compassion on him, took him up into the waggon, which so affected me, that I broke from my discourse, and told the people, "The little boy should preach to them, and that God, since old professors were not concerned, had displayed his sovereignty, and out of an infant's mouth was perfecting praise." God so blessed this, that an universal concern fell on the congregation again. At length I concluded, and as I was going away, I asked the little boy, "What he cried for?" He answered, "His sins." I then asked, "What he wanted?" He answered, "Christ." As I passed along, fresh instances of God's power presented themselves to my view. Many mourning after Jesus that would not be comforted. After sermon, Mr. Cross gave notice of an evening lecture in his barn, about two miles off. Thither we went, and a great multitude followed. Mr. Gilbert Tennent preached first, and that excellently well upon the necessity and benefit of spiritual desertions. I then prayed and gave a word of exhortation. The Lord's presence attended it. One could scarce sustain the discovery that Jesus Christ made of himself to his soul. Others were so earnest for a discovery of the Lord to their souls, that their eager crying obliged me to stop, and I prayed over them as I saw their agonies and distress increase. At length we sung a hymn, and then retired to the house where the man that received Christ continued till near midnight, talking of and praising, "his sweet Christ, his free-hearted Christ." &c. A gracious woman, who had been wrestling with God for a display of his power, was so overcome with a sense of his goodness, that she almost swoon'd away. And at length, my soul was so full that I retired, and wept before the Lord, under a deep sense of my vileness, and the sovereignty and greatness of God's everlasting love. Most of the people spent the remainder of the night in prayer and praises. Two or three young ministers spoke alternately, and others prayed as the Lord gave them utterance. It was a night much to be remember'd! "May the Lord make us mindful of it to the day of our death."

Friday, November 7. Had some thoughts of going to Freehold and Shrewsbury, but was prevented by the coming of Mr. William Tennent, whom I wanted to consult about his brother Gilbert's going to Boston, in order to help in carrying on the work of God in New-England. After prayer, and some arguments *pro* and *con*, we thought it the will of God that Mr. Gilbert Tennent should go to Boston. He (diffident of himself) was at first unwilling, urging his inability for so great a work, but afterwards being convinced it was the divine will, he said, "The will of the Lord be done." With him also Mr. R——s was to go, a young minister, one of the tutors of Cambridge college. It being the last time we should be together for a long season, we thought it best to spend some time in prayer. Mr. Gilbert Tennent was our mouth to God.——Many were greatly affected. About 11 o'clock we parted in tears, but with a full assurance that we should see and hear of great things before we saw each other again.

Philadelphia Nov. 9. Had several gracious souls come to see me.—We prayed together. My soul was much rejoiced to look round on them, because there were some who had been most marvellous offenders against the great God. I shall mention two only. And the first is one “Mr. Brockden, for many years a notorious deist. In his younger days, he told me, he had some religious impressions, but coming into business, the cares of the world so choaked the good seed, that he not only forgot his God in some degree, but at length began to doubt of, and to dispute his very being. In this state he continued many years, and has been very zealous to propagate his deistical or rather atheistical principles among moral men; but he told me he never endeavoured to make proselytes of vicious, debauched people. When I came to Philadelphia this time twelvemonth, he told me, he had not so much as a curiosity to hear me. But a brother deist, his choicest friend, pressing him to come and hear me, to satisfy his curiosity, he at length complied with his request. It was night. I preached at the court-house stairs, upon the conference which our Lord had with Nicodemus.—I had not spoke much before that God struck his heart. For, said he, I saw your doctrine tended to make people good. His family knew nothing that he had been to hear me. After he came home, his wife, who had been at sermon, came in also, and wished heartily that he had heard me. He said nothing. After this, another of his family came in repeating the same wish; and, if I mistake not, after that another, till at last being unable to refrain any longer, with tears in his eyes, why, says he, I have been hearing him; and then expressed his approbation. Ever since he has followed on to know the Lord, and I verily believe Jesus Christ has made himself manifest to his soul. Tho’ upwards of threescore years old, he is now, I believe, born again of God. He is a little child, and often (as he told me) receives such communications from God, when he retires into the woods, that he thinks he could die a martyr for the truth.” The next is one Capt. H—l, formerly as great a reprobate as ever I heard of: almost a scandal and reproach to human nature. He used to swear to ease his stomach, and was so fond of new oaths that he used to go on board the transport ships, and offer a guinea for a new oath, that he might have the honour of coining it. It would be endless to give instances of his vile profaneness. To the honour of God’s grace let it be said, he is now, I believe, a christian. Not only reformed, but renewed. The effectual stroke, he told me, was given, when I preached last Spring at Pennypack, tho’ under good impressions before. Ever since he has been zealous for the truth, and shews forth his faith by his works.”

Nov. 15. Have seen many instances of God’s grace this week. My chief business was now to build up and to exhort them to continue in the grace of God. Notwithstanding many were convicted almost every day, and came unto me under the greatest distress and anguish of soul. Several societies are now in town, not only of men and women, but of little boys and little girls.—I was called to visit one Mrs. D. then lying on a sick bed, brought home to God when I was at Philadelphia

last Spring. My soul was much enlarged to hear a creature talk with such assurance just upon the brink of eternity. Her husband and other friends stood weeping by. "Oh that this sickness may be a means under God of saving her relations precious and immortal souls!" After my departure, she bid one of my friends tell me, "That she fed and lived upon the doctrine which I had preached."

It is now the 75th day since I arrived at Rhode-Island.—My body was then weak, but the Lord has much renewed its strength. I have been enabled to preach, I think, an hundred and seventy-five times in public, besides exhorting very frequently in private. I have travelled upwards of eight hundred miles. Never did I perform my journeys with so little fatigue, or see such a continuance of the divine presence in the congregations, to whom I have preached. May the Lord prepare me for every thing he has appointed for me to do and suffer, and then I need not fear being more than conqueror through his love.

December 29. In the evening I preached at Savannah, and took my final leave of the people, it being inconsistent with my other affairs to act as their pastor any more. Another minister is not yet come, but is expected daily. I gave the trustees notice January last of my design to give up the parsonage. Blessed be God, I am now more free to go whithersoever the Lord shall be pleased to call me. I yet hope well of Georgia, though, at present, in a very declining and piteous state. It will flourish, I believe, when settled upon a religious foundation. Glory be to God, I leave behind me some who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity.

January 15th, 1741. Received several comfortable letters from my dear friends at Boston; amongst whom secretary Willard writes thus: "Mr. Webb tells me, that divers young men in this town, who are candidates for the ministry, have been brought under deep convictions by your preaching, and (as he hopes) are carried off from the foundation of their false hopes (their own righteousness) to rest only upon Christ for salvation." Mr. Cooper writes thus: "I can inform you, that there are many abiding proofs that you did not run in vain, and labour in vain amongst us in this place. I could much more than fill this paper with the accounts I have received from the persons who have been impressed under the word preached by you. But I can only now say in general, some have been awakened who were before quite secure, and I hope a good work begun in them. Others, who had been under religious impressions, are now more earnestly pressing into the kingdom of Heaven, and many of the children of God stirred up to give diligence for the full assurance of faith. There is a greater flocking to all the lectures in the town, and the people shew such a disposition to the new Tuesday evening lecture, that our large capacious house cannot receive all that come." Mr. Welch, a pious merchant, writes thus: "I fear I am tedious, but I cannot break off 'till I just mention, to the glory of the grace of God, and for your comfort and encouragement, the success your ministry of late has had among us. Impressions made seem to be abiding on the minds of many. The doctrines of grace seem to be more the topic of conversation than ever I knew them. Nay, religious conversation seems to be almost fashionable, and almost every one seems

disposed to hear or speak of the things of God. Multitudes flock to the evening lecture, tho' it has sometimes been the worst of weather. Ministers seem to preach with more life, and the great auditories seem to hear with solemn attention, and, I hope, our Lord Jesus is getting to himself the victory over the hearts of many sinners." Others write to the same effect. All love, all glory be to God.

For this let men revile my name,  
No crosses I shun, I fear no shame;  
All hail reproach! and welcome pain!  
Only thy terrors, Lord, restrain.

[ From a Letter from Mr. G— T— to Mr. Whitefield.—Glasgow Weekly History, N<sup>o</sup> 3. ]

New-Brunswick, Dec. 1. 1739.—“ Very R. and D. B. I think I never found such a strong and passionate affection to any stranger as to you, when I saw your courage and labour for God at New-York; I found a willingness in my heart to die with you, or to die for you.—The reason why I spoke so little for the most part of the time while I was with you, was a shameful sense I had of my ignorance and barrenness, after such a multitude of waterings and sealings as God had given me. Though I am as a brute beast before God, one of the meanest and vilest worms that ever crawled on the creation of God, yet I must say to his praise, and my own shame, that I have had in time past such discoveries of my great Father's dear affection as have overcome me. For months together my soul has been so ravished with divine objects, that my animal spirits have been wasted, and my sleep much broken. I have been made to loath my food, because of the superior sweetness I have found in Christ. I could not refrain my soul from a secret longing for reproach, poverty, imprisonment and death for a glorious Christ, that thereby I might testify a grateful regard to his unspeakably dear and very venerable Majesty. I could not refrain wishing that every hair of my head was a life, that I might lay it down freely for my sweet Lord Jesus. The fears of bringing any reproach on his religion has many times brought bitter tears from my eyes and heart. Sometimes when travelling on the road, while I beheld the canopy of Heaven, my heart has been suddenly ravished with love to God, as my Father; that I could not forbear crying out in the pleasing transports of a child-like affection, Father! Father! with a full and sweet assurance that he was my Father, and my God.—In the night-season when I awoke, my soul was still with God: the passion of my soul for Christ was so vehement, that my dreams were full of him. It made my rest very broken, and caused me often to speak through my sleep. And thus it was for a long tract of time. But alas, when the great God wisely withdrew his quickening presence, and let Satan loose upon me, O what terrible havock did he make in my soul, and that alas, too much with my will. I thought myself a monster in iniquity, and that there was some peculiar brutishness in my heart, that none had but myself.—This made me often wish for death to get clear of it. This hath often enraged my

soul for against sin and myself for it, that I have thought, if it were lawful, I could freely try to pluck my heart out, and tear it in pieces.

Since you was here, I have been among my people dealing with them plainly about their souls state in their houses; examining them one by one as to their experiences, and telling natural people the danger of their state; and exhorting them that were totally secure, to seek convictions; and those that were convinced, to seek Jesus; and reproved pious people for their faults: and blessed be God, I have seen hopeful appearances of concern amongst a pretty many in the places I belong to," &c. G—— T——

[ From a Letter from Mr. Gilbert Tennent to Mr. Whitefield. — Glasgow Weekly History, N<sup>o</sup> 1. ]

New-York, April 25th, 1741. — "Very D. B. In my return homewards, I have been preaching daily, ordinarily three times a day, and sometimes oftner (a few days in the aforesaid space excepted) and thro' pure grace I have met with success much exceeding my expectations. In the town of Boston there were many hundreds, if not thousands, as some have judged, under soul-concern. When I left that place, many children were deeply affected about their souls, and several had received consolation. Some aged persons in church communion, and some open opposers were convinced: divers of the young and middle-aged were converted: and several Negroes were hopefully converted. The concern was rather more general at Charles-town; multitudes were awakened, and several had received great consolation, especially among the young people, children and Negroes. At Cambridge also in the college and town, the shaking among the dry bones was general; and several of the students have received consolation. In these places, I found several fruits of your ministry. In Ipswich, there was a general concern among the inhabitants, so in this place also I saw some of the fruits of your labours. There were also several awakened in Portsmouth, in Greenland, in Ipswich, Hamlet, Marble-head, Chelsea, Malden, Hampton, New-town, Rosebury, Plymouth, Bristol, Providence, Stonington, Geatton, New-London, Lime, Guilford, New-haven, Milford, Stratford, New-port. The concern at New-port, was very considerable. Divers Quakers and children came to me, in distress about their souls, with others. At New-haven, the concern was general both in the college and town: — about thirty students came on foot ten miles to hear the word of God. And at Milford the concern was general. I believe by a moderate computation that divers thousands have been awakened, glory be to God on high! I have had good information this journey, that God has blessed my poor labours on Long-Island in my pass to New-England. I thank you, Sir, that you did excite me to this journey. There have been several children in several other places beside these mentioned, who after distress, have received comfort. The work of God spreads more and more. My brother William has had remarkable success this Winter at Burlington. I hear that there are several religious societies formed there. Mr. John Cross has had remarkable success at Statten Island, and many I hear, have been awakened by the labours of



Mr. Rolinson in divers places of the York government. Mr. Mills has had remarkable success in Connecticut, particularly at New-haven. And I hear that Mr. Blair has had remarkable success in Pennsylvania. Mr. Noble and family are well. The Lord bless you dear brother. I add no more, but love and remains yours." G. TENNENT.

P. S. From Horseneck to York beyond Boston, there is in most places a greater or less degree of soul-concern.

[ From a Letter from Dr. John Nichols, Physician in New-York to Nicholas Spence, Agent for the Church of Scotland.—Glasgow Weekly History, N<sup>o</sup> 12. ]

May 20th, 1741.—“I received yours of the 23d of January last, and sent your letter for Mr. William Tennent; he has been a very useful man in training up of youth for the holy ministry: he hath had four sons ministers, but one of them is dead; Gilbert, William, and Charles are yet alive, all of them gospel-preachers, and the labours of them blessed with abundant success. My dear friend, you desire to know the state of religion in this country; and I have good news to tell you—Our Lord Jesus is triumphantly getting himself the victory, the kingdom of Satan falling as lightening to the ground before him, many made to cry out, “What shall we do to be saved?” And that in many places and corners of this country from Boston to Philadelphia; yea, whole colleges under convictions! and many savingly converted, especially the youth at the college of New-Haven, in the colony of Connecticut, young children of six, eight, or ten years of age concerned about their salvation, and inviting one another to come to Christ! Our minister (Mr. Pemberton, minister at New-York) having been lately sent for to Connecticut college, upon the account of the many distressed and exercised people there, in his going and coming, preached twice a-day at different places, told me, that several little children followed him to his lodging, weeping and anxiously concerned about the salvation of their souls. O the power of Divine Grace! There seems to be an unusual effusion of the Spirit in many places, especially among the young generation, and blessed be the Lord, we in this sinful city, particularly in our congregation, are not without the visible effects thereof; many having been, within these four or five months, under strong convictions, and not a few, we have great hope, savingly converted to the Lord Jesus Christ. O dear Redeemer, go on conquering and to conquer!

Dear Sir, You may think these things strange, and indeed so they are, but no stranger than true; I have been an eye-witness to some of them, and, to the praise of FREE GRACE, have experienced them in my own family particularly. The rev. Mr. Whitefield was made the blessed instrument of sowing the seed in these parts<sup>a</sup>, and the good Lord hath in his mercy stirred up, and spirited seven more ministers to water it, viz. Messrs. Gilbert and William Tennent, Mr. Pemberton, Mr. Burr, Mr. Mills, Mr. Leonard, and Mr. Davenport, and some others. But alas, Satan is using his utmost endeavours to drive some of them to ex-

<sup>a</sup> How much the Lord was pleased to bless the labours of Messrs. Whitefield, Tennent, &c. in America, will appear farther in the next chapter.

tremes<sup>a</sup>, which I'm afraid will do hurt, and hinder the success of the gospel, by being a stumbling-block to a carnal world: however it is visible and certain, the Spirit of God is at work with many in divers places of this country. There seems to be great, and I hope glorious, things likely to be brought to pass in our day: the good Lord hasten them, and grant that the saving knowledge of himself may "cover the whole earth as the waters cover the sea."

### SECTION III.

*A Hint of the Labours and Success of several in Wales.—And of the State of Religion there in 1742.*

[ From two Letters from Mr. Howel Harris to Mr. Whitefield. —Glasgow Weekly History, N<sup>o</sup> 44. ]

London, Oct. 12th, 1742.—"Last night I heard from brother B—, and glorious news from brother Rowland, of the Lord's being wonderfully with him, and brother Howel Davies (Mr. Griffith Jones' curate) and Mr. Thomas Lewis, a curate near Brecon.—They are wounded by scores under the two former, and the Lord is amazingly with the latter, and with Mr. Williams, curate of Lanwithid, and with Mr. Thomas Sweetly, curate of Mr. Hodges of Weins in Glamorgan-shire. He administers the sacrament every Sunday.—Mr. Powal of Blenegwent is much blessed too, and grows sweetly.—"

October 15th, 1742.—"My dear Brother, I am very weak in my body, but so supported in my inward man, that I am carried through the whole work here, and to visit the lambs at Deptford Tuesday evening, and Wednesday morning; and we have had sweet seasons there in public and private. I hope the whole flock moves on sweetly, and is more and more delivered from self and unbelief, and grow more and more humble, loving and teachable; and I trust our dear Lord has enabled me to search them, and deal tenderly with them; and whenever rash, dry, rough me, am helped to this, it must bring glory to him, for all must say, "This is thy doing, O Lord." On our letter-day, last Monday, the Lord was indeed powerfully there like a flame filling us with zeal and fire. I have since heard most glorious news from Wales of the success attending brother Rowlands and many others.—They are wounded by scores, and flock under the word by thousands. There is another clergyman coming out sweetly, and united to us. There is now in Wales ten clergymen, who are wonderfully owned of the Lord Jesus Christ; five beneficed, and the other five settled in curacies. There is another young curate in Carmarthen-shire, not far from Mr. Griffith Jones, under strong drawings and convictions."

[ From a Letter to Mr. M<sup>c</sup>C—, from a dissenting Minister in Wales, relating to the State of Religion there.—Glasgow Weekly History, N<sup>o</sup> 48. ]

Oct. 26th, 1742.—"R. D. B. I shall give you some account of religion in the principality of Wales, both North and South. To begin with North-Wales.

a Probably he means Mr. Davenport.

In the isle of Anglesea there are no Dissenters; and it is the only county in England or Wales that wants one. In Carnarvanshire there is one congregation of Dissenters, who are a very devout and zealous people, as perhaps any in the kingdom: and three lecture-places all of them on that promontory, or narrow neck of land that stretches out into the sea, and is the best inhabited part of the county. The minister is Mr. John Thomas, a humble, meek, serious man, and preaches well. Mr. Howel Harris, and some Methodists, together with Jenkyn Morgan, the school-master, have been made instrumental to awaken and convert many in these parts, but were grievously persecuted; and they have even broke the meeting-house, and committed strange outrages: the devil, their master, being wonderfully nettled, at his losing so many souls. In Denbighshire are three congregations of Dissenters, viz. a small one in Denbigh town, and two in Waxam. And I might add one in Oswetry, which, though in Shropshire ground; the people are Welsh, and border on Denbighshire. In Flintshire is a small one. In Merionethshire, there is but one, not far from Balatown. Their minister is Mr. Lewis Rees, a very godly man, exceeding well gifted in prayer, and also frequent in it. He preaches in two places in this county, though he lives in Montgomeryshire. In Montgomeryshire there are five congregations, two of which were lately gathered by that excellent minister of Christ, the above-mentioned Mr. Lewis Rees, who preaches in five places in this county, and in two places in Merionethshire, between twenty and thirty miles from his habitation. There are some very devout people belonging to Mr. Rees in this county; as also some in Merionethshire.—So far as to North-Wales.

In South-Wales. In Radnorshire there are six congregations of Dissenters, eight if we reckon the Baptists. One of our six congregations there was gathered lately, partly by the labours of the Methodists, and partly through the zeal of a gentlewoman, a Dissenter, who built a new meeting-house. In this county lived the rev. Mr. Vavasor Griffith, the master of the Welsh academy, who died lately. He was in every respect the greatest and most excellent man that ever I saw in my life; nor is it in my power to hope that I shall ever see the like again on this side glory. Most of the congregations in this county are but small. In Cardiganshire are nine congregations of Dissenters, and one of the Anabaptist persuasion. Most of the congregations here are large ones. Here were lately two eminent clergymen, Mr. David Jenkyns, a young man lately dead, and Mr. Daniel Rowland, who had at his church sometime ago above 2000 communicants. Almost all the lower part of the county is become religious, since Mr. Howel Harris and the Methodists laboured there. Among the dissenting ministers, Mr. Philip Pugh is the most noted, both for his uncommon piety, diligence, and success: he hath about 500 communicants, and preaches in five or six places. And besides the above-mentioned congregations, the Dissenters and Methodists have several lecture-places. Pembrokehire hath been lately mightily roused up, and abundance of people convinced, reformed, and converted, by means of the exhortations of Mr. Howel Harris, and other Methodist-exhorters: and, contrary to Cardiganshire, 'tis the upper part

of Pembrokeſhire that hath been roused and reformed, and that almost univerſally to a concern about religion. Certainly a very great work has been done there. Among the clergy Mr. David Jones, and Mr. Howel Davies are very eminent, eſpecially the latter, who is a mighty Boanerges, and very industrious in preaching both in churches, houses, and fields. There are in this county six congregations of our Dissenters, some of them not small; and three Anabaptist ones, one of which is large. In Carmarthenſhire there are near a score of our non-conforming congregations (and two of Anabaptists) some of which are large. Besides, they have many other lecture-places spread almost over all the county. Among the ministers noted are, Mr. James Lewis, Mr. John Harris, Mr. Owen Rees, and Mr. Henry Palmer, an Apollos in the scriptures, and very pious. Among the clergy is the famous Mr. Griffith Jones, one of the most excellent preachers in Great Britain, for piety, good sense, diligence, moderation, zeal, a mighty utterance, the like whereof I never heard: he is so catholic-spirited, and charitable, that he allows his communicants, to communicate with Dissenters, and they with him. He hath set up moveable Welsh free-schools in every county in South-Wales, and in some counties in North-Wales, to teach the poorer sort to read Welsh, and hath thereby done unspeakable good. In Brecknockſhire there are eight congregations of our Dissenters, two of whom I have had the favour, upon the late reformation, to gather and set up, and are yet chiefly under my care. Besides this, there are two or three Anabaptist congregations, and about twenty societies of Methodists, who were reckoned to be converted, and were set up by the labours of Mr. Howel Harris, who was born and lives in this county. Among the clergy, Mr. William Williams and Mr. Thomas Lewis are notable, as is also Mr. Pewry Baillie: and among the Dissenters, Mr. William Williams, Mr. John Watkins, and Mr. John Davies. The Dissenters have above twenty different places in this county to preach in: and there are in it some notable good Christians. In Glamorganſhire there are near twenty congregations of our Dissenters, and three of Anabaptists, and several societies of Methodists. Among the dissenting ministers, the most noted are Mr. James Davies of Merthyr, noted both for his industry and his gifts in preaching and prayer, eſpecially as to the latter; and his congregation is large: Mr. Lewis Jones for his seriousness, popularity, and an excellent utterance, even much resembling Mr. Griffith Jones: and Mr. Henry Davies for devoutness and affectionate piety.—And so far as to South-Wales.

In Monmouthſhire, which is the county I was born and live in, we have seven congregations, and about twenty places to preach in; and six Anabaptist congregations: and most of these meetings are in the Western side of the county. Here are also several societies of Methodists, who cleave to the church of England; among whom are some very pious and devout souls. Among the clergy are Mr. John Powel, and Mr. Thomas Jones, eſpecially the latter. Besides this, there is a congregation in the Welsh part of Herefordſhire, whose minister is Mr. William Jenkins. I remain, dear and reverend Sir, yours, &c.

## C H A P. V.

*Of that extraordinary Revival in the British Colonies in America, which began chiefly in the End of the Year 1739,—and continued for more than two Years,—spreading and increasing greatly in various Places.*

## SECTION I.

*Of the Revival in the Towns of Hopewell, Amwell, &c. in New-Jersey.—The Attention of the Hearers in general awakened.—The People of God enlivened.—Concern under a Sermon May 1739.—Visiting and private Examination blest to Severals.—Remarkable Seasons of Divine Influence.—The Nature of the Work, and good Fruits of it.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. ROWLAND, Minister at Hopewell, to Mr. PRINCE Minister at Boston, printed at Philadelphia, 1745. ]

*Reverend Sir,*

**I**N answer to Yours, &c.—I was sent forth to preach the gospel of Christ by the presbytery of New-Brunswick, on September 7th, 1738, on which day the congregation of Maidenhead and Hopewell put in a Supplication for me to the presbytery; and accordingly I complied therewith. In process of time we had the privilege of Maidenhead meeting-house, and my people built a meeting-house in Hopewell; but, before this, we were constrained to keep our meetings in barns in both towns; and though we thus appeared as poor despised creatures, yet the congregation that attended my ministry was so numerous, that the largest barns among us were chosen to worship God in. It was some discouragement to me at first, that I, and my people, had no better places for divine worship; but at that time I thought on these things which proved of some support to me, viz. that our Lord and Saviour was born in a mean place, and likewise preached in the ship, and on the mountain, as well as in the synagogues, and that it had been the frequent lot of his people, to betake themselves to worship him in places attended with many inconveniences. There is another town lying contiguous to Hopewell, which is called Amwell; the people there were something numerous likewise; and having none to labour among them in the word, they petitioned for a part of my time, viz. one Sabbath in three; and it was granted unto them; so that my labours among these three towns, for the most part of the time that I lived in the Jerseys, were equally divided. There was a small number in Hopewell and Maidenhead truly acquainted with vital religion, as far as I could judge, before I came among them, and they seemed so earnest in prayer, night and day, to have the gospel in power among them, as if they would take no denial. But of them who became my congregation in Amwell, there were but very few that knew the Lord Jesus when I came among them; yet, in many ways, they were a very a-

greeable people; so that I was much encouraged to labour among them.

The subjects which I chiefly insisted on for about six months, were conviction and conversion; and usually I made choice of the most rousing and awakening texts, to set forth the nature of these doctrines; and I have reason to hope, that the Lord began to accompany his word in a measure from the very first. Some began to be convinced that they were in the way to misery, and unacquainted with the way to the kingdom of Heaven. But then let it be observed, that but one or two were taken with convictions at a time, or under one sermon: for many months together<sup>a</sup> their convictions were still encreased, and the number of the convinced was still multiplied. I commonly preached in the night as well as in the day, and frequently on week-days also; so that they had hardly any opportunity to cast their convictions out of their thoughts, the Lord continuing to co-operate with his word. The frequent opportunities which I took to examine them were made very beneficial, through the divine blessing, to preserve their convictions alive until the time of grace, of which I shall speak afterwards. The attention of all in general was awakened; fathers, mothers, and the youth; some Negroes also seemed very earnest after the word, and were convinced thereby of their sin and misery, and that Christ they must have, or perish for ever.

The people of God were much enlivened to see poor sinners convinced of the perishing nature of their state, and their absolute need of Christ: their supplications to God were mostly bent for the conversion of sinners, and their conversation, whenever they met together, (as far as I observed it, and frequent opportunities I had to observe it) favoured exceedingly of the things of God; so that I cannot say that I ever saw those pious people given to worldliness in their conversation, or to lightness and vanity in their discourses. Great was the love they bore to one or other, and sweet was the peace which subsisted among themselves; so that I was not interrupted from my work in making up differences among them.

In the month of May 1739, I began to think that the most inviting and encouraging subjects would be the most agreeable to convinced souls; and accordingly I began with these words, John xi. 28, 29. "The Master is come, and calleth for thee. As soon as she heard that, she arose quickly, and came unto him." The discourse upon this subject was brought home, through the divine influence, upon the souls of many. Solemn weeping, and deep concern, appeared through the congregation: I had hopes that the hearts of some had been knit close to Jesus our Lord, which afterwards appeared to be so; of which more hereafter. I was still encouraged to go on, in inviting convinced sinners to come and embrace the person and purchase of the dear Lord

<sup>a</sup> Let none suppose, that, because I speak of convictions being still carried on, that I mean that sinners must be convinced to some high degree before they can be converted: I only mean, that this was the way which the Lord observed in carrying on his work, to keep sinners for a long time under conviction before he manifested his love to them.

Jesus. Then I made choice of that word in Matth. xxii. 4. "And all things are ready; come unto the marriage." This was also blessed to poor convinced souls; they were brought under a full persuasion that Jesus, the Son of God, was ready and willing to embrace them with his everlasting favour, and to pardon their sins and transgressions; but then they found more of their own hardness, and had a clearer view of their own unwillingness to come unto the Lord Jesus Christ, which encreased their mourning and sorrow, and made them press forwards with more living earnestness in search after Jesus Christ. A variety of other engaging subjects I made use of for a considerable time, to press them to a full closure with Jesus Christ. At length, by frequent converse among them, and enquiring strictly into the nature of the views they had of Christ, and the out-goings of their souls after him, and their willingness to be ruled by Jesus Christ in their whole hearts and lives, I could not but be favourable in my thoughts of such, as persons favoured of the Lord.

I find, by reading what accounts I kept by me of the blessed work of grace which hath been in these towns, that there was much good done by visiting, by which means I found out many that had been touched, of whom I had not well heard how it was with them, which gave me an opportunity to offer such things unto them, as might tend to fix these beginnings in their souls, and encrease them. So likewise many were convinced of their lost state by nature. By particular examinations, I found likewise, that private examination of persons, as to their state and condition, is an excellent mean to lay them open to conviction under the public word; and thus were some convinced in these towns.

The divine influence of the Spirit of God was very evidently afforded with his word, though not in every opportunity, yet in several, until May 1740, in which time many more were added unto the Lord's people. Some of these opportunities, for clearness sake, I shall mention. One was in October 6th, 1739, in a night meeting; but the people not having been warned with sufficient care, there met but about fifteen persons, eleven of which were deeply convinced of their misery, and some of them cried out so very awfully, that I was constrained to conclude. After sermon, I took an opportunity to enquire of those persons, what was the real cause of their crying out in such a manner? Some of whom answered me, "That they saw hell opening before them, and themselves ready to fall into it." Others answered me, "That they were struck with such a sense of their sinfulness, that they were afraid the Lord would never have mercy on them." Another of these opportunities was on December 30th, 1739. As to myself I felt exceeding poor in the frame of my soul; so that I thought I might well say, as in the words of the text I preached on that day, Isa. xl. 6. "What shall I cry." But the Lord was pleased to manifest his grace and power exceedingly through the whole service. The people of God were much enlarged in love, to see that whatever gracious word was sent with power into their hearts, was sent from God; for the man knoweth not what to cry, without being guided by the word and spirit. Some hardened creatures, who thought not much of religion, as

if there was no reality in it, were deeply convinced of the truth, reality and beauty of religion. Others who knew not well which way to walk, or what to chuse, opposers I cannot call them, though they had not joined with our side; such, I say, as far as we could judge the tree by the fruit, were also convinced and converted under that discourse: many youths also were wrought upon; so that I cannot say truly, that any remained untouched. Some of these persons were pleased to tell me, "That they never would forget this day, in which God had been so gracious unto them." As to backsliders from convictions that were not converted, I shall afterwards speak of them. The night of the same day, being spent in public worship, (viz. the first part thereof) was attended with the same divine influence. Another of these opportunities was in April 6th, 1740, in Maidenhead. The subject that was insisted on was the GOSPEL-NET, from Matth. xiii. Many who were not acquainted with the spiritual nature of the gospel in the least degree, as far as I found, were greatly bowed down, and brought to own that it was the Lord's work which was carried on. The people, in general, through the whole assembly, seemed as if they were humbled before the Lord, which afterwards proved itself to be so. Without controversy, many of these slipped out of the net as fast as they could; yet many, blessed be God, were held in it by almighty power.

I come next to speak of the times of most remarkable power that I observed in these towns. It begun on this wise: there had been a week-day's meeting in Maidenhead on July 24th, 1740. Worship seemed to be attended with much warmth of affection, which gave much encouragement to their minister again; for lukewarmness at this time had prevailed very much among some of the people; and the affections of some were much removed from others of their fellow-members; neither did they seem to have such a thirst for the word of God as formerly. Things had come to this pass in about two months; but how astonishing is it to consider what sweet methods the Lord observed to remove them! for, as the people were passing homewards through the town after worship, some inclined to stop at one of the Christian houses; and the stopping of some occasioned others to stop, till the number was about forty; and when they were all sat in the house, that the time might be profitably spent, the first part of the fiftieth Psalm was sung, which seemed to be performed with unusual quickening. When singing was over, the same verses were explained at some length, and the Spirit of the Lord was pleased to work by it upon all that were present, as far as we could discern by the outward man, and much converse that was spent among them all in particular. In about an hour afterwards, the love of God's people that were present, was uncommonly inflamed to Jesus Christ, their views of his majesty and glory were much enlarged, their longings after him much stirred up, and their fear of him graciously increased; their zeal for God's glory was kindled a-new, and their concern for the cause of God seemed to receive much growth: and, as to the unconverted that were present, we could not find otherwise, but that they had received very clear discoveries of their undone state by nature. This was followed with the mighty power of God, in



a sermon the next evening to a large congregation in the same town. And, in Amwell, July 27th, and in Maidenhead again on August 3d, God was pleased to magnify his grace in visiting many poor sinners. In these opportunities he opened their eyes to see themselves without Christ, and without hope in the world; their convictions were attended with great horror and trembling, and loud weeping, which I supposed could not be stopped so easily as some do imagine; for I observed that many did continue crying in the most doleful manner along the road, in their way home; and it was not in the power of man to prevail with them to refrain; for the word of the Lord remained like a fire upon their hearts. Furthermore, the Lord was pleased to add many more to my people, who used not to walk with them, who still continue in communion with them, of whom I hope it may be said, that they are growing in grace, and in the knowledge of Jesus Christ. The seed of the word was dropped into the hearts of others, who bore not much regard to the doctrine of the new-birth which was preached among us, and did not spring up visibly until it was near three years after.

As to the issue of these convictions which I have last mentioned, I think it must be owned, that many of them were followed with a sound conversion, or else we must give up speaking any thing as to any knowledge of grace in this life. Many backslided, and became stiff-necked again, though I must say that I have not seen such backslidings in these towns as I have seen in many others; the instances are but few in them in comparison of what I have seen in most other places that I have been acquainted with. One great mean to prevent backsliding from convictions in Amwell, was this: when the husband was taken, the wife was also taken, or when the wife was visited, the husband was also; so that they were ever stirring up each other. Many such instances are in the town of Amwell, upon which account that congregation appears to me peculiarly beautiful; and, as to Maidenhead and Hope-well, I believe that one great mean that the Lord used there to prevent backsliding, was the care and diligence of some of the Christian people in conversing with the convinced; for several of the Christians were so engaged in deep concern for the work of God, that they could not rest satisfied until they had reason to hope, that the souls who were convinced from one time to another, were also come through to sound conversion.

Respecting the nature of this work which I have been speaking of, it will appear yet more distinct, by giving some account of their experiences. And, first, I would speak something more of their convictions: they can give a very distinct account of sin, both original and actual; their views of heart-corruption, their distance from God, and their having lived so long without him, were very clear and affecting; their hardness and unbelief, their ignorance and blindness pressed very close upon them; their need of Christ, and his Spirit, was such, in their apprehension, that there was no rest nor contentment to be taken in any thing here below, until they did obtain an interest in Jesus Christ, and receive his Spirit to purify and sanctify their hearts. There are a few

among them, whose convictions were not attended with any considerable degree of horror; they were very watchful over themselves, lest they should receive false comfort, and so rest in ungrounded hopes; their hunger and thirst after Jesus Christ his righteousness, and all his fulness, was very earnest, and their experience of it is very clear; therefore they wanted the word preached often, and they would sit under it with great affection, waiting on the Lord. Their views of the Lord Jesus, in his person, nature, and offices, were very clear, and their acquaintance with the actings of their faith on him, together with the out-going of their souls in love and affection towards him. They can give a satisfying account of those things according to the holy scriptures. Their experience of a saving closure with Jesus Christ, and the sweet manifestations they had of him in that time of spiritual marriage, were very glorious, and their affections have been often stirred afresh towards Jesus Christ, in meditating on, and speaking of the day of their espousals. They are careful to maintain a holy communion with God in the general course of their lives. I have seen some of them in considerable agonies when they have been under the hidings of God's face; so that they could take no rest by any means, until the gracious Lord would be pleased to shine again upon them with the light of his countenance. They are properly diligent in the things of this life; yet they are ready to attend on the word of God on any opportunity that offers to them on week-days.

They still continue zealous for God and his truth; their walk is steady in the ways of God, and not unconstant and uneven. And, that I may conclude with Hopewell and Maidenhead, I would say, that Jesus Christ has gathered for himself a blessed flock there; and, however they may be vilified and scorned by those who have their portion in this life, yet I hope no less, but that they are precious with God, and shall be satisfied with the pleasures of his right-hand for evermore. Amen.

## SECTION II.

*Of the Revival at Newark and Elizabeth-town in New-Jersey.—It began at Newark August 1739.—But not at Elizabeth-town till near a Year after.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. DICKINSON Minister at Elizabeth-town, to Mr. FOXCROFT Minister at Boston, August 23th, 1743, in PRINCE'S Christian History N<sup>o</sup> 32. ]

IN these towns religion was in a very low state; professors generally lifeless, and the body of our people careless, carnal and secure, till some time in August 1739, (the Summer before Mr. Whitefield came first into these parts) when there was a remarkable revival at Newark, especially among the rising generation: many of whom were now brought under convictions, and instead of frequenting vain company as usual, were flocking to their minister with that important inquiry, "What shall we do to be saved?" This concern increased for a considerable time among the young people (though not wholly confined to them) and in November, December and January following, it

became more remarkable, as well as more general.—There was an apparent reformation among the youth of the town: their customary tavern-haunting, frolicking, and other youthful extravagancies, were now laid aside, a new face of things appeared in the town: all occasions of religious conversation were improved with delight: a seriousness, solemnity, and devout attention appeared in their public assemblies; and a solemn concern about their eternal welfare, was visible in the very countenances of many.—This revival of religion was chiefly observable among the younger people, till the following March; when the whole town in general was brought under an uncommon concern about their eternal interests; and the congregation appeared universally affected under some sermons that were then preached to them; and there is good reason to conclude, that there was a considerable number who experienced a saving change about that time. The Summer following, this awakening concern sensibly abated, though it did not wholly die away; and nothing remarkable occurred till February 1740-1, when they were again visited with the special and manifest effusions of the Spirit of God. A plain familiar sermon then preached, without any peculiar terror, fervor, or affectionate manner of address, was set home with power. Many were brought to see and feel, that till then, they had no more than a name to live; and professors in general were put upon serious and solemn inquiries into the foundation of their hope. There seemed to be very few in the whole congregation, but who felt more or less of the power of God at this happy season; though the greatest concern now appeared among the risen generation.—There is good reason to conclude, that there were a greater number now brought home to Christ, than in the former gracious visitation. It was remarkable at this season, that as sinners were generally under an awakening distressing sense of their guilt and danger; so the children of God were greatly refreshed and comforted; their souls were magnifying the Lord, and rejoicing in God their Saviour, while others in distressing agony were crying out, “Men and brethren what shall we do?”

In the Summer following, this religious concern sensibly decayed; though the sincere converts now held fast their profession without wavering; yet there were too many who had been under convictions, that grew careless and secure; and all endeavours proved ineffectual, to give new life to their former solicitude about their eternal welfare. What seemed greatly to contribute to this (now growing) security among these, was the pride, false and rash zeal, and censoriousness, which appeared among some few at this time, who made high pretences to religion. This opened the mouths of many against the whole work; and raised that opposition which was not before heard of; almost every body seeming to acknowledge the finger of God in these wonderful appearances, till this handle was given to their opposition. And the dreadful scandals of Mr. C—which came to light about this time, proved a means to still further harden many in their declension and apostacy. That unhappy gentleman having made so high pretensions to extraordinary piety and zeal, his scandals gave the deeper wound to vital and experimental Godliness. Thus Sir, I have faith-

fully given you a narrative in some brief and general hints of the late revival of religion at Newark; and shall now proceed to give you a brief view of the like manifestations of the divine grace at Elizabethtown.

The rev. Mr. Whitefield preached a sermon here in the fall of the year 1739, to a numerous and attentive auditory; but I could observe no further influence upon our people by that address, than a general thoughtfulness about religion; and a promptitude to make the extraordinary zeal and diligence of that gentleman, the common and turning topick of their conversation. I do not know that there was any one person brought under conviction, or any new and special concern about their salvation, by that sermon; nor more than one by any endeavours that were used with them that Fall, or the succeeding Winter. Though there was such a shaking among the dry bones so near to us, as is above represented, and we had continual accounts from Newark of the growing distress among their people, (their young people especially) our congregation remained yet secure and careless; and could not be awaked out of their sleep. You will easily conceive, that this must needs be an afflicting and discouraging consideration to me; that when from other places, we had the joyful news of so many flying to Christ as a cloud, and as doves to their windows, I had yet cause to complain, that I laboured in vain and spent my strength for nought. But notwithstanding all these discouraging appearances, I could not but entertain an uncommon concern, particularly for the young people of my charge, during that Winter; and the ensuing Spring; which not only animated my addresses to the throne of grace on their behalf, but my endeavours also, to excite in them if possible, some affecting sense of their misery, danger, and necessity of a Saviour. To that end, there were frequent lectures appointed for the young people in particular; but without any visible success, until some time in June 1740, when we had a remarkable manifestation of the divine presence with us.

Having at that time invited the young people to hear a sermon, there was a numerous congregation convened, which consisted chiefly of our youth, though there were many others with them. I preached to them a plain, practical sermon; without any special liveliness or vigour; for I was then in a remarkably dead and dull frame, till enlivened by a sudden and deep impression which visibly appeared upon the congregation in general.—There was no crying out, or falling down; (as elsewhere has happened) but the inward distress and concern of the audience discovered itself, by their tears, and by an audible sobbing and sighing in almost all parts of the assembly. There appeared such tokens of a solemn and deep concern, as I never before saw in any congregation whatsoever. From this time, we heard no more of our young people's meeting together for frolics and extravagant diversions, as had been usual among them; but instead thereof, private meetings for religious exercises were by them set up in several parts of the town. All our opportunities of public worship, were carefully and constantly attended by our people in general; and a serious and solemn attention to the ministry of the word, was observable in their very countenances.

Numbers were almost daily repairing to me for assistance in their eternal concerns. There were then probably more came to me in one day on that errand, than usually in half a years space before<sup>a</sup>. In a word, the face of the congregation was quite altered; and religion became the common subject of conversation among a great part of the people.

Though this work began among our young people; and the most of those with whom we have reason to conclude it became effectual, were of the younger sort; yet there were some who had lived a careless and sensual life to an advanced age, who were under convictions, and (I hope) savingly brought home to Christ, at this blessed time of the effusion of his holy Spirit. Though there were so many brought under convictions at once, we had very little appearance of those irregular heats among us, which are so loudly complained of in some other parts of the land. I do not remember to have heard of above two or three instances of any thing of that nature, in this congregation; and those easily and speedily regulated. It is observable that this work was substantially the same in all the differing subjects of it, though some passed through much greater degrees of distress and terror than others; and this distress lasted much longer with some than with others; yet all were brought under a deep sense of their sin, guilt, and danger; and none (that I know of) obtained satisfying discoveries of safety in Christ, till they were first brought to despair of help from themselves or any of their own refuges, and to see and feel that they lay at mercy.

We had no instances among us of such sudden conversions as I have heard of elsewhere; but our new converts were all for a considerable time under a law-work, before they were brought to any satisfying views of their interest in Christ and the favour of God. Nor had we many instances of those extatick rapturous joys, that were so frequent in some other places. It was remarkable that they who were formerly eminent for religion, were now greatly quickened and revived; and some of them had now such joyful manifestations of God's love to their souls as they had never before experienced. It was also remarkable, that as this work began among us in a time of greatest health and prosperity; so the concern began sensibly to wear off in one of the greatest mortalities that had ever been known in the town; which makes it appear more evidently to be the work of God himself. Tho' there are some of those who were then under special convictions, that have worn off their impressions, and are become secure and careless; yet I do not know of any two persons, who gave reasonable hopes of a real change at that time, but who have hitherto by their conversation confirmed our hopes of their saving conversion to God.

I would be very cautious of any confident determinations, with respect to the conversion of particular persons: but if we may judge the tree by the fruits, which we have now had so long a time to observe,

<sup>a</sup> Agreeable to this, the rev. Mr. Dickson in another letter wrote about that time to the rev. Mr. Foxcroft, viz. September 4th, 1740, has these remarkable passages—"I have still the comfortable news to

inform you of, that there is yet a great revival of religion in these parts. I have had more young people addressing me for direction in their spiritual concerns within these three months than in thirty years before."

we have reason to suppose, that near about sixty persons have received a saving change in this congregation only, (and a number in the parish next adjoining to us, though I dare not pretend to guess how many) since the beginning of this work. The general concern which (as I have observed) appeared upon the face of the congregation, has gradually worn off; and a great part of those who came short of the effectual and saving influences of the blessed Spirit, are returned to their former security and insensibility, and again appear like a valley of dry bones. Though there be yet a considerable number, that do not give satisfying evidences of a regenerate state, who have not worn off their serious impressions.

I intreat your prayers for us, that he with whom is the residue of the Spirit, would again revive his work among us, and have compassion upon the many poor souls who are yet in the paths of destruction and death. And be pleased particularly to remember at the throne of grace  
Yours, &c. JONATHAN DICKINSON.

### S E C T I O N III.

*A Concern appears, in September 1739, at Harvard in Middlesex.— It increases among the young People. — This a Mean to stir up others.— Religious Conversation.— Societies for Prayer, &c.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Seccomb, Minister at Harvard, to Mr. Prince, Minister at Boston, February 20th, 1744, in PRINCE'S Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 54. ]

Rev. Sir, "According to your request, I here send you a cautious, though brief account of the revival of religion here. The first visible alteration among my people for the better was some time in the month of September in the year 1739; when several began to grow more thoughtful and serious, and somewhat reformed, more constant and diligent in attending the public worship, more attentive in hearing the word preached, more careful to sanctify the Sabbath, &c. Not long after this, came four young men to me under considerable awakenings and concern about their spiritual state. In December following these same persons were taken into church-fellowship, who had been of too loose a life and conversation in times past; which put many upon further thoughtfulness.

From this time, the concern began to increase, and there was scarce a sacrament passed (which is with us once in eight weeks) without some additions to the church from that to the present time; though twelve is the greatest number that have been received at once. After a while religious discourse began to be introduced among persons on Lord's-days between exercises, which had been shamefully neglected, and could not before this be obtained. And by many it was looked upon as a sign of hypocrisy, and accordingly such were much scorned by the less serious and considerate among the people. But as this concern grew upon persons, religious conversation became more frequent; and many would often speak one to another about soul-concerns. Afterwards several young persons were formed into societies for prayer,

reading the Word, singing, and religious conference. This visible reformation among the young people was (under God) a means of stirring up many middle-aged and elder persons to think more seriously about their souls, and what they should do to be saved. And they also had a weekly meeting together for prayer, &c. Here was now a great visible reformation among the people both old and young.

The work of conviction and conversion was begun and carried on in a gradual manner, principally, by the preaching of the word. The preached word became more quick and powerful than usual; like as a fire, and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces. And particularly some sermons from Isa. lv. 1. and Ezek. xxxiii. 11. were set home upon the hearts of some for their great awakening, and I hope saving good. Many were made sensible of that miserable wretched state they were in by nature, and that fountain of sin that is in the heart: judging and condemning themselves as the very greatest and vilest of sinners; and greatly concerned how to obtain an interest in the Lord Jesus Christ. Some had amazing apprehensions of the dreadful wrath of God under which they lay; very sensible how greatly they had been blinded and deluded in time past as to the nature of religion and the state of their own souls; greatly affected with their ignorance in divine things; and to think they had abused the patience of God so long, being even astonished at their being yet out of hell; and greatly bewailing their former insensibleness of the design of the holy Sabbath, in their having sinned away such precious seasons for their souls. Now they became wonderfully attentive to the word preached as if they would not by any means lose a single sentence; as new-born babes desiring the sincere milk of the word. Many, very desirous of seeing themselves as they were, and greatly afraid lest their convictions should wear away before they had found Christ. Some, while under the Spirit of bondage, were so sensibly affected with their danger, that they dare not close their eyes to sleep, lest they should awake in hell; and would sometimes arise in the night, and go to the windows, under alarming fears of Christ's sudden coming to judgment, expecting to hear the sounding of the trumpet to summon all nations to appear before him. Thus when the terrors of God make sinners afraid, there is a dreadful found in their ears.

I think I may say there has been a great shaking among the dry bones, and some that have been for a long time dead in trespasses and sins appear to be made alive to God: sleepy sinners have been awakened, stubborn sinners subdued, proud sinners humbled, carnal persons made spiritual. Such as lived unmindful of Heaven, now seek the things which are above, and set their affections upon them. Prayerless persons now call upon God, and some that despised his word now tremble at it. Some that turned their backs upon the table of the Lord, and said (practically at least) the table of the Lord is contemptible, do now hunger and thirst for communion with Christ there, &c. Great numbers, both young and old, are outwardly reformed; and a considerable number who in a judgment of charity may be said to be savingly converted, whose lives and conversations for two or three years

past are in the main as becometh the gospel. "Old things are past away, behold, all things are become new." Hence the Bible hath appeared to some to be a new book; and the Catechism of the assembly of divines to be a new and most excellent compofure, though before they saw no great excellency to be in the one or the other: and therefore greatly admire at their former ignorance. And some of the same sermons they had heard some time before (being sometimes necessitated to preach such) appeared to be quite new, and better than ever they heard before, and I could hardly make them believe they had ever heard them before. It was grievous to them to think they should live so long under the means of grace, and never hear any preaching till now; that all former sermons had been so lost upon them which now were so sweet and nourishing to their souls. They speak of a sweetness in sermons, and in spiritual promises, which they never found before. And hereupon some have been so eager to hear sermons, and join with others in prayer and conference and such Christian exercises, as to neglect their particular callings. And being thus irregularly intent upon spiritual things, it hath turned to the disparagement of religion among such as have a mind to take up all exceptions against it that they can meet with, as if religion put people beside themselves. But I think it no ways strange to see young Christians thus strongly disposed to religious duties; and we ought to make allowances in such cases, if they go a little too far in some things, at first setting out: they will be slow enough and lamentably backward to the best exercises (usually) after a few years. Though some have been thus upon the extreme for a while; yet oh, how pleasant was it to see such numbers (chiefly young persons) as I have seen flying as doves to their windows, going and weeping, seeking the Lord their God, asking the way to Zion with their faces thitherward! some judging and condemning themselves, bemoaning their sad condition, others rejoicing with joy unspeakable and full of glory, and pressing into the kingdom of God with holy violence.

If all this be the effects of frenzy and madness, delusion and enthusiasm, I pray God I may see another such pleasant season, even the glory of the Lord, and the excellency of our God; when the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. I am persuaded God hath done great things for us, whereof we have great reason to rejoice and be glad. And several things confirm me in my belief; particularly these two, 1. The means by which this work of conviction and conversion (by God's blessing) hath been carried on, is one evidence of a good work. I mention this, to take off that objection which hath been made by some, who say persons were not truly convinced of sin, &c. but affrighted by the manner of the preacher's address to their passions, by the loudness of the voice, gesture, &c. And that this work hath been carried on only in such places where such preachers have been. This is not the case here; this reformation hath not been carried on violently, nor by strangers. There was a lecture-sermon preached in June 1741, by an elderly minister, from those words in Matth xxii. 5. "They made light of it;" which God remarkably blessed to the awakening, and I have reason to think to the spiritual good of some souls among us:



which is the only instance of that nature by any minister preaching with us, that I now recollect. And furthermore, this religious concern began a year before Mr. Whitefield's coming into the country: and after he preached in New-England very few of this people did ever hear him. But God was pleased to make use of the usual means, to rouse and awaken sleepy sinners by the small voice; and, as before observed, by some of the very same sermons that made no impression before. This, I say, is one thing that confirms my belief of a good work, and that assertion of the apostle; "Whoever plants or waters, it is God that gives the increase." But then, 2. The good fruits and effects is a further and most convincing proof of the power and grace of God. "By their fruits ye shall know them." If it be asked, what are these fruits that evidence a good work? Though I have already hinted at this, yet I would add, that many are more humble, just, meek, temperate, sober-minded, peaceable, kind and charitable, shewing love to the brethren, &c. and some have at times expressed a great readiness and willingness to lay down their lives for the salvation of one soul, if God should call them to it: expressing great inward joy and peace in believing: shewing out of a good conversation their works with meekness of wisdom. And I think it may be truly said that many are better husbands, better wives, better parents, better children, better masters, and better servants, &c. That censorious spirit (so much the blemish of religion) hath not prevailed as in some places: tho' it must be acknowledged that some have been too much for judging others for a time, as is the case with some after the first beginnings of grace. But even those that have been most censorious of others, are now (after a better acquaintance with their own hearts, &c.) very jealous of themselves, and more charitable towards others; much for judging and condemning themselves, loathing themselves in their own sight for their iniquities and for their abominations; and complaining much of their own deadness, hardness of heart, remaining unbelief, that body of sin they find within them, &c. exercised also with such scruples, fears and temptations as are incident to believers. These, with many other things I could name, give me good ground to think that some have been turned "from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God." And as to the manner of persons being wrought upon; it has been usually in a rational gospel-way. None have cried out under the word but once, and then but five or six. And I would further observe concerning such as have received comfort, they had most of them been under concern and a spirit of bondage for several months before.

As to the subjects of this work, the chief were young persons as aforesaid. Some loose immoral persons. Some that greatly opposed this work at first. Some who were before in repute for morality and religion: and these were in the last place and with the greatest difficulty brought to submit to the righteousness of Christ: and such as these have usually walked in darkness, and been full of fears a considerable time, before they could attain any comfortable hope of their good state: the light hath come very gradually into their souls; while it hath broke in upon some others like the sun at noon-day, and given

light all around them ; which so affected them at first, that they thought they had no more to do with this world, that all their business was now to praise God, and to shew forth all his wonderful works, &c. but experience hath since taught them otherwise. And as to the additions to the church ; there have been near an hundred added since September 1739. And though some, who have been under deep impressions, seem since to have lost them ; yet there is by far the greater number (blessed be God) who testify their sincerity by an answerable life and conversation ; so that, upon the whole, I must conclude, that God hath by his word and Spirit been carrying on a good work among us ; and to his name be all the praise and glory.

#### S E C T I O N IV.

*In March, 1740, a like Concern appears at New-London-Derry in Pennsylvania. — Under the Preaching of a Stranger-Minister, from Luke xiii. 7. — And afterwards, when their own Minister preached from Matthew vi. 33. — Sermons on week Days. — The Experiences of a young Woman. — And of a Man aged fifty. — And of two Sisters, aged seven and nine Years. — Other Places in Pennsylvania awakened.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Samuel Blair, Minister at New-London-Derry, to Mr. Prince, Minister at Boston, August 6th, 1744, in PRINCE'S Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 83. ]

Rev. Sir, That it may the more clearly appear that the Lord has indeed carried on a work of true religion among us of late years, I conceive it will be useful to give a brief general view of the state of religion in these parts before this remarkable season. I doubt not then but there were some sincerely religious people up and down ; and there were, I believe, a considerable number in the several congregations, pretty exact, according to their education, in the observance of the external forms of religion, not only as to attendance upon public ordinances on the Sabbaths, but also as to the practice of family-worship, and perhaps secret prayer too : but with these things the most part seemed, to all appearance, to rest contented, and to satisfy their consciences just with a dead formality in religion. If they performed these duties pretty punctually in their seasons, and as they thought with a good meaning, out of conscience, and not just to obtain a name for religion among men, then they were ready to conclude that they were truly and sincerely religious. A very lamentable ignorance of the main essentials of true practical religion, and the doctrines nextly relating thereto, very generally prevailed. The nature and necessity of the new-birth was but little known or thought of. The necessity of a conviction of sin and misery, by the Holy Spirit opening and applying the law to the conscience, in order to a saving closure with Christ, was hardly known at all to the most. It was thought that if there was any need of a heart-distressing sight of the soul's danger, and fear of Divine wrath, it was only needful for the grosser sort of sinners ; and for any others to be

deeply exercised this way, (as there might sometimes be before some rare instances observable) this was generally looked upon to be a great evil and temptation that had befallen those persons. The common names for such soul-concern were, melancholy, trouble of mind, or despair. These terms were in common, so far as I have been acquainted, indifferently used as synonymous; and trouble of mind was looked upon as a great evil, which all persons, that made any sober profession and practice of religion, ought carefully to avoid. There was scarcely any suspicion at all, in general, of any danger of depending upon self-righteousness, and not upon the righteousness of Christ alone for salvation. Papists and Quakers would be readily acknowledged guilty of this crime; but hardly any professed Presbyterian. The necessity of being first in Christ by a vital union, and in a justified state, before our religious services can be well-pleasing and acceptable to God, was very little understood or thought of; but the common notion seemed to be, that if people were aiming to be in the way of duty as well as they could, as they imagined, there was no reason to be much afraid.

According to these principles, and this ignorance of some of the most soul-concerning truths of the gospel, people were very generally thro' the land careless at heart, and stupidly indifferent about the great concerns of eternity. There was very little appearance of any hearty engagedness in religion; and indeed the wise, for the most part, were in a great degree asleep with the foolish. It was sad to see with what a careless behaviour the public ordinances were attended, and how people were given to unsuitable worldly discourse on the Lord's-day. In public companies, a vain and frothy lightness was apparent in the deportment of many professors.

Thus religion lay as it were a-dying, and ready to expire its last breath of life in this part of the visible church: and it was in the Spring, in the year 1740, when the God of salvation was pleased to visit us with the blessed effusions of his Holy Spirit in an eminent manner. The first very open and public appearance of this gracious visitation in these parts, was in the congregation which God has committed to my charge. This congregation has not been erected above fourteen or fifteen years from this time: the place is a new settlement, generally settled with people from Ireland, (as all our congregations in Pennsylvania, except two or three, chiefly are made up of people from that kingdom.) I am the first minister they have ever had settled in the place; having been regularly liberated from my former charge in East-Jersey, above an hundred miles north-eastward from hence, (the rev. presbytery of New-Brunswick, of which I had the comfort of being a member, judging it to be my duty, for sundry reasons, to remove from thence.) At the earnest invitation of the people here, I came to them in the beginning of November 1739, accepted of a call from them that Winter, and was formally installed and settled among them as their minister in April following. There were some hopefully pious people here at my first coming, which was a great encouragement and comfort to me.

I had some view and sense of the deplorable condition of the land in general; and accordingly the scope of my preaching through that first

Winter after I came here, was mainly calculated for persons in a natural unregenerate state. I endeavoured, as the Lord enabled me, to open up and prove from his word, the truths which I judged most necessary for such as were in that state to know and believe, in order to their conviction and conversion. I endeavoured to deal searchingly and solemnly with them: and through the blessing of God, I had knowledge of four or five brought under deep convictions that Winter. In the beginning of March I took a journey into East-Jersey; and was abroad for two or three Sabbaths: a neighbouring minister, who seemed to be earnest for the awakening and conversion of secure sinners, and whom I had obtained to preach a Sabbath to my people in my absence, preached to them, I think, on the first Sabbath after I left home: his subject was the dangerous and awful case of such as continue unregenerate and unfruitful under the means of grace. The text was Luke xiii. 7. "Then said he to the dresser of his Vineyard; behold, these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none; cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?" under that sermon there was a visible appearance of much soul-concern among the hearers; so that some burst out with an audible noise into bitter crying (a thing not known in these parts before.) After I had come home, there came a young man to my house under deep trouble about the state of his soul, whom I had looked upon as a pretty light merry sort of a youth: he told me that he was not any thing concerned about himself in the time of hearing the above-mentioned sermon, nor afterwards, till the next day that he went to his labour, which was grubbing in order to clear some new ground: the first grub he set about was a pretty large one with a high top, and when he had cut the roots, as it fell down, these words came instantly to his remembrance, and as a spear to his heart, "Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?" so, thought he, must I be cut down by the justice of God for the burning of hell, unless I get into another state than I am now in. He thus came into very great and abiding distress, which, to all appearance, has had a happy issue; his conversation being to this day as becomes the gospel of Christ.

The news of this very public appearance of deep soul-concern among my people met me an hundred miles from home: I was very joyful to hear of it, in hopes that God was about to carry on an extensive work of converting grace amongst them. And the first sermon I preached after my return to them, was from Matth. vi. 33. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness." After opening up and explaining the parts of the text, when, in the improvement, I came to press the injunction in the text upon the unconverted and ungodly, and offered this as one reason among others, why they should now henceforth first of all seek the kingdom and righteousness of God, viz. that they had neglected too too long to do so already: this consideration seemed to come and cut like a sword upon several in the congregation; so that while I was speaking upon it, they could no longer contain, but burst out in the most bitter mourning. I desired them as much as possible, to restrain themselves from making any noise, that would hinder themselves or others from hearing what was spoken: and often after-

wards I had occasion to repeat the same counsel: I still advised people to endeavour to moderate and bound their passions, but not so as to resist or stifle their convictions. The number of the awakened increased very fast: frequently under sermons there were some newly convicted, and brought into deep distress of soul about their perishing estate. Our Sabbath assemblies soon became vastly large: many people from almost all parts around inclining very much to come where there was such appearance of the divine power and presence. I think there was scarcely a sermon or lecture preached here through that whole Summer, but there were manifest evidences of impressions on the hearers; and many times the impressions were very great and general: several would be overcome and fainting; others deeply sobbing, hardly able to contain: others crying in a most dolorous manner; many others more silently weeping: and a solemn concern appearing in the countenances of many others. And sometimes the soul-exercises of some (though comparatively but very few) would so far affect their bodies as to occasion some strange unusual bodily motions. I had opportunities of speaking particularly with a great many of those, who afforded such outward tokens of inward soul-concern in the time of public worship and hearing of the word: indeed many came to me of themselves in their distress, for private instruction and counsel; and I found, so far as I can remember, that with by far the greater part their apparent concern in public was not just a transient qualm of conscience, or merely a floating commotion of the affections; but a rational fixt conviction of their dangerous perishing estate. They could generally offer as a convictive evidence of their being in an unconverted miserable estate, that they were utter strangers to those dispositions, exercises, and experiences of soul in religion, which they heard laid down from God's word, as the inseparable characters of the truly regenerate people of God; even such as before had something of the form of religion; and, I think the greater number were of this sort; and several had been pretty exact and punctual in the performance of outward duties; they saw they had been contenting themselves with the form without the life and power of godliness; and that they had been taking peace to their consciences from, and depending upon their own righteousness, and not the righteousness of Jesus Christ. In a word, they saw that true practical religion was quite another thing than they had conceived it to be, or had any true experience of. There were likewise many up and down the land brought under deep distressing convictions that Summer who had lived very loose lives, regardless of the very externals of religion. In this congregation I believe there were very few that were not stirred up to some solemn thoughtfulness and concern more than usual about their souls. The general carriage and behaviour of people was soon very visibly altered. Those awakened were much given to reading in the holy Scriptures and other good books. Excellent books that had lain by much neglected, were then much perused, and lent from one to another: and it was a peculiar satisfaction to people to find how exactly the doctrines they heard daily preached, harmonized with the doctrines maintained and taught by great and godly men in other parts and for-

mer times. The subjects of discourse almost always when any of them were together, were the matters of religion and great concerns of their souls. All unsuitable, worldly, vain discourse on the Lord's-day seemed to be laid aside among them: indeed for any thing that appeared, there seemed almost an universal reformation in this respect in our public assemblies on the Lord's-day.

There was an earnest desire in people after opportunities for public worship and hearing the word. I appointed in the Spring to preach every Friday through the Summer when I was at home, and those meetings were well attended; and at several of them the power of the Lord was remarkably with us. The main scope of my preaching thro' that Summer was, laying open the deplorable state of man by nature since the fall, our ruined exposed case by the breach of the first covenant, and the awful condition of such as were not in Christ, giving the marks and characters of such as were in that condition: and moreover, laying open the way of recovery in the new covenant through a Mediator, with the nature and necessity of faith in Christ the Mediator, &c. I laboured much on the last mentioned heads; that the people might have right apprehensions of the gospel-method of life and salvation. I treated much on the way of sinners closing with Christ by faith, and obtaining a right peace to an awakened wounded conscience: shewing that persons were not to take peace to themselves on account of their repentings, sorrows, prayers, and reformations; nor to make these things the grounds of their adventuring themselves upon Christ and his righteousness, and of their expectations of life by him: and that neither were they to obtain or seek peace in extraordinary ways, by visions, dreams, or immediate inspirations: but, by an understanding view, and believing persuasion of the way of life, as revealed in the gospel, thro' the suretyship-obedience and sufferings of Jesus Christ; with a view of the suitableness and sufficiency of that mediatory righteousness of Christ for the justification and life of law-condemned sinners; and thereupon, freely accepting him for their Saviour, heartily consenting to, and being well pleased with the way of salvation, and venturing their all upon his mediation, from the warrant and encouragement afforded of God thereunto in his word, by his free offer, authoritative command, and sure promise to those that so believe. I endeavoured to shew the fruits and evidences of a true faith, &c.

In some time many of the convinced and distressed afforded very hopeful satisfying evidence that the Lord had brought them to a true closure with Jesus Christ; and that their distresses and fears had been in a great measure removed in a right gospel-way, by believing in the Son of God. Several of them had very remarkable and sweet deliverances this way. It was very agreeable to hear their accounts how that when they were in the deepest perplexity and darkness, distress and difficulty, seeking God as poor condemned hell-deserving sinners, the scene of recovering grace through a Redeemer has been opened to their understandings with a surprizing beauty and glory, so that they were enabled to believe in Christ with joy unspeakable and full of glory. It appeared that most generally the holy Spirit improved for this purpose, and made use

of some one particular passage or other of the holy Scripture that came to their remembrance in their distress: some gospel-offer or promise, or some declaration of God directly referring to the recovery and salvation of undone sinners by the new-covenant. But with some it was otherwise: they had not any one particular place of scripture more than another in their view at the time. Those who met with such a remarkable relief; as their account of it was rational and scriptural, so, they appeared to have had at the time, the attendants and fruits of a true faith; particularly, humility, love, and an affectionate regard to the will and honour of God: much of their exercise was in self-abasing and self-loathing; and admiring the astonishing condescension and grace of God towards such vile and despicable creatures, that had been so full of enmity and dis-affection to him: they freely and sweetly with all their hearts chose the way of his commandments; their enflamed desire was to live to him for ever according to his will, and to the glory of his name.

There were others that had not had such remarkable relief and comfort, who yet I could not but think were savingly renewed, and brought truly to accept of and rest upon Jesus Christ, though not with such a degree of liveliness and liberty, strength and joy: and some of those continued for a considerable time after, for the most part, under a very distressing suspicion and jealousy of their case. I was all along very cautious of expressing to people my judgment of the goodness of their states, excepting where I had pretty clear evidences from them of their being savingly changed; and yet they continued in deep distress, casting off all their evidences: sometimes in such cases, I have thought it needful to use greater freedom that way than ordinary; but otherwise, I judged that it could be of little use, and might easily be hurtful.

Beside those above spoke of, whose experience of a work of grace was in a good degree clear and satisfying, there were some others (though but very few in this congregation that I knew of) who, having very little knowledge or capacity, had a very obscure and improper way of representing their case in relating how they had been exercised: they would chiefly speak of such things as were only the effects of their soul-exercise upon their bodies from time to time, and some things that were purely imaginary: which obliged me to be at much pains in my enquiries before I could get any just ideas of their case. I would ask them, what were the thoughts, the views and apprehensions of their minds, and exercise of their affections, (at such times when they felt, perhaps, a quivering come over them, as they had been saying, or a faintness, or thought they saw their hearts full of some nauseous filthiness; or when they felt a heavy weight or load at their hearts, or felt the weight again taken off and a pleasant warmth rising from their hearts, as they would probably express themselves,) which might be the occasions or causes of these things they spoke of: and then, when with some difficulty I could get them to understand me, some of them would give a pretty rational account of solemn and spiritual exercises: and upon a thorough careful examination this way, I could not but conceive good hopes of some such persons.

But there were moreover several others, who seemed to think concerning themselves that they were under some good work, of whom, yet, I could have no reasonable ground to think that they were under any hopeful work of the Spirit of God. As near as I could judge of their case from all my acquaintance and conversation with them, it was much to this purpose: they believed there was a good work going on; that people were convinced, and brought into a converted state; and they desired to be converted too: they saw others weeping and fainting, and heard people mourning and lamenting, and they thought if they could be like these it would be very hopeful with them; hence, they endeavoured just to get themselves affected by sermons, and if they could come to weeping, or get their passions so raised as to incline them to vent themselves by cries, now they hoped they were got under convictions, and were in a very hopeful way; and afterwards, they would speak of their being in trouble, and aim at complaining of themselves, but seemed as if they knew not well how to do it, nor what to say against themselves; and then they would be looking and expecting to get some texts of scripture applied to them for their comfort; and when any scripture text which they thought was suitable for that purpose came to their minds, they were in hopes it was brought to them by the Spirit of God that they might take comfort from it. And thus, much in such a way as this, some appeared to be pleasing themselves just with an imaginary conversion of their own making. I endeavoured to correct and guard against all such mistakes so far as I discovered them, in the course of my ministry; and to open up the nature of a true conviction by the Spirit of God, and of a saving conversion.

Thus I have given a very brief account of the state and progress of religion here through that first Summer after the remarkable revival of it among us. Towards the end of that Summer there seemed to be a stop put to the farther progress of the work as to the conviction and awakening of sinners; and ever since there have been very few instances of persons convinced. It remains then, that I speak something of the abiding effects and after-fruits of those awakenings and other religious exercises which people were under during the above-mentioned period. Such as were only under some slight impressions and superficial awakenings, seem in general to have lost them all again without any abiding hopeful alteration upon them: they seem to have fallen back again into their former carelessness and stupidity, and some that were under pretty great awakenings, and considerably deep convictions of their miserable state, seem also to have got peace again to their consciences, without getting it by a true faith in the Lord Jesus, affording no satisfying evidence of their being savingly renewed. But, through the infinite rich grace of God (and blessed be his glorious name!) there is a considerable number who afford all the evidence that can be reasonably expected and required for our satisfaction in the case, of their having been the subjects of a thorough saving change; (except in some singular instances of behaviour, alas for them, which proceed from, and shew the sad remains of original corruption even in the regenerate children of God while in this imperfect state:) their walk is habitually



tender and conscientious, their carriage towards their neighbours just and kind, and they appear to have an agreeable peculiar love one for another, and for all in whom appears the image of God. Their discourses of religion, their engagedness and disposition of soul in the practice of the immediate duties and ordinances of religion, all appear quite otherwise than formerly. Indeed, the liveliness of their affections in the ways of religion is much abated in general, and they are in some measure humbly sensible of this, and grieved for it, and are carefully endeavouring still to live unto God; much grieved with their imperfections and the plagues they find in their own hearts; and frequently they meet with some delightful enlivenings of soul; and particularly our sacramental solemnities for communicating in the Lord's supper have generally been very blessed seasons of enlivening and enlargement to the people of God. There is a very evident and great increase of Christian knowledge with many of them. We enjoy in this congregation the happiness of a great degree of harmony and concord; scarcely any have appeared with open opposition and bitterness against the work of God among us and elsewhere up and down the land: tho' there are a pretty many such in several other places through the country: some indeed, in this congregation, but very few, have separated from us, and joined with the ministers who have unhappily opposed this blessed work.

It would have been a great advantage to this account, had I been careful in time to have written down the experiences of particular persons; but this I neglected in the proper season. However, I have more lately noted down an account of some of the soul exercises and experiences of a young woman, but I judge it proper to conceal her name, because she is yet living. I was very careful to be exact in the affair, both in my conversing with her, and writing the account she gave me of herself, immediately after. And though I don't pretend to give her very words for the most part, yet I am well satisfied I don't misrepresent what she related. The account then is thus; she was first brought to some solemn thoughtfulness and concern about her soul's case, by seeing others so much concerned about their souls: when she saw people in deep distress about the state of their souls, she thought with herself, how unconcerned she was about her own. And tho' she thought that she had not been very guilty of great sins, yet she feared she was too little concerned about her eternal well-being: and then the sermons she heard made her still uneasy about her case; so that she would go home on the Sabbath-evenings pretty much troubled and cast down; which concern used to abide with her for a few days after; but still towards the end of the week she would become pretty easy; and then, by hearing the word on the Sabbath-days, her uneasiness was always renewed for a few days again. And thus it fared with her, till one day, as she was hearing a sermon preached from Heb. iii. 15. "To-day if you will hear his voice, harden not your hearts;" the minister in the sermon spoke to this effect, How many of you have been hearing the gospel for a long time, and yet your hearts remain always hard, without being made better by it: the gospel is the voice of God, but

you have heard it only as the voice of man, and not the voice of God, and so have not been benefited by it. These words came with power to her heart. She saw that this was her very case: and she had an awful sense of the sin of her mis-improvement of the gospel, of her stupidity, hardness and unprofitableness under hearing of the word of God: she saw that she was hereby exposed to the sin-punishing justice of God, and so was filled with very great fear and terror: but she said there was no other sin at that time applied to her conscience, neither did she see herself as altogether without Christ. This deep concern on the fore-mentioned account stuck pretty close by her afterwards. There was a society of private Christians to meet in the neighbourhood some day after in the same week, for reading, prayer and religious conference: she had not been at a society of that kind before, but she longed very much for the time of their meeting then, that she might go there: and while she was there, she got an awful view of her sin and corruption, and saw that she was without Christ and without grace; and her exercise and distress of soul was such, that it made her for a while both deaf and blind; but she said she had the ordinary use of her understanding, and begged that Christ might not leave her to perish; for she saw she was undone without him. After this she lived in bitterness of soul: and at another time she had such a view of her sinfulness, of the holiness and justice of God, and the danger she was in of eternal misery, as filled her with extreme anguish; so that, had it not been that she was supported by an apprehension of God's all-sufficiency, she told me she was persuaded she should have fallen immediately into despair. She continued for some weeks in great distress of spirit, seeking and pleading for mercy without any comfort, until one Sabbath-evening, in a house where she was lodged during the time of a sacramental solemnity, while the family were singing the eighty-fourth psalm, her soul conceived strong hopes of reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ, and she had such apprehensions of the happiness of the heavenly state, that her heart was filled with joy unspeakable and full of glory; she sung with such elevation of soul, as if she had sung out of herself, as she expressed it; she thought at the time, it was as if the Lord had put by the veil, and shewed her the open glory of Heaven: she had very enlarged views of the sufficiency of Christ to save: she was clearly persuaded to the fullest satisfaction, that there was merit enough in him to answer for the sins of the most guilty sinner; and she saw that God could well be reconciled to all elect sinners in his son; which was a most ravishing delightful scene of contemplation to her.

After this she continued very much under grievous dejections for about two years, and yet enjoyed considerable sweetness and comfort at times: she often came to hear sermons with a desire to get clearly convinced of her being yet in a Christless state, and with a formed resolution to take and apply to herself what might be said in the sermon to the unconverted; but most commonly she returned very agreeably disappointed; she would generally hear some mark of grace, some evidence of a real Christian laid down, which she could lay claim to, and could not deny; and thus she was supported and comforted from time

to time. During that two years space it was still with much fear and perplexity that she adventured to communicate in the Lord's supper; but she could not omit it; and she always found some refreshing sweetness by that ordinance.

After she had been so long under an almost alternate succession of troubles and supports, the Sun of Righteousness at last broke out upon her, to the clear satisfaction and unspeakable ravishment of her soul, at a communion-table. There her mind was let into the glorious mysteries of redemption with great enlargement: while she meditated on the sufferings of the Lord Jesus, she thought with herself he was not just a man who suffered so for sinners, but infinitely more than a man, even the most high God, the eternal Son equal with the Father: and she saw his being God put an infinite lustre and value upon his sufferings as man; her heart was filled with a most unutterable admiration of his person, his merit, and his love; she was enabled to believe in him with a strong self-evidencing faith; and when she thought that he had suffered for her sins, that she was the very person who by her sins had occasioned his sufferings, and brought agony and pain upon him: the consideration of this filled her with the deepest abhorrence of her sins, and most bitter grief for them; she said she could have desired with all her heart to have melted and dissolved her body quite away in that very place, in lamentation and mourning over her sins. After this enjoyment her soul was generally delighting in God, and she had much of the light of his countenance with her: and O, her great concern still was, how she might live to the Lord, how she might do any thing for him, and give honour to him: the Lord condescended to be much with her by his enlivening and comforting presence, and especially sacramental seasons were blessed and precious seasons to her. At one of those occasions, she was in a sweet frame meditating on the blood and water that issued from the wound made by the spear in her Saviour's side: she thought, as water is of a purifying cleansing nature, so there was sanctifying virtue as well as justifying merit in the Lord Jesus; and that she could no more be without the water, his sanctifying grace, to cleanse her very polluted soul, than she could be without his blood to do away her guilt: and her heart was much taken up with the beauty and excellency of sanctification. At another time, a communion solemnity likewise, she was very full of delight and wonder with the thoughts of electing love; how that God had provided and determined so great things for her before ever she had a being. And a very memorable enjoyment she had at another time, on Monday after a communion Sabbath, when these words came to her mind, "The Spirit and the Bride say, come, and let him that is a-thirst come, and whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely." The glory and delight let in upon her soul by these words was so great, that it quite overcame her bodily frame: she said it seemed to her that she was almost all spirit, and that the body was quite laid by; and she was sometimes in hopes that the union would actually break, and the soul get quite away: she saw much at that time into the meaning of her Lord in those words, "Because I live, ye shall live also."

About a time of sickness she had had, concerning which I had enquired of her, she told me, she expected pretty much to die then, and was very joyful at the near prospect of her change, and sensibly grieved to find herself recover again; chiefly because that while she lived here she was so frail and sinful, and could do so little for the Lord's honour. I was with her in the time of that sickness, and indeed I scarcely ever saw one appear to be so fully and sweetly satisfied under the afflicting hand of God; she manifestly appeared to lie under it with a peaceful serenity and divine sweetness in her whole soul. In a word, her whole deportment in the world bespeaks much humility and heavenliness of spirit.

One of our Christian friends, a man about fifty years of age, was removed from us by death in the beginning of May last; of whom I can give some broken imperfect account, which perhaps may be of some use. His name was Hanse Kirkpatrick: he was a man of a pretty good understanding, and had been, I believe, a sober professor for many years, though he had not been very long in America. After the work of religion begun so powerfully amongst us, I found in conversation with him, that he believed it to be a good work, but seemed very unwilling to give up his good opinion of his own case: he told me of some concern and trouble he had been in about his soul in his younger years; but yet the case looked suspicious that he had got ease in a legal way, upon an outward form of religion. At another time being at his house, and taking up a little book that lay by me on the table, which I found to be Mr. Mather's *Dead Faith anatomized*, and *Self-justiciary convicted*, he said to me, that was indeed a strange book as ever he saw, and that according to that author it was a great thing indeed to have a right faith that was true and saving, another thing than it was generally supposed to be, or to this purpose. He seemed to me at that time to be under more fears about his own case than I had observed in him before. Not long after this, as he was hearing a sermon one day, the word was applied with irresistible evidence and power to his heart, so that he saw himself as yet in a perishing undone case: whereupon the distress and exercise of his soul was so great, that he fell off the seat on which he was sitting, and wept and cried very bitterly. A little after this, he went to Philadelphia, at the time of the meeting of the synod, in hopes that perhaps he might meet with some benefit to his soul, by hearing the ministers preach there, or by conversing with some of them. He told me afterwards, that while he was there, and as he walked the streets, he was unspeakably distressed with the view of his miserable condition; so that he could hardly keep his distress from being publicly discerned upon him: and, that he seemed sometimes to be even in a manner afraid that the streets would open and swallow up such a wretched creature. He told me of his trouble, and his very sweet relief out of it, in a most moving manner, under a very fresh sense and impression of both; but the particulars of his relief I have quite forgot. He was afterwards chosen and set apart for a ruling elder in the congregation. He died of an imposthume, and gradually wasted away for a long time before his death, and was for about two months intirely confined to his bed. He told me, that for some time before he was laid bed-fast, he had been

full of very distressing fears and jealousies about his soul's state, and was altogether unsatisfied about his interest in Christ; but that soon after he was confined to his bed, the Lord afforded him his comforting presence, cleared up his interest, and removed his fears. After this he continued still clear and peaceful in his soul, and sweetly and wholly resigned to the Lord's will until death. While he had strength to speak much he was free and forward to discourse of God and divine things. One time as two other of our elders were with him, he exhorted them to continue stedfast and faithful to God's truths and cause; for he said, if he had a thousand souls, he could freely venture them all upon the doctrines which had been taught them in this congregation. One time when I took leave of him, he burst out into tears, saying, "I had been the messenger of the Lord of Hosts to him, whom the Lord had sent to call him out of the broad way of destruction." For some days before his decease he could speak very little, but to all appearance, with a great deal of serenity and sweetness of soul he fell asleep in Jesus.

There have been very comfortable instances of little children among us. Two sisters, the one being about seven, the other about nine years of age, were hopefully converted that Summer, when religion was so much revived here. I discoursed with them both very lately, and both from their own account, and the account of their parents, there appears to have been a lasting and thorough change wrought in them. They speak of their soul-experiences with a very becoming gravity, and apparent impression of the things they speak of. The youngest was awakened by hearing the word preached: she told me she heard in sermons that except persons were convinced and converted they would surely go to hell; and she knew she was not converted: this set her to praying with great earnestness, with tears and cries; yet her fears and distress continued for several days, till one time as she was praying, her heart she said was drawn out in great love to God; and as she thought of Heaven and being with God, she was filled with sweetness and delight: I could not find by her that she had at that time any explicit particular thoughts about Christ as a Redeemer, but she said she knew then that Christ had died for sinners. She told me, she often found such delight and love to God since as she did then, and at such times she was very willing to die that she might be with God: but she said, she was sometimes afraid yet of going to hell. I asked her, "If she was troubled at any time when she was not afraid of going to hell?" she said, "Yes:" I asked her, "What she was troubled for then?" she said, "Because she had done ill to God;" meaning, that she had done evil and sin against God. Sometime after she first found comfort, one night when her father and all the rest of the family, but her mother and herself, were gone to a private society, she said to her mother, "That the people were singing and praying where her father was gone," and desired her mother to do the same with her: and after they were gone to bed, "She desired her mother to sing some Psalms which she had by heart, for she said she did not want to go to sleep."

Her sister was brought into trouble about her soul that same Summer, by sickness: it continued with her some time after her recovery;

'till one day, coming home from meeting, as she heard some people speaking about Christ and Heaven, her heart was enflamed with love to Christ. She says, that "when she has Christ's presence with her she does not know what to do to get away and be with God." Their parents told me that for a long time they seemed to be almost wholly taken up in religion; that no weather through the extremity of Winter would hinder them from going out daily to by-places for secret prayer; and if any thing came in the way that they could not get out for prayer at such times as they inclined and thought most proper, they would weep and cry. Their parents say, they are very obedient children, and strict observers of the Sabbath. There are likewise other young ones in the place, of whom I know nothing to the contrary, but that they continue hopeful and religious to this day.

This blessed shower of divine influences spread very much through this province that Summer: and was likewise considerable in some other places bordering upon it. The accounts of some ministers being something distinguished by their searching awakening doctrine, and solemn pathetic manner of address, and the news of the effects of their preaching upon their hearers, seemed in some measure to awaken people through the country to consider their careless and formal way of going on in religion; and very much excited their desires to hear those ministers. There were several vacant congregations without any settled pastors, which earnestly begged for their visits: and several ministers who did not appear heartily to put their shoulder to help in carrying on the same work, yet then yielded to the pressing importunities of their people in inviting those brethren to preach in their pulpits: so that they were very much called abroad, and employed in incessant labours, and the Lord wrought with them mightily. Very great assemblies would ordinarily meet to hear them, on any day of the week; and oftentimes a surprizing power accompanying their preaching was visible among the multitudes of their hearers. It was a very comfortable enlivening time to God's people; and great numbers of secure careless professors, and many loose irreligious persons through the land, were deeply convinced of their miserable perishing estates; and there is abundant reason to believe and be satisfied, that many of them were in the issue savingly converted to God. I myself have had occasion to converse with a great many up and down, who have given a most agreeable account of very precious and clear experiences of the grace of God. Several even in Baltimore, a county in the province of Maryland, who were brought up almost in a state of Heathenism, without almost any knowledge of the true doctrines of Christianity, afford very satisfying evidences of being brought to a saving acquaintance with God in Christ Jesus.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to give a brief account of the revival of religion among us, in these parts; in which I have endeavoured, all along, to be conscientiously exact, in relating things according to the naked truth: knowing, that I must not speak wickedly, even for God; nor talk deceitfully for him. And upon the whole I must say, it is beyond all dispute with me, and I think 'tis beyond all reasonable contra-

dition, that God has carried on a great and glorious work of his grace among us. SAMUEL BLAIR.

Having an opportunity of obtaining these attestations before sending my letter to you, I send them also along.—*New-Londonderry, August 7th, 1744.*—We the under-subscribers, ruling elders in the congregation of New-Londonderry, do give our testimony and attestation to the above account of the revival of religion in this congregation and other parts of this country, so far as the said account relates to things that were open to public observation, and such things as we have had opportunity of being acquainted with. Particularly, we testify that there has been a great and very general awakening among people, whereby they have been stirred up to an earnest uncommon concern and diligence about their eternal salvation, according to the above account of it: and, that many give very comfortable evidence by their knowledge, declaration of experience, and conscientious practice, of their being savingly changed and turned to God. JAMES COCHRAN. JOHN RAMSAY. JOHN LOVE. JOHN SMITH. JOHN SIMSON. WILLIAM BOYD.

#### SECTION V.

*Of the remarkable Revival in the City of Boston which began soon after Mr. Whitefield's Arrival there September 1740.—The Concern increases greatly after his Departure.—And much more upon Mr. Gilbert Tennent's coming December 13th, 1740.—His searching Manner of Preaching.—After Mr. Tennent's Departure was such a Time as the Ministers of Boston never knew for the Numbers that came to them in Concern about their Souls.—Boys and Girls, young Men and Women, Indians and Negroes, Heads of Families, aged Persons.—A Taste for Evangelical Experimental Writers revived.—Frequent Sermons.—Meetings for Prayer increase.—The oftner the Ministers preached, they had the more Pleasure in it.—Strangers were surprized at the Change in the Looks and Carriage of the People.—The Work goes on 'till June 1742, when some unhappy Imprudencies of Mr. Davenport bring in a disputatious and censorious Spirit.—Mr. Davenport's Retractions afterwards.*

[ From the Account of the Revival at Boston by Mr. Prince Minister there, in his Son's Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 100, &c. ]

FROM the year 1738, we had received accounts of the rev. Mr. Whitefield, as a very pious young minister of the church of England, rising up in the spirit of the reformers, and preaching their doctrines first in England, and then in America, with surprizing power and success; which raised desires in great numbers among us to see and hear him. And having received invitations to come hither, he from Georgia and South-Carolina arrived at Rhode-Island on the Lord's-day, September 14th, 1740; and the Thursday evening after came to Boston. Next day Dr. Sewall and I made him a visit, found several ministers and other gentlemen of the town with him, and that Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper had engaged him to preach this afternoon in their house of pub-

lie worship; and in about an hour we went to the place, which quickly crowded with two or three thousand people. He began with a short and fervent prayer; and, after singing, took his text from John xvii. 2. gave us a plain, weighty, regular discourse: representing that all our learning and morality will never save us; and without an experimental knowledge of God in Christ we must perish in hell for ever. He spake as became the oracles of God in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; and especially when he came to his application, he addressed himself to the audience in such a tender, earnest, and moving manner, exciting us to come and be acquainted with the dear Redeemer, as melted the assembly into tears.

Next morning, at Dr. Sewall's and my desire, he preached at the South-church to further acceptance. He spake with a mighty sense of God, cternity, the immortality and preciousness of the souls of his hearers, of their original corruption, and of the extream danger the unregenerate are in; with the nature and absolute necessity of regeneration by the Holy Ghost; and of believing in Christ, in order to our pardon, justification, yielding an acceptable obedience, and obtaining salvation from hell and an entrance into heaven. His doctrine was plainly that of the reformers: declaring against putting our good works or morality in the room of Christ's righteousness, or their having any hand in our justification, or being indeed pleasing to God while we are totally un sanctified, acting from corrupt principles, and unreconciled enemies to him; which occasioned some to mistake him, as if he opposed morality. But he insisted on it, that the tree of the heart is by original sin exceedingly corrupted, and must be made good by regeneration, that so the fruits proceeding from it may be good likewise; that where the heart is renewed, it ought, and will be, careful to maintain good works; that if any be not habitually so careful, who think themselves renewed, they deceive their own souls; and even the most improved in holiness, as well as others, must entirely depend on the righteousness of Christ for the acceptance of their persons and services. And though now and then he dropped some expressions that were not so accurate and guarded as we should expect from aged and long-studied ministers, yet I had the satisfaction to observe his readiness with great modesty and thankfulness to receive correction as soon as offered. In short, he was a most importunate wooer of souls to come to Christ for the enjoyment of him and all his benefits. He distinctly applied his exhortations to the elderly people, the middle-aged, the young, the Indians, and Negroes; and had a most winning way of addressing them. He affectionately prayed for our magistrates, ministers, colleges, candidates for the ministry, and churches as well as people in general: and before he left us, he in a public and moving manner observed to the people how sorry he was to hear that the religious assemblies, especially on lectures, had been so thin; exhorted them earnestly to a more general attendance on our public ministrations for the time to come, and told them how glad he should be to hear of the same.

Multitudes were greatly affected, and many awakened with his lively ministry. Though he preached every day, the houses were exceeding-



ly crowded; but when he preached in the Common, a vaster number attended: and almost every evening the house where he lodged was thronged to hear his prayers and counsels. Upon invitation he also preached in several neighbouring towns, travelled and preached as far as York, above seventy miles north-east of Boston, returned hither, gave us his farewell affectionate sermon Lord's-day evening, October 12th, next morning left us, travelled westward to Northampton, thence through Connecticut, New-York, and New-Jersey to Philadelphia, and thence sailed to South-Carolina.

Upon his leaving us, great numbers in this town were so happily concerned about their souls, as we had never seen any thing like it before, except at the time of the general earthquake<sup>a</sup>, and their desires excited to hear their ministers more than ever; so that our assemblies, both on lectures and Sabbaths, were surprizingly increased, and now the people wanted to hear us oftner. In consideration of which, a public lecture was proposed to be set up at Dr. Colman's church, near the midst of the town, on every Tuesday evening.

Lord's-day afternoon, October 19th, public notice was there given of the proposed lecture to be on the Tuesday evening following: which the religious people in general received with so much joy, that when the evening came, the house seemed to be crowded as much as if Mr. Whitefield was there. It was the first stated evening lecture in these parts of the world: and Dr. Colman began it with a most suitable and moving sermon upon Isa. lx. 8. "Who are these that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows." The Tuesday evening after, the Rev. Dr. Sewall preached the lecture in the same place; and the house was then also greatly crowded with attentive hearers: and so it continued to be on these lectures for many months after.

Upon the Rev. Mr. Gilbert Tennent's coming and preaching here, the people appeared to be yet much more awakened about their souls than before. He came, I think, on Saturday December 13th, this year; preached at the New-North on both the parts of the following day, as also on Monday in the afternoon, when I first heard him; and there was a great assembly. He did not indeed at first come up to my expectation, but afterwards exceeded it. In private converse with him, I found him to be a man of considerable parts and learning; free, gentle, condescending; and from his own various experience, reading the most noted writers on experimental divinity, as well as the scriptures, and conversing with many who had been awakened by his ministry in New-Jersey, where he then lived, he seemed to have as deep an acquaintance with the experimental part of religion as any I have conversed with; and his preaching was as searching and rousing as ever I heard.

<sup>a</sup> Though people were then generally frightened, and many awakened, to such a sense of their duty as to offer themselves to our communion, yet very few came to me then under deep convictions of their unconverted and lost condition in comparison of

what came now. Nor did those who came to me then, come so much with the enquiry, What shall we do to be saved? as to signify they had such a sense of their duty to come to the Lord's table, that they dare not stay away any longer.

He seemed to have no regard to please the eyes of his hearers with agreeable gesture, nor their ears with delivery, nor their fancy with language; but to aim directly at their hearts and consciences, to lay open their ruinous delusions, shew them their numerous, secret, hypocritical shifts in religion, and drive them out of every deceitful refuge wherein they made themselves easy, with the form of Godliness without the power. And many who were pleased in a good conceit of themselves before, now found, to their great distress, they were only self-deceived hypocrites. And though, while the discovery was making, some at first raged, as they have owned to me and others; yet in the progress of the discovery many were forced to submit; and then the power of God so broke and humbled them, that they wanted a further and even a thorough discovery; they went to hear him, that the secret corruptions and delusions of their hearts might be more discovered; and the more searching the sermon, the more acceptable it was to their anxious minds.

From the terrible and deep convictions he had passed through in his own soul, he seemed to have such a lively view of the Divine Majesty, the spirituality, purity, extensiveness, and strictness of his law; with his glorious holiness, and displeasure at sin, his justice, truth and power in punishing the damned, that the very terrors of God seemed to rise in his mind afresh, when he displayed and brandished them in the eyes of unreconciled sinners. And tho' some could not bear the representation, and avoided his preaching; yet the arrows of conviction, by his ministry, seemed so deeply to pierce the hearts of others, and even some of the most stubborn sinners, as to make them fall down at the feet of Christ, and yield a lowly submission to him.

And here I cannot but observe, that those who call these convictions by the name of religious frights or fears, and then ascribe them to the mere natural or mechanical influence of terrible words, sounds and gestures, moving tones, or boisterous ways of speaking, appear to me to be not sufficiently acquainted with the subjects of this work, as carried on in the town in general, or with the nature of their convictions; or at least as carried on among the people I have conversed with. For I have had awakened people of every assembly of the Congregational and Presbyterian way in town, in considerable numbers, repairing to me from time to time; and from their various and repeated narratives shall show the difference. I don't remember any crying out, or falling down, or fainting, either under Mr. Whitefield's or Mr. Tennent's ministry all the while they were here; tho' many, both women and men, both those who had been vicious, and those who had been moral, yea, some religious and learned, as well as unlearned, were in great concern of soul. But, as Dr. Colman well expressed it in his letter of November 23d, 1741. "We have seen little of those extremes or supposed blemishes of this work in Boston, but much of the blessed fruits of it have fallen to our share. God has spoken to us in a more soft and calm wind; and we have neither had those outcries and faintings in our assemblies, which have disturbed the worship in many places, nor

yet those manifestations of joy inexpressible, which now fill some of our eastern parts<sup>a</sup>."

As to Mr. Whitefield's preaching; it was, in the manner, moving, earnest, winning, melting: but the mechanical influence of this, according to the usual operations of mechanical powers, in two or three days expired, with many in two or three hours; and I believe with the most as soon as the sound was over, or they got out of the house, or in the first conversation they fell into. But with the manner of his preaching, wherein he appeared to be in earnest, he delivered those vital truths which animated all our martyrs, made them triumph in flames, and led his hearers into the view of that vital, inward, active piety which is the mere effect of the mighty and supernatural operation of a divine power on the souls of men; which only will support and carry through the sharpest trials, and make meet for the inheritance of the saints in light. His chief and earnest desires and labours appeared to be the same with the apostle Paul for the visible saints at Ephesus, viz. that they might know (i. e. by experience) what is the exceeding greatness of his power (i. e. the power of God) to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead, Eph. i. And they were these things, and this sort of preaching with surprizing fervency, that the Holy Spirit was pleased to use as means to make many sensible they knew nothing of these mighty operations, nor of these vital principles within them; but that with Simon Magus, who was a visible believer and professor of Christ and his religion, they were in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity; i. e. in the state, pollution, guilt and power of sin, which is inexpressibly more disagreeable to the holy God than the most bitter gall to men, and will be bitterness to them, without a mighty change, in the latter end. It was by such means as these, that the Holy Spirit seized and awakened the consciences of many; and when the mechanical influence on the animal passions ceased, still continued these convictions, not only for many days, but weeks and months after the sound was over; yea, to this very day with some; while they excited others to an earnest and persevering application to Jesus for his Spirit to quicken them, till they came to an hopeful perception of his quickening influence in them; and while in others the sovereign and offended Spirit leaving off to strive, these convictions in their consciences, the effects thereof, have either sooner or later died away.

As to Mr. Tennent's preaching.—It was frequently both terrible and searching. It was often for matter justly terrible, as he according to the inspired oracles exhibited the dreadful holiness, justice, law, threatenings, truth, power, Majesty of God; and his anger with rebellious, impenitent, unbelieving and Christless sinners; the awful danger they were every moment in of being struck down to hell, and damned for ever; with the amazing miseries of that place of torment. But his exhibitions both for matter and manner fell inconceivably below the rea-

<sup>a</sup> His Letter at the end of Mr. Edwards' Sermon, of the distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God, printed at London in 1742.

lity: and though this terrible preaching may strongly work on the animal passions, and frighten the hearers, rouse the soul, and prepare the way for terrible convictions; yet those mere animal terrors, and these convictions, are quite different things.

Nothing is more obvious than for people to be greatly terrified with the apprehensions of God, eternity and hell, and yet have no convictions. As in Old England and New I have been a constant preacher and observer of the religious state of those who heard me, for above thirty years; they have passed under many scores of most dreadful tempests of thunder and lightening: wherein, as the Psalmist represents, "The voice of the Lord was powerful, the voice of the Lord was full of Majesty;" yea, even since the revival, viz. on Friday night, July 30th, 1742, at the lecture in the South church, near nine of the clock, being very dark, there came on a very terrible storm of thunder and lightening: and just as the blessing was given, an amazing clap broke over the church with piercing repetitions, which set many a shrieking, and the whole assembly into great consternation: and yet in these displays of the Majesty of God, and terrifying apprehensions of danger of sudden destruction, neither in this surprizing night, nor in all the course of thirty years, have I scarce known any, by these kinds of terrors, brought under genuine convictions. So, on the Lord's-day, June 3d last, in our time of public worship in the forenoon, when we had been about a quarter of an hour in prayer, the mighty power of God came on with a surprizing roar and earthquake; which made the house with all the galleries to rock and tremble, with such a grating noise, as if the bricks were moving out of their places to come down and bury us; which exceedingly disturbed the congregation, excited the shrieks of many, put many on flying out, and the generality in motion. But though many were greatly terrified, yet in a day or two their terrors seemed to vanish, and I know of but two or three seized by convictions on this awful occasion.

No! conviction is quite another sort of a thing. It is the work of the Spirit of God, a sovereign, free and almighty agent; wherein he gives the sinful soul such a clear and lively view of the glory of the divine sovereignty, omnipresence, holiness, justice, truth and power; the extensiveness, spirituality and strictness of his law, the binding nature, efficacy and dreadfulfulness of his curses; the multitude and heinousness of its sins both of commission and omission; the horrible vileness, wickedness, perverseness and hypocrisy of the heart, with its utter impotence either rightly to repent, or believe in Christ, or change itself: so that it sees itself in a lost, undone and perishing state, without the least degree of worthiness to recommend it to the holy and righteous God, and the least degree of strength to help itself out of this condition. These discoveries are made by means of some revealed truths, either in the reading, hearing or remembrance: when in the hearing, sometimes by words of terror, and sometimes by words of tenderness: and the Holy Spirit with such internal evidence and power so applies them to the conscience, that they become as sharp arrows piercing into the heart, wounding, paining and sticking in it, when all the mechanical impres-

sions of frightful sounds are over, sometimes for many days, weeks and months, if not years together, until this Divine Agent, by these and other convictions agreeable to his inspired word, entirely subdues the soul to Christ, or being ungratefully treated, withdraws his convincing influence, and leaves the heart and conscience to greater and more dangerous hardness and stupidity than ever.

Such were the convictions wrought in many hundreds in this town by Mr. Tennent's searching ministry: and such was the case of many scores of several other congregations as well as mine, who came to me and others for direction under them<sup>a</sup>. And indeed by all their converse I found, it was not so much the terror as the searching nature of his ministry, that was the principal means of their conviction. It was not merely, nor so much his laying open the terrors of the law, and wrath of God, or damnation of hell; (for this they could pretty well bear, as long as they hoped these belonged not to them, or they could easily avoid them;) as his laying open their many vain and secret shifts and refuges, counterfeit resemblances of grace, delusive and damning hopes, their utter impotence, and impending danger of destruction; whereby they found all their hopes and refuges of lies to fail them, and themselves exposed to eternal ruin, unable to help themselves, and in a lost condition. This searching preaching was both the suitable and principal means of their conviction: though 'tis most evident, the most proper means are utterly insufficient; and wholly depend on the sovereign will of God, to put forth his power, and apply them by this or that instrument, on this or that person, at this or that season, in this or that way or manner; with these or those permitted circumstances, infirmities, corruptions, errors, agencies, oppositions; and to what degree, duration and event he pleases.

A remarkable instance of conviction also has been sometimes under the ministry of the rev. Mr. Edwards of Northampton: a preacher of a low and moderate voice, a natural way of delivery, and without any agitation of body, or any thing else in the manner to excite attention, except his habitual and great solemnity, looking and speaking as in the presence of God, and with a weighty sense of the matter delivered. It is just as the Holy Spirit pleases, who hides occasions of pride from man: and if Mr. Tennent was to come here again, and preach more rouzingly than ever, it may be, not one soul would come under conviction by him.

On Monday March 2d, 1740-1, Mr. Tennent preached his farewell sermon to the people of Boston, from Acts xi. 23. to an auditory extremely crowded, and very much affected, in Dr. Colman's house of worship. It was an affectionate parting; and as great numbers of all conditions and ages appeared awakened by him, there seemed to be a general sadness at his going away. Tho' it was natural for them to resort abundantly to him by whom it pleased the sovereign God chiefly

<sup>a</sup> The same kind of searching preaching by our own ministers and others, I also observed was the most successful means of bringing people into powerful convictions, or clear

and awakening views of their sinful and lost condition, and their absolute need of Christ to find and save them.

to awaken them, for advice in their soul concerns; yet while he was here, many repaired to their ministers also, and many more and oftener when he was gone. Mr. Tennent's ministry, with the various cases of those resorting to us, excited us to treat more largely of the workings of the Spirit of grace, as a spirit of conviction and conversion, consolation and edification in the souls of men, agreeable to the holy scriptures, and the common experiences of true believers.

And now was such a time as we never knew. The rev. Mr. Cooper was wont to say, that more came to him in one week in deep concern about their souls, than in the whole twenty-four years of his preceding ministry. I can also say the same as to the numbers who repaired to me. By Mr. Cooper's letter to his friend in Scotland, it appears, he has had about six hundred different persons in three months time: and Mr. Webb informs me, he has had in the same space above a thousand. Agreeable to the numerous bills of the awakened put up in public, sometimes rising to the number of sixty at once, there repaired to us both boys and girls, young men and women, Indians and Negroes, heads of families, aged persons; those who had been in full communion and going on in a course of religion many years. And their cases represented were; a blind mind, a vile and hard heart, and some under a deep sense thereof; some under great temptations; some in great concern for their souls; some in great distress of mind for fear of being unconverted; others least they had been all along building on a righteousness of their own, and were still in the gall of bitterness, and bond of iniquity. Some under slight, others under strong convictions of their sins and sinfulness, guilt and condemnation, the wrath and curse of God upon them, their impotence and misery; some for a long time, even for several months under these convictions: some fearing lest the holy Spirit should withdraw; others having quenched his operations, were in great distress lest he should leave them for ever: persons far advanced in years afraid of being left behind, while others were hastening to the great Redeemer. Nor were the same persons satisfied with coming once or twice, as formerly, but again and again, I know not how often, complaining of their evil and cursed hearts; of their past and present unbelief, pride, hypocrisy, perfidiousness, contempt of Christ, and God, and alienation from them, their love and captivity to sin, and utter impotence to help themselves, or even to believe on Christ, &c. renouncing every degree of worthiness in and utterly condemning themselves; greatly afraid of deceiving their own souls; and earnestly desirous of being searched, discovered and shown the true way of salvation. Both people and ministers seemed under a divine influence to quicken each other. The people seemed to have a renewed taste for those old pious and experimental writers, Mr. Hooker, Shepard, Gurnal, William Guthrie, Joseph Allein, Isaac Ambrose, Dr. Owen, and others; as well as latter—such as Mr. Mead, Flavel, Shaw, Willard, Stoddard, Dr. Increase, and Cotton Mather, Mr. Mather of Windsor, Mr. Boston, &c. The evangelical writings of these deceased authors, as well as of others alive, both in England, Scotland, and New-England, were now read with singular pleasure; some of them reprinted and in

great numbers quickly bought and studied. And the more experimental our preaching was, like their's, the more it was relished. The people seemed to love to hear us more than ever: the weekly Tuesday evening lectures at the church in Brattle-Street were much crowded and not sufficient. April 17th, 1741, another lecture was therefore opened every Friday evening at the South church; when a seasonable discourse was given by the rev. Dr. Sewall, from John xvi. 8. And soon after, another lecture every Tuesday and Friday evening was opened at the New-North; three of the most capacious houses of public worship in town; the least of which I suppose will hold three thousand people. Besides the ancient lecture every Thursday noon at the Old church; and other lectures in other churches.

Dr. Sewall's discourse, with three other excellent sermons on the same text were soon after published. In the first of which he says, page 20. "As more lately, we have received good news of this kind from more distant places upon this continent; so I cannot but hope that God's sending one and another of his servants among us who had been personally acquainted with these later wonderful works of grace, together with their very laborious and fervent preaching, and the ministry of others his servants; has been blessed to convince many of their sins, and awaken them to a serious concern about their souls. Yea, it is hopeful that there are a number converted, and brought home to Christ. Let us give the praise to the God of all grace." And in the preface he says, "It hath pleased the sovereign and gracious God, in whose hand our times are, to ordain that we should live under some peculiar advantages for our precious souls. For to the ordinary means, we have super-added the manifestation of the Spirit, in extraordinary works of grace. We have lately heard glad tidings from one place and another, that many are enquiring the way to Zion, with their faces thitherward; and some are declaring what God hath done for their souls. Yea, God hath brought this work home to our own doors, and we hear many crying out, "What must we do to be saved!" And there are a number hopefully rejoicing in God's salvation. Of such a season as this it may well be said, "I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee: behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation." I hope God's people are reaping the fruit of their prayers, particularly on extraordinary days of fasting, observed with an especial view to this great blessing, the plentiful effusion of the holy Spirit. O there's great reason to fear that another like season will never, never return upon you. O sleeper! awake, and hearken, there's a noise, and a shaking among the dry bones. Some it may be of your own acquaintance, secure like you a little while ago, are now in deep concern, and can no longer relish those carnal pleasures in which you were companions. Now, destruction from God is a terror to them, and they are fleeing from the wrath to come. What a reproof doth God give to your stupidity in the awakenings of others? and here, among you with whom the Spirit is striving at this day, we behold many of our young people. O our children! God is drawing nigh to you in a distinguishing manner, &c." Nor were the people sa-

tified with all these lectures: but as private societies for religious exercises, both of younger and elder persons, both of males and females by themselves, in several parts of the town, now increased to a much greater number than ever, viz. to near the number of thirty, meeting on Lord's-day, Monday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings; so the people were constantly employing the ministers to pray and preach at those societies, as also at many private houses where no formed society met: and such numbers flocked to hear us as greatly crowded them, as well as more than usually filled our houses of public worship both on Lord's-days and lectures, especially evening lectures, for about a twelvemonth after. Some of our ministers, to oblige the people, have sometimes preached in public and private, at one house or another, even every evening, except after Saturday, for a week together: and the more we prayed and preached, the more enlarged were our hearts, and the more delightful the employment. And O how many, how serious and attentive were our hearers! how many awakened and hopefully converted by their ministers! and how many of such added soon to our churches, as we hope will be saved eternally? scarce a sermon seemed to be preached without some good impressions.

As to the church to which I belong—within six months from the end of January 1740-1, were threescore joined to our communicants: the greater part of whom gave a more exact account of the work of the Spirit of God on their souls in effectual calling, than I was wont to meet with before: besides many others I could not but have charity for, who refrained from coming to the table of Christ for want of a satisfying view of the work of renovation in them. However, in many of these people, their convictions in a judgment of charity, appeared by the same Spirit to be carried further than an awakening view of their sins, their sinfulness and misery; even to an enlightening their minds in the knowledge of Christ, or clear, lively and attractive views of his perfect suitableness, all-sufficiency and willingness as the Son of God incarnate and Mediator, to receive them, and by his merits, intercession grace and Spirit to reconcile them to the holy God, and save and make them completely and eternally holy and happy, though now the chief of sinners: and in such views as these he melted their frozen hearts, renewed their wills, overcame them with affection to him, and persuaded and enabled them to embrace him in his person and all his offices and benefits as offered in the gospel. By Dr. Colman's letter of June 8th, 1741, it appears that in 1741, in April, there were nine or ten, and in May were nineteen added to his church. And the rev. Mr. Webb, senior pastor of the New North, just now informs me, with respect to his church and people, in the following words—"Admissions to full communion of those hopefully wrought upon in the late day of grace about one hundred and sixty: of which one hundred and two from January 1740-1, to 1741-2. Of the above-mentioned, by far the greater part have since given hopeful signs of saving conversion. And many more give good evidences of grace; but cannot be prevailed upon to come to the table of the Lord.

In this year 1741, the very face of the town seemed to be strangely



altered. Some who had not been here since the Fall before, have told me their great surprize at the change in the general look and carriage of people, as soon as they landed. Even the Negroes and boys in the streets surprizingly left their usual rudeness: I knew many of these had been greatly affected, and now were formed into religious societies. And one of our worthy gentlemen expressing his wonder at the remarkable change, informed me, that whereas he used with others on Saturday evenings to visit the taverns, in order to clear them of town inhabitants, they were wont to find many there, and meet with trouble to get them away; but now having gone at those seasons again, he found them empty of all but lodgers. Of that time the rev. Dr. Colman justly writes to the rev. Dr. Watts on September 15th, 1741, in the following terms, "Thanks be to God, in our province the impressions of religion grow and increase in a happy, wise, sedate manner, such as gives a joyous prospect relating to the next generation. I know not how to admire the pleasant, gracious work of God: our lectures flourish, our Sabbaths are joyous, our churches increase, our ministers have new life and spirit in their work." Of the same time the rev. Mr. Cooper also writes on November 20th, 1741<sup>a</sup>, "I verily believe, in this our metropolis, there were the last Winter some thousands under such religious impressions as they never felt before.—And as to the fruits of this work, (which we have been bid so often to wait for) blessed be God! so far as there has been time for observation they appear to be abiding. I do not mean, that none have lost their impressions, or that there are no instances of hypocrisy and apostacy. Scripture and experience lead us to expect these at such a season. It is to me matter of surprize and thankfulness, that as yet there have been no more. But I mean, that a great number of those who have been awakened are still seeking and striving to enter in at the strait gate. The most of those who have been thought to be converted, continue to give evidences of their being new creatures, and seem to cleave to the Lord with full purpose of heart. To be sure a new face of things continues in this town; though many circumstances concur to render such a work not so observable here, as in smaller and distant places. Many things not becoming the profession of the gospel are in a measure reformed. Taverns, dancing-schools, and such meetings as have been called assemblies, which have always proved unfriendly to serious godliness, are much less frequented. Many have reduced their dress and apparel, so as to make them look more like the followers of the humble Jesus. And it has been both surprizing and pleasant to see how some younger people, have put off the bravery of their ornaments, as the effect and indication of their seeking the inward glories of the king's daughter. Religion is now much more the subject of conversation at friends houses, than ever I knew it. The doctrines of grace are espoused and relished. Private religious meetings are greatly multiplied.—The public assemblies (especially lectures) are much better attended: and our auditories were never so attentive and serious. There is indeed an extraordinary appetite after the sincere milk of the Word. It is more than a twelve-

month since an evening-lecture was set up in this town; there are now several; two constantly on Tuesday and Friday-evenings; when some of our most capacious houses are well filled, with hearers who by their looks and deportment seem to come to hear that their souls might live. An evening in God's courts is now esteemed better than many elsewhere. There is also great resort to ministers in private. Our hands continue full of work: and many times we have more than we can discourse with distinctly and separately.—”

January 11th, 1741-2, most of the associate pastors of this town agreed on a course of days of prayer in their several churches; as the rev. Dr. Sewall well expresses it, in his sermon on that occasion preached in the South-church, February 26th, 1741-2, “to bless the name of God for spiritual blessings already received in the remarkable revival of his work among us and in many other places; to seek of God the more plentiful effusion of his holy Spirit; that the Lord would preserve us and his people from every thing that hath a tendency to quench his Spirit and obstruct the progress and success of his good work; and that it may go on and prosper, till the whole land shall be filled with the blessed fruits of the Spirit.” And in his sermon he says, “We ought to praise the Lord that he has not left us without a witness of his divine power and grace in the wonderful operations of his Spirit in our times.—Let the success which God hath of late given to the ministers of the word above what we have known in times past, animate us to labour more abundantly.—And let not any pervert what has been said, to prejudice themselves or others against that wonderful work of grace, which I verily believe, God has wrought in this town and other places.”

In some this further work of conviction and effectual calling was clearer, in others more obscure, in others less or more doubtful. And so various likewise were the joys and consolations rising from the various changes or exercises in them, or their various applications to Christ for mercy. But herein their pastors laboured to preserve them from mistakes, to discover their dangers on every side, to lead them to a thorough conviction and humiliation, and through these to right views of Christ, and closing with him in a saving manner, that they might not be deceived with joys or consolations that belonged not to them.

Of those who came not into full communion with our churches—some who were under strong convictions and in a hopeful way, have since sadly lost them; the Spirit of God has ceased striving, and they are more blind and hard than ever: “The dog has turned to his own vomit again, and the sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire:” 2 Pet. ii. 20, 22. And some who had fair resemblances both of saving grace and holy joy, whereby they for a time deceived both themselves and others, after high appearances have fallen away; as some who first followed Christ himself, yet after left him: and as he has represented the various events of impressions made by his own and his successors’ preaching, in the parable of the sower, Matth. xiii. Mark iv. and Luke viii. But though their faithful ministers, both in private and public, both in preaching and print, fairly warned, and from the word of God

foretold, of these apostacies, yet they give occasion to the prejudiced against the work, to cast a slur on the rest in general, to multiply and magnify the instances, and pronounce them all impostors. So I remember, when thirty years since I lived and preached in England, if but one of our congregation, and much more one of our communion, fell into any scandal, all the country round would ring and echo with it, and the looser people would take occasion to triumph with their reproaches; crying out,—“We were all alike, and though we were so precise we would not curse or swear, yet we would lye and cheat, and steal, and commit any private wickedness:” and the profane would damn us all as a pack of hypocrites. And indeed in every party, where there is an enmity of prejudice against any other person or party, there is always more or less of blindness and partiality, and a powerful bent on all occasions, to misconstrue, cavil, misrepresent, defame, and vilify. So were the ancient puritans, with the pious fathers of this country, treated in the reigns of king James I. and king Charles I. ’till they came over hither between 1620 and 1640: and so were the pious Nonconformists in the reign of king Charles II. I believe there scarce ever was a set of men more reproached and stigmatized than those pious Puritans and Nonconformists; and this not only by looser people, but even by learned clergymen of note and figure, as their writings to this day show. And any man who knows them, may see the same aspersing and reviling spirit and way of writing in the present day against the instruments and subjects of this work in general. So the Papists have traduced the Protestants in general, especially Luther, Calvin, Beza, Knox, &c. and deny there has been any reformation at all; yea assert, that those who embraced the pretended reformed religion, grew insolent, censorious, turbulent, and worse in morals. So I have heard an Egyptian traveller, who once sailed with me, most zealously represent the Christians, from the numerous instances he knew, as the vilest sect on earth. And so was their glorious Leader counted a deceiver, and his “apostles were despised, buffeted, reviled, persecuted, defamed, made as the filth of the world, and the off-scouring of all things:” 1 Cor. iv. Some, after all, have, no doubt, deceived both themselves and others in the extent of their conviction, humiliation, applying to Christ, and in the spring and nature of their comforts. Some I was afraid of at the time, as not being duly convinced, humbled, broken-hearted, self-condemned, devoted to God, concerned for his glory, or having a due reverence of him: and some few have given too much occasion for our fears since. Though ’till persons, who seemed to be converted, fall into a course of some sin or other against the common light of conscience, I am not willing to lose my charity. But the generality of those whom I judged to have passed through a right conviction and humiliation to faith in Christ, seemed to come to consolation in him, in a way agreeable to Scripture: the very nature and reason of things, and common experience of those who are thoroughly subdued to Christ, savingly enlightened, are satisfied in him, rest on him, and feel themselves in a new state, happily changed and brought into the glorious liberty of the sons of God; as I apprehend those were: and one or other of these are

common springs of joy or consolation, especially at the first conversion. The consolations of some were weaker, of others stronger: in some they rose to joys, in some few, to joy unspeakable and full of glory, as the apostle speaks; though I never saw one, either in town or country, in what some wrongly call a vision, trance, or revelation. And where those few instances have happened in some places, appeared but a little while and vanished<sup>a</sup>: by what I have heard I apprehend that where they were unfeigned, they were only natural effects of an extraordinary intense exercise of soul; though a divine influence might be the original of the exercise. Nor do I apprehend such effects a sign either of the person's being un sanctified or sanctified; sanctification being to be judged of by the frame of the whole soul and nature of its exercises while fully awake, and not by such dreaming ideas: yea though it were possible they should be inspirations, they would be no more signs in themselves of sanctification, than the genuine visions of Balaam or Belshazzar. And I know of none but is of the same opinion with me.

But as for spiritual joys and consolations; whoever has a large experience in his own heart, or a large acquaintance with the various experiences of others, has found those joys arise from such like various causes as these that follow: 1. Some in the progress of their conviction towards the depths of humiliation; while their souls were quarrelling with the holiness, justice, law, wrath, curses, truth and sovereignty of God, so as throw them into the utmost tumult; they have been at length, and sometimes suddenly subdued, so as to yield, submit and resign into the sovereign hands of Christ: upon which their quarrels and tumults ceasing, a divine and wondrous calm and pleasure have immediately and genuinely succeeded. 2. Some from a lively view of the exceeding number and heinousness of their sins and vileness of their hearts, whereby they thought themselves the worst of sinners; and seeing the all-sufficiency of Christ in every thing but willingness to save such horrid wretches, were in great distress; but upon seeing his willingness to save even them in particular, have been overcome with joy at the view, and with such joyful views fled into his arms. 3. Some finding themselves under the love and power of sin, in wretched bondage to their lusts, to horrible suggestions, temptations, oppositions, and utter impotence to free themselves and serve the Lord with pleasure; being unexpectedly delivered and brought into the glorious liberties of the Son of God; they have been like those in Psal. cxxvi. "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream: then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing: the Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." 4. Some labouring under such blindness of mind, that they could see nothing of the loveliness of Christ, have been exceedingly troubled, when they came, especially on a sudden, to see his perfect and transcendent loveliness, it has raised them into a

<sup>a</sup> I never heard of above one or two in this town; and I do not remember I have heard of one in this province to the south-ward of us, though there has been a remarkable revival in several places in that part of the land.

transport. 5. Some who have found their hearts as hard as a rock, that they could not mourn in the least as they could perceive for their horrid sins and sinfulness, and were in the way of despair; upon their hearts dissolving with godly sorrow for their piercing Christ, and even the smallest sins and heart-impurities, have been greatly affected with pleasure and gladness. 6. Some after all their genuine changes, their exercise of faith in Christ, of love unto him, repentance, and other graces, have not yet been able to see whether these have been any other than superficial changes and common graces, and been in great perplexity; 'till the Spirit of Christ has shone so clearly on them as to give them joyful satisfaction. 7. Some having all the likely marks of conversion, and even some of their graces in some exercise, though very faint and low, and their hearts exceeding cold, flat and deadened, have been greatly discouraged; but ere they were aware, their souls have been made as the chariots of Amminadib, to their great rejoicing. 8. Likewise some have been so greatly troubled with their lamentable distance and estrangement from the blessed Jesus, as they could enjoy no rest; 'till he has taken them into his banqueting house, exalted them to sit in heavenly places with him, and so shown his glories and love unto them (his banner over them was love) as have most powerfully drawn out their hearts to an holy and transporting intimacy with him; that in the believing views of Christ and sensation of this communion, they have rejoiced with joy unspeakable and full of glory. I here write what many souls, who have had communion with Christ, by their experience, well understand.

As for spiritual pride, and rash judging;—some lately wrought upon, especially in hours of temptation, have grievously exceeded; yea, some whom we judged to be effectually called, as well as many more who had been under very powerful and far advanced, but ineffectual operations; and who ought not to be blended with, as is the way of the prejudiced, but distinguished from the other. Yet some of the hopefully renewed are freer than others from those excesses. But with the common mixture of their remaining infirmities and corruptions, I have generally seen attending their joys, high, humble and affectionate admirations of the wonderful grace of God, and astonishing pity and condescension of the Son of his love, in becoming incarnate, dying to save them, bearing so long with them while they have been spitting and trampling on him; and after all their abuses, sending them his ambassadors and tenders of grace, employing his Spirit, overcoming their hearts, and opening his arms to receive them: and with these joys I have also seen all the proper expressions of their lively gratitude, love, praise, devotion to God their Saviour, zeal for his glory; love to his word, truths, ordinances, and those in whom the meek, humble and holy image of Christ appears, and concern for others. And as they soon found the activity of their love subsiding, the fountain of corruption in them rising, and their spiritual impotence in a sad degree returning; the Holy Spirit has given them further views of their remaining vileness; and they have generally grown more humble and jealous of them-

selves, more sensible of their depending on Christ continually, and more meek and tender in their carriage to others.

And thus successfully did this divine work, as above described, go on in town, without any lisp, as I remember, of a separation either in this town or province, for above a year and half after Mr. Whitefield left us, viz. the end of June 1742; when the rev. Mr. Davenport of Long-Island came to Boston. And then through the awful providence of the sovereign God, the wisdom of whose ways are past finding out, we unexpectedly came to an unhappy period, which it exceedingly grieves me now to write of, tho' with all convenient brevity. Friday evening, June 25th, he came to Charlestown. Lord's-day forenoon he attended the public worship, and at the Lord's table there: but the afternoon staid at his lodgings from an apprehension of the minister's being unconverted, which greatly alarmed us. Monday afternoon he came over the ferry to Boston; which the associate pastors in this town and Charlestown, then at their stated course of meeting, hearing of, sent to signify, that we should be glad to see him; whereupon he presently came, and we had long and friendly conferences with him about his conduct, on this and the following day.

On Thursday, July 1st, we thought ourselves obliged to publish a declaration of our judgment concerning him: wherein we owned, "That he appeared to us to be truly pious, and we hoped that God had used him as an instrument of good to many souls; yet we judged it our duty to bear our testimony against the following particulars, 1. His being acted much by sudden impulses. 2. His judging some ministers in Long-Island and New-England to be unconverted; and his thinking himself called of God to demand of his brethren from place to place an account of their regenerate state, when or in what manner the Holy Spirit wrought upon and renewed them. 3. His going with his friends singing through the streets and highways, to and from the houses of worship on Lord's-days and other days. 4. His encouraging private brethren (i. e. who are not probationers for the ministry) to pray and exhort (i. e. like ministers) in assemblies gathered for that purpose.—We judged it therefore our present duty not to invite him into our places of public worship as otherwise we might have really done. And we concluded thus—And we take this opportunity to repeat our testimony to the great and glorious work of God, which of his free grace he has begun and is carrying on in many parts of this and the neighbouring provinces; beseeching him to preserve, defend, maintain and propagate it, in spite of all the devices of Satan against it of one kind or other; that however it may suffer by the imprudence of its friends, or by the virulent opposition of its enemies, yet it may stand as on the rock, and the gates of hell may never prevail against it." *Boston, July 1st, 1742.* William Welstead. Joshua Gee. Hull Abbot<sup>a</sup>. Mather Byles. Thomas Prentice<sup>a</sup>. Ellis Gray. Andrew Eliot. Benjamin Colman. Joseph Sewall. Thomas Prince. John Webb. William Cooper. Thomas Foxcroft. Samuel Checkley.

<sup>a</sup> Messrs, Abbot and Prentice of Charlestown, the rest of Boston.

Upon publishing this declaration on Friday, many were offended: and some days after Mr. Davenport thought himself obliged to begin in his public exercises to declare against us also; naming some as unconverted, representing the rest as Jehoshaphat in Ahab's army, and exhorting the people to separate from us: which so diverted the minds of many from being concerned about their own conversion, to think and dispute about the case of others; as not only seemed to put an awful stop to their awakenings, but also on all sides to rouse our passions, and provoke the Holy Spirit, in a gradual and dreadful measure, to withdraw his influence. Now a disputatious spirit most grievously prevailed among us: and what almost ever attends it, much censoriousness and reflection; which had a further tendency to enflame and alienate, and whereof many of every party were sadly guilty. It was indeed a lamentable time; wherein we seem'd to fall into such a case as the Christian church of Corinth in the apostle's days: which had shared such a large effusion of the Holy Spirit, that the apostle calls them "sanctified in Christ; and thanked his God always in their behalf for the grace of God which was given them by Jesus Christ, that in every thing they were enriched by him in all utterance and all knowledge, even as the testimony of Christ was confirmed in them, so that they came behind in no gift:" And yet he complains there were risen among them "contentions, envying, strife, divisions, one saying, I am of Paul, another, I am of Apollos.—And they were carnal, and walked as men," &c. 1 Cor. i. and iii.

Of all who resorted to me from all the congregations in town, I remember no more than three or four who talked of their impulses; and but one or two of these a subject of the late revival: the other two had been communicants in two of our churches, and used to speak of those things before. Nor, in all the preaching of the instruments of this work in town, did I ever hear any teach to follow impulses or any religious impressions but of the word of God upon our minds, affections, wills, and consciences; and which, agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, the most famous reformers and Puritan ministers, both in England, Scotland, and New-England, have in their writings taught us. As to the doctrinal principles of those who continue in our congregations, and have been the subjects of the late revival, they are the same as they have been all along instructed in, from the Westminster-Assembly's Shorter Catechism; which has generally been received and taught in the churches of New-England, from its first publication, for these hundred years to this day; and which is therefore the system of doctrine most generally and clearly declarative of the faith of the New-England churches.

However the sovereign Spirit, in his awakening influences in the unconverted, and his enlivening efficacy in the hopefully renewed, in this town, has seemed these two last years in a gradual and awful manner to withdraw. For a twelvemonth I have rarely heard the cry of any new ones—What shall I do to be saved?—But few are now added to our churches, and the heavenly shower in Boston seems now to be over. Of those who were in the late effusion wrought on, divers are sometimes repairing to me with sad complaints of their spiritual dul-

ness, darkness, and decays; but I hope are working out their salvation with fear and trembling: while some have now and then a fresh revival of grace and comfort.

Thus have I endeavoured a brief and plain account of the late revival in this town, especially among the people who resorted to me, and more particularly those of the assembly I belong to, according to my observation and intelligence. I leave it as a grateful public testimony of the memorable work of the Divine power and grace among us in my day, which my eyes have seen and my ears have heard with pleasure; that God the Father, Son, and Spirit, may have the more extensive praise, to whose blessing I consign it; and that others may thereby receive eternal benefit.

*Boston, November 26th, 1744.*

THOMAS PRINCE.

As Mr. Davenport's errors and imprudencies are mentioned in the above letter as the great occasion of the declining of the revival at Boston, we shall here subjoin his confessions and retractations, as published in the above *Christian History*, N<sup>o</sup> 82, 83, with the rev. Mr. Williams's letter inclosing them.

*To the Rev. MR. PRINCE of BOSTON.*

The inclosed, which comes open, you will see is a confession and retractation of Mr. James Davenport, which he left with me yesterday, and desired me to inclose in a letter to you; praying that you would see that it be according to his desire forthwith published, and made known in the most open manner. He desired me to assure you that the whole of the paper, and every interline, was made and written with his own hand. And he is full and free in it, and seems to be deeply sensible of his miscarriages and misconduct in those particulars, and very desirous to do all he possibly can to retrieve the dishonour which he has done to religion, and the injustice to many ministers of the gospel; and in this as well as any other way to promote the service of religion, and prevent any further prejudices against the work of God, which he may have been the occasion of raising or increasing. I must needs say for my own part I desire to bless God for that humble and Christian-like temper he appears to be in; and cannot but hope that God designs to use him as an instrument of greater service to the honour of Christ, and the good of his church. I am, &c.

*Lebanon, August 2d, 1744.*

SOLOMON WILLIAMS.

*MR. DAVENPORT'S Retractations, &c.*

Although I do not question at all but there is great reason to bless God for a glorious and wonderful work of his power and grace in the edification of his children, and the conviction and conversion of numbers in New-England, in the neighbouring governments, and several other parts, within a few years past; and believe that the Lord hath favoured me, though most unworthy, with several others of his servants, in granting special assistance and success; the glory of all which be given to Jehovah, to whom alone it belongs. Yet, after frequent meditation and desires that I might be enabled to apprehend things justly, and, I hope I may say, mature consideration, I am now fully convinced and persuaded that several appendages to this glorious work are



not essential parts thereof, but of a different and contrary nature and tendency; which appendages I have been in the time of the work very industrious in and instrumental of promoting by a misguided zeal; being further much influenced in the affair by the false spirit; which, unobserved by me, did (as I have been brought to see since) prompt me to unjust apprehensions and misconduct in several articles, which have been great blemishes to the work of God, very grievous to some of God's children, no less ensnaring and corrupting to others of them, a sad means of many persons questioning the work of God, concluding and appearing against it, and to the hardening of multitudes in their sins, and an awful occasion of the enemies blaspheming the right ways of the Lord; and withal very offensive to that God, before whom I would lie in the dust prostrate in deep humility and repentance on this account, imploring pardon for the Mediator's sake, and thankfully accepting the tokens thereof. The articles, which I especially refer to, and would in the most public manner retract, and warn others against, are these which follow, viz. I. The method I used for a considerable time with respect to some, yea many ministers in several parts, in openly exposing such as I feared or thought unconverted, in public prayer or otherwise; herein making my private judgment, (in which also I much suspect I was mistaken in several instances, as I believe also that my judgment concerning several was formed rashly, and upon very slender grounds) I say, making my private judgment the ground of public actions or conduct; offending, as I apprehend (although in the time of it ignorantly) against the ninth commandment, and such other passages of scripture, as are similar; yea, I may say, offending against the laws both of justice and charity: which laws were further broken, II. By my advising and urging to such separations from those ministers, whom I treated as above, as I believe may be justly called rash, unwarrantable, and of sad and awful tendency and consequence. And here I would ask the forgiveness of those ministers, whom I have injured in both these articles. III. I confess I have been much led astray by following impulses or impressions as a rule of conduct, whether they came with or without a text of scripture; and my neglecting also duly to observe the analogy of scripture: I am persuaded this was a great means of corrupting my experiences and carrying me off from the word of God, and a great handle, which the false spirit has made use of with respect to a number, and me especially. IV. I believe further that I have done much hurt to religion by encouraging private persons to a ministerial and authoritative kind or method of exhorting; which is particularly observable in many such being much puffed up and falling into the snare of the devil, whilst many others are thus directly prejudiced against the work. V. I have reason to be deeply humbled that I have not been duly careful to endeavour to remove or prevent prejudice, (where I now believe I might then have done it consistently with duty) which appeared remarkable in the method practised, of singing with others in the streets in societies frequently. VI. I would also penitently confess and bewail my great stiffness in retaining these aforesaid errors a great while, and unwillingness to examine into them with any jealousy of

their being errors, notwithstanding the friendly counsels and cautions of real friends, especially in the ministry.

Here may probably be added a paragraph or two, taken out of a letter from me to Mr. Barber at Georgia; a true copy of which I gave consent should be published lately at Philadelphia: "—I would add to what brother T—hath written on the awful affair of books and cloaths at New-London, which affords grounds of deep and lasting humiliation; I was, to my shame be it spoken, the ringleader in that horrid action; I was, my dear brother, under the powerful influence of the false spirit almost one whole day together, and part of several days. The Lord shewed me afterwards that the spirit I was then acted by was in its operations void of true inward peace, laying the greatest stress on externals, neglecting the heart, full of impatience, pride and arrogance; although I thought in the time of it, that it was the Spirit of God in an high degree; awful indeed! my body, especially my leg, much disordered at the same time<sup>a</sup>, which Satan and my evil heart might make some handle of—.

And now may the holy wise and good God, be pleased to guard and secure me against such errors for the future, and stop the progress of those, whether ministers or people, who have been corrupted by my words or example in any of the above-mentioned particulars; and if it be his holy will, bless this public recantation to this purpose. And oh! may he grant withal, that such as by reason of the aforesaid errors and misconduct have entertained unhappy prejudices against Christianity in general, or the late glorious work of God in particular, may by this account learn to distinguish the appendage from the substance or essence, that which is vile and odious from that which is precious, glorious and divine, and thus be intirely and happily freed from all those prejudices referred to, and this in infinite mercy through Jesus Christ: and to these requests may all God's children, whether ministers or others, say, Amen.—*July 28th, 1744.* JAMES DAVENPORT.

P. S. In as much as a number, who have fallen in with and promoted the aforesaid errors and misconduct, and are not altered in their minds, may be prejudiced against this recantation, by a supposition or belief, that I came into it by reason of desertion or dulness and deadness in religion: it seems needful therefore to signify, what I hope I may say without boasting, and what I am able through pure rich grace to speak with truth and freedom; that for some months in the time of my coming to the aforesaid conclusions and retractions, and since I have come through grace to them, I have been favoured a great part of the time, with a sweet calm and serenity of soul and rest in God, and sometimes with special and remarkable refreshments of soul, and these more free from corrupt mixtures than formerly: Glory to God alone. J. D.

He likewise sent an explanation of some passages in the above retractions, in a letter to Mr. Williams of Lebanon, dated August 30th, 1744, as follows.

<sup>a</sup> I had the long fever on me and the cankry humour raging at once.

R. D. B. You will please (if you think best) to send what is underwritten to the rev. Mr. Prince of Boston, that so, if my retracts be printed again, they may be corrected accordingly: and if it is thought proper, my desire of this correction intimated in the margin. Yours in the dear Jesus.

JAMES DAVENPORT.

Upon the rev. Dr. Colman's observing that the use of a word in the first edition of these retracts is liable to be understood in a sense different from what I intended in the use of it, I desire, if they be printed again, that instead of what is now between these words, "I am now fully convinced and persuaded that;" and those words, "much influenced in the affair by the false spirit:" the following words may be inserted viz. "Several things which in the time of the work I was very industrious and instrumental in promoting, by a misguided zeal, were no parts of it, but of a different and contrary nature and tendency; and that I was"—and instead of those words, "the appendage from the substance or essence" let these be put viz. "what is no part of the work from the work itself." Thus far Mr. Davenport's retracts. We now return to the revival in 1740.

## SECTION VI.

*A New Revival at Northampton.—Remarkable Effects of a Sermon at a private House.—And of Exhortations to young Children.—The most wonderful Work amongst Children that ever was in Northampton.—Those Persons who were of Age under the former Revival, seemed now to be almost wholly past over.—Difference betwixt this and the former Work.—Mr. Buel and a Number of the zealous People of Suffield come there.—Mr. Buel preaches almost every Day.—A public Renewal of Covenant with God.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Edwards, Minister at Northampton, to Mr. Prince Minister at Boston, December 12th, 1743, in PRINCE'S Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 46, &c. ]

EVER since the great work of God that was wrought here about nine years ago, there has been a great abiding alteration in this town in many respects. There has been vastly more religion kept up in the town, among all sorts of persons, in religious exercises, and in common conversation: there has been a great alteration among the youth of the town, with respect to revelling, frolicking, profane and unclean conversation, and lewd songs: instances of fornication have been very rare: there has also been a great alteration amongst both old and young with respect to tavern-haunting. I suppose the town has been in no measure so free of vice in these respects, for any long time together, for this sixty years, as it has been these nine years past. There has also been an evident alteration with respect to a charitable spirit to the poor: (tho' I think with regard to this, we in this town, as the land in general, come far short of gospel rules) And tho' after that great work nine years ago there has been a very lamentable decay of religious affections, and the engagedness of peoples spirit, in religion; yet many societies for prayer and social religion were all along kept up;

and there were some few instances of awakening and deep concern about the things of another world, even in the most dead time.

In the year 1740, in the Spring, before Mr. Whitefield came to this town, there was a visible alteration: there was more seriousness, and religious conversation, especially among young people: those things that were of ill tendency among them were foreborn: and it was a more frequent thing for persons to visit their minister upon soul accounts: and in some particular persons there appeared a great alteration about that time. And thus it continued till Mr. Whitefield came to town, which was about the middle of October following: he preached here four sermons in the meeting-house, (besides a private lecture at my house) one on Friday, another on Saturday, and two upon the Sabbath. The congregation was extraordinarily melted by every sermon; almost the whole assembly being in tears for a great part of sermon time. Mr. Whitefield's sermons were suitable to the circumstances of the town; containing just reproofs of our backslidings, and in a most moving and affecting manner, making use of our great profession and great mercies as arguments with us to return to God, from whom we had departed. Immediately after this the minds of the people in general appeared more engaged in religion, shewing a greater forwardness to make religion the subject of their conversation, and to meet frequently for religious purposes, and to embrace all opportunities to hear the word preached. The revival at first appeared chiefly among professors, and those that had entertained the hope that they were in a state of grace, to whom Mr. Whitefield chiefly addressed himself; but in a very short time there appeared an awakening and deep concern among some young persons that looked upon themselves as in a Christless state; and there were some hopeful appearances of conversion; and some professors were greatly revived. In about a month or six weeks there was a great alteration in the town, both as to the revivals of professors, and awakenings of others. By the middle of December a very considerable work of God appeared among those that were very young; and the revival of religion continued to encrease; so that in the Spring, an engagedness of spirit about things of religion was become very general amongst young people and children, and religious subjects almost wholly took up their conversation when they were together.

In the month of May 1741, a sermon was preached to a company at a private house: near the conclusion of the exercise, one or two persons that were professors, were so greatly affected with a sense of the greatness and glory of divine things, and the infinite importance of the things of eternity, that they were not able to conceal it; the affection of their minds overcoming their strength, and having a very visible effect on their bodies. When the exercise was over, the young people that were present removed into the other room for religious conference; and particularly that they might have opportunity to enquire of those that were thus affected what apprehensions they had; and what things they were that thus deeply impressed their minds: and there soon appeared a very great effect of their conversation; the affection was quickly propagated through the room: many of the young

people and children that were professors appeared to be overcome with a sense of the greatness and glory of divine things, and with admiration, love, joy and praise, and compassion to others, that looked upon themselves as in a state of nature; and many others at the same time were overcome with distress about their sinful and miserable state and condition; so that the whole room was full of nothing but out cries, faintings, and such like. Others soon heard of it, in several parts of the town, and came to them; and what they saw and heard there was greatly affecting to them; so that many of them were over-powered in like manner: and it continued thus for some hours; the time being spent in prayer, singing, counselling and conferring. There seemed to be a consequent happy effect of that meeting to several particular persons, and in the state of religion in the town in general. After this were meetings from time to time attended with like appearances. But a little after it, at the conclusion of the public exercise on the Sabbath, I appointed the children that were under sixteen years of age to go from the meeting-house to a neighbour house; that I there might further inforce what they had heard in public, and might give in some counsels proper for their age. The children were there very generally and greatly affected with the warnings and counsels that were given them, and many exceedingly overcome; and the room was filled with cries: and when they were dismissed, they, almost all of them, went home crying aloud through the streets, to all parts of the town. The like appearances attended several such meetings of children that were appointed. But their affections appeared by what followed to be of a very different nature: in many they appeared to be indeed but childish affections; and in a day or two would leave them as they were before: others were deeply impressed; their convictions took fast hold of them, and abode by them: and there were some that from one meeting to another seemed extraordinarily affected for some time, to but little purpose, their affections presently vanishing, from time to time; but yet afterwards were seized with abiding convictions, and their affections became durable.

About the middle of the Summer, I called together the young people that were communicants, from sixteen to twenty-six years of age to my house; which proved to be a most happy meeting: many seemed to be very greatly and most agreeably affected with those views which excited humility, self-condemnation, self-abhorrence, love and joy: many fainted under these affections. We had several meetings that Summer of young people, attended with like appearances. It was about that time that there first began to be cryings out in the meeting-house; which several times occasioned many of the congregation to stay in the house, after the publick exercise was over, to confer with those who seemed to be overcome with religious convictions and affections; which was found to tend much to the propagation of their impressions, with lasting effect upon many; conference being at these times commonly joined with prayer and singing. In the Summer and Fall, the children in various parts of the town had religious meetings by themselves for prayer, sometimes joined with fasting; wherein many

of them seemed to be greatly and properly affected, and I hope some of them savingly wrought upon.

The months of August and September were the most remarkable of any this year, for appearances of conviction and conversion of sinners, and great revivings, quickenings, and comforts of professors, and for extraordinary external effects of these things. It was a very frequent thing to see an house full of out-cries, faintings, convulsions and such like, both with distress, and also with admiration and joy. It was not the manner here to hold meetings all night, as in some places, nor was it common to continue them till very late in the night: but it was pretty often so that there were some that were so affected, and their bodies so overcome, that they could not go home, but were obliged to stay all night at the house where they were. There was no difference that I know of here, with regard to these extraordinary effects, in meetings in the night, and in the day-time: the meetings in which these effects appeared in the evening, being commonly begun, and their extraordinary effects, in the day, and continued in the evening; and some meetings have been very remarkable for such extraordinary effects that were both begun and finished in the day-time. There was an appearance of a glorious progress of the work of God upon the hearts of sinners in conviction and conversion this Summer and Fall; and great numbers, I think we have reason to hope, were brought savingly home to Christ. But this was remarkable, the work of God in his influences of this nature, seemed to be almost wholly upon a new generation; those that were not come to years of discretion in that wonderful season nine years ago, children, or those that were then children: others that had enjoyed that former glorious opportunity without any appearance of saving benefit, seemed now to be almost wholly passed over and let alone. But now we had the most wonderful work among children that ever was in Northampton. The former great out-pouring of the Spirit was remarkable for influences upon the minds of children, beyond all that had ever been before; but this far exceeded that. Indeed as to influences on the minds of professors, this work was by no means confined to a new generation: many of all ages partook of it: but yet, in this respect it was more general on those that were of the younger sort. Many that had formerly been wrought upon, that in the times of our declension had fallen into decays, and had in a great measure left God, and gone after the world, now passed under a very remarkable new work of the Spirit of God, as if they had been the subjects of a second conversion. They were first led into the wilderness, and had a work of conviction, having much greater convictions of the sin of both nature and practice than ever before, (though with some new circumstances, and something new in the kind of conviction) in some with great distress, beyond what they had felt before their first conversion: under these convictions they were excited to strive for salvation, and the kingdom of Heaven suffered violence from some of them in a far more remarkable manner than before: and after great convictions and humblings, and agonizings with God, they had Christ discovered to them anew, as an all-sufficient Saviour, and in the glories of his grace, and in

a far more clear manner than before; and with greater humility, self-emptiness and brokenness of heart, and a purer and higher joy, and greater desires after holiness of life, but with greater self-diffidence, and distrust of their treacherous hearts. One circumstance wherein this work differed from that which had been in the town five or six years before, was that conversions were frequently wrought more sensibly and visibly; the impressions stronger, and more manifest by external effects of them; and the progress of the Spirit of God in conviction, from step to step, more apparent; and the transition from one state to another more sensible and plain; so that it might, in many instances, be as it were seen by by-standers. The preceeding season had been very remarkable on this account beyond what had been before; but this more remarkable than that. And in this season these apparent or visible conversions (if I may so call them) were more frequently in the presence of others, at religious meetings, where the appearances of what was wrought on the heart fell under public observation.

After September 1741, there seemed to be some abatement of the extraordinary appearances that had been; but yet they did not wholly cease, but there was something of them from time to time all Winter. About the beginning of February 1741-2, Mr. Buel came to this town; I being then absent from home, and continued so till about a fortnight after. Mr. Buel preached from day to day, almost every day, in the Meeting-house, (I having left to him the free liberty of my pulpit, hearing of his designed visit before I went from home) and spent almost the whole time in religious exercises with the people, either in public or private, the people continually thronging him. When he first came, there came with him a number of the zealous people from Suffield, who continued here for some time. There were very extraordinary effects of Mr. Buel's labours; the people were exceedingly moved, crying out in great numbers in the Meeting-house, and great part of the congregation commonly staying in the house of God for hours after the public service. Many also were exceedingly moved in private meetings, where Mr. Buel was: and almost the whole town seemed to be in a great and continual commotion, day and night; and there was indeed a very great revival of religion. But it was principally among professors; the appearances of a work of conversion were in no measure equal to what had been the Summer before. When I came home I found the town in very extraordinary circumstances, such in some respects as I never saw it in before. Mr. Buel continued here a fortnight or three weeks after I returned: there being still great appearances attending his labours; many in their religious affections being raised far beyond what they ever had been before: and there were some instances of persons lying in a sort of trance, remaining for perhaps a whole twenty-four hours motionless, and with their senses locked up; but in the mean time under strong imaginations, as though they went to Heaven, and had there a vision of glorious and delightful objects. But when the people were raised to this height, Satan took the advantage, and his interposition in many instances soon became very apparent:

and a great deal of caution and pains were found necessary to keep the people, many of them, from running wild.

In the month of March I led the people into a solemn public renewal of their covenant with God. To that end I made a draught of a covenant; and first proposed it to some of the principal men in the church, then proposed it to the people in their several religious societies, in various parts of the town, and then proposed it to the whole congregation in public, and then deposited a copy of it in the hands of each of our four deacons, that all that desired it might resort to them, and have opportunity to view and consider it. Then the people in general that were above fourteen years of age first subscribed the covenant with their hands, and then on a day of fasting and prayer, all together presented themselves before the Lord in his house, and stood up, and solemnly manifested their consent to it, as their vow to God. The covenant was as follows:

*A Copy of a Covenant entered into and subscribed by the People of God at Northampton, and renewed before God in his House, as their Vow to the Lord, and made a solemn Act of public Worship, by the Congregation in general, that were above fourteen Years of Age, on a Day of Fasting and Prayer for the Continuance and Increase of the gracious Presence of God in this Place, March 10th, 1741-2.*

“Acknowledging God’s great goodness to us, a sinful unworthy people, in the blessed manifestations and fruits of his gracious presence in this town, both formerly and lately, and particularly in the very late spiritual revival; and adoring the glorious majesty, power, and grace of God, manifested in the present wonderful out-pouring of his Spirit, in many parts of this land, and in this place; and lamenting our past backslidings and ungrateful departings from God; and humbly begging of God, that he would not mark our iniquities, but, for Christ’s sake, come over the mountains of our sins, and visit us with his salvation, and continue the tokens of his presence with us, and yet more gloriously pour out his blessed Spirit upon us, and make us all partakers of the divine blessings he is at this day bestowing here, and in many parts of this land: we do this day present ourselves before the Lord, to renounce our evil ways, and put away our abominations from before God’s eyes, and, with one accord, to renew our engagements to seek and serve God; and particularly do now solemnly promise and vow to the Lord as follows:—

In all our conversation, concerns, and dealings with our neighbour, we will have a strict regard to rules of honesty, justice, and uprightness; that we do not over-reach or defraud our neighbour in any matter, and either wilfully, or through want of care, injure him in any of his honest possessions or rights; and, in all our communication, will have a tender respect, not only to our own interest, but also to the interest of our neighbour; and will carefully endeavour, in every thing, to do to others, as we should expect, or think reasonable, that they should do to us, if we were in their case, and they in ours. And particularly we will endeavour to render to every one his due, and will take heed to ourselves, that we do not wrong our neighbour, and give them a just cause of offence, by wilfully or negligently forbearing to



pay our honest debts. And wherein any of us, upon strict examination of our past behaviour, may be conscious to ourselves, that we have by any means wronged any of our neighbours in their outward estate, we will not rest 'till we have made that restitution, or given that satisfaction, which the rules of moral equity require; or if we are, on a strict and impartial search, conscious to ourselves, that we have, in any other respect, considerably injured our neighbour, we will truly endeavour to do that, which we, in our consciences, suppose Christian rules require, in order to a reparation of the injury, and removing the offence given thereby. And furthermore we promise, that we will not allow ourselves in backbiting; and that we will take great heed to ourselves to avoid all violations of those Christian rules, Tit. iii. 2. "Speak evil of no man." James iv. 11. "Speak not evil one of another, brethren." And 2 Cor. xii. 20. "Lest there be strifes, backbitings, whisperings." And that we will not only, not slander our neighbour, but also will not, to feed a spirit of bitterness, ill-will, or secret grudge against our neighbour, insist on his real faults, needlessly, and when not called to it: or from such a spirit speak of his failings and blemishes with ridicule, or an air of contempt. And we promise that we will be very careful to avoid doing any thing to our neighbour from a spirit of revenge. And that we will take great care that we do not, for private interest, or our own honour, or to maintain ourselves against those of a contrary party, or to get our wills, or to promote any design in opposition to others, do those things which we, on the most impartial consideration we are capable of, can think in our consciences, will tend to wound religion, and the interest of Christ's kingdom. And particularly, that so far as any of us, by divine Providence, have any special influence upon others, to lead them, in the management of public affairs; we will not make our own worldly gain, or honour, or interest in the affections of others, or getting the better of any of a contrary party, that are in any respect our competitors, or the bringing, or keeping them down, our governing aim, to the prejudice of the interest of religion, and the honour of Christ. And in the management of any public affair, wherein there is a difference of opinions, concerning any outward possessions, privileges, rights or properties; we will not wittingly violate justice for private interest: and with the greatest strictness and watchfulness, will avoid all unchristian bitterness, vehemence, and heat of spirit; yea, though we should think ourselves injured by a contrary party: and in the time of the management of such affairs, will especially watch over ourselves, our spirits, and our tongues, to avoid all unchristian inveighings, reproachings, bitter reflectings, judging and ridiculing others, either in public meetings, or in private conversation, either to mens faces, or behind their backs; but will greatly endeavour, so far as we are concerned, that all should be managed with Christian humility, gentleness, quietness and love. And furthermore we promise that we will not tolerate the exercise of enmity and ill-will, or revenge in our hearts, against any of our neighbours; and we will often be strictly searching and examining our hearts with respect to that matter.

And if any of us find that we have an old secret grudge against any

of our neighbours, we will not gratify it, but cross it, and endeavour, to our utmost, to root it out, crying to God for his help; and that we will make it our true and faithful endeavour, in our places, that a party spirit may not be kept up amongst us, but that it may utterly cease; that for the future we may all be one, united in undisturbed peace, and unfeigned love.

And those of us that are in youth, do promise never to allow ourselves in any youthful diversions and pastimes, in meetings or companies of young people, that we in our consciences, upon sober consideration, judge not well to consist with, or would sinfully tend to hinder the devoutest, and most engaged spirit in religion; or indispose the mind for that devout and profitable attendance on the duties of the closet, which is most agreeable to God's will, or that we in our most impartial judgment, can think tends to rob God of that honour which he expects, by our orderly, serious attendance on family-worship. And furthermore we promise, that we will strictly avoid all freedoms and familiarities in company, so tending, either to stir up, or gratify a lust of lasciviousness, that we cannot in our consciences think will be approved by the infinitely pure and holy eye of God; or that we can think, on serious and impartial consideration, we should be afraid to practise, if we expected in a few hours to appear before that holy God, to give an account of ourselves to him, as fearing they would be condemned by him as unlawful and impure.

We also promise, with great watchfulness, to perform relative duties, required by Christian rules, in the families we belong to; as we stand related respectively, towards parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, masters or mistresses and servants.

And we now appear before God, depending on divine grace and assistance, solemnly to devote our whole lives, to be laboriously spent in the business of religion: ever making it our greatest business, without backsliding from such a way of living; not hearkening to the solicitations of our sloth, and other corrupt inclinations, or the temptations of the world, that tend to draw us off from it; and particularly, that we will not abuse an hope, or opinion that any of us may have of our being interested in Christ, to indulge ourselves in sloth, or the more easily to yield to the solicitations of any sinful inclinations; but will run with perseverance, the race that is set before us, and work out our own salvation with fear and trembling. And because we are sensible that the keeping these solemn vows may hereafter, in many cases, be very contrary to our corrupt inclinations, and carnal interests; we do now therefore appear before God, to make a surrender of all to him, and to make a sacrifice of every carnal inclination and interest to the great business of religion, and the interest of our souls. And being sensible of our own weakness, and the deceitfulness of our own hearts, and our proneness to forget our most solemn vows, and loose our resolutions; we promise to be often strictly examining ourselves by these promises, especially before the sacrament of the Lord's supper; and beg of God that he would, for Christ's sake, keep us from wickedly dissembling in these our solemn vows; and that he who searches our

hearts, and ponders the path of our feet, would from time to time help us in trying ourselves by this covenant, and help us to keep covenant with him, and not leave us to our own foolish, wicked, and treacherous hearts."

In the beginning of the Summer 1742, there seemed to be some abatement of the liveliness of people's affections in religion: but yet many were often in a great height of them. And in the Fall and Winter following there were at times extraordinary appearances. But in the general people's engagedness in religion and the liveliness of their affections have been on the decline: and some of the young people especially, have shamefully lost their liveliness and vigour in religion, and much of the seriousness and solemnity of their spirits. But there are many that walk as becometh saints; and to this day, there are a considerable number in the town that seem to be near to God, and maintain much of the life of religion, and enjoy many of the sensible tokens and fruits of his gracious presence.

With respect to the late season of revival of religion amongst us, for three or four years past; it has been observable, that in the former part of it, in the years 1740, and 1741, the work seemed to be much more pure, having less of a corrupt mixture, than in the former great out-pouring of the Spirit in 1735, and 1736. Persons seemed to be sensible of their former errors, and had learnt more of their own hearts, and experience had taught them more of the tendency and consequences of things: they were now better guarded, and their affections were not only greater, but attended with greater solemnity, and greater humility and self-distrust, and greater engagedness after holy living and perseverance; and there were fewer errors in conduct. But in the latter part of it, in the year 1742, it was otherwise: the work continued more pure till we were infected from abroad: our people hearing, and some of them seeing the work in other places, where there was a greater visible commotion than here, and the outward appearances were more extraordinary; were ready to think that the work in those places far excelled what was amongst us; and their eyes were dazzled with the high profession and great shew that some made who came hither from other places. That those people went so far beyond them in raptures and violent emotions of the affections, and a vehement zeal, and what they called boldness for Christ; our people were ready to think was owing to their far greater attainments in grace, and intimacy with Heaven: they looked little in their own eyes in comparison of them, and were ready to submit themselves to them, and yield themselves up to their conduct, taking it for granted that every thing was right that they said and did. These things had a strange influence on the people, and gave many of them a deep and unhappy tincture, that it was a hard and long labour to deliver them from, and which some of them are not fully delivered from to this day.

The effects and consequences of things amongst us plainly shew the following things, viz. that the degree of grace is by no means to be judged of by the degree of joy, or the degree of zeal; and that indeed we cannot at all determine by these things, who are gracious and who

are not; and that it is not the degree of religious affections, but the nature of them that is chiefly to be looked at. Some that have had very great raptures of joy, and have been extraordinarily filled, (as the vulgar phrase is,) and have had their bodies overcome, and that very often, have manifested far less of the temper of Christians, in their conduct since, than some others that have been still, and have made no great outward show. But then again there are many others, that have had extraordinary joys and emotions of mind, with frequent great effects on their bodies, that behave themselves stedfastly, as humble, amiable, eminent Christians. 'Tis evident that there may be great religious affections, that may in shew and appearance imitate gracious affections, and have the same effects on their bodies, but are far from having the same effect in the temper of their minds, and course of their lives. And likewise there is nothing more manifest by what appears amongst us, than that the goodness of persons state is not chiefly to be judged of by any exactness of steps, and method of experiences, in what is supposed to be the first conversion; but that we must judge more by the spirit that breathes, the effect wrought on the temper of the soul, in the time of the work, and remaining afterwards. Though there have been very few instances among professors amongst us, of what is ordinarily called scandalous sin, known to me; yet the temper that some of them shew, and the behaviour they have been of, together with some things in the kind and circumstances of their experiences, make me much afraid least there be a considerable number that have wofully deceived themselves. Though on the other hand, there is a great number whose temper and conversation is such as justly confirms the charity of others towards them; and not a few in whose disposition and walk, there are amiable appearances of eminent grace. And notwithstanding all the corrupt mixtures that have been in the late work here; there are not only many blessed fruits of it in particular persons, that yet remain, but some good effects of it upon the town in general. A party-spirit has more ceased: I suppose there has been less appearance these three or four years past, of that division of the town into two parties, that has long been our bane, than has been these thirty years; and the people have apparently had much more caution, and a greater guard on their spirit, and their tongues, to avoid contention and unchristian heats, in town-meetings and on other occasions. And 'tis a thing greatly to be rejoiced in, that the people very lately have come to an agreement and final issue, with respect to their grand controversy, relating to their common lands; which has been above any other particular thing, a source of mutual prejudices, jealousies, and debates, for fifteen or sixteen years past. The people also seem to be much more sensible of the danger of resting in old experiences, or what they were subjects of at their supposed first conversion; and to be more fully convinced of the necessity of forgetting the things that are behind, and pressing forward, and maintaining earnest labour, watchfulness and prayerfulness as long as they live.

## SECTION VII.

*In the Beginning of the Year 1741, the Concern appears at Bridgewater in the Massachusetts.—One of their Ministers, Mr. Porter, benefited by hearing Mr. Whitefield.—Mr. Tennent preaches.—Religious Meetings.—The Subjects preached on.—Two young Men who had seen the Revival in Connecticut.—Itinerant Ministers employed.—Happy Fruits of this Work.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Porter, Minister at Bridgewater, to Mr. Prince junior, October 12th, 1743, Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 50. ]

DIVINE Providence has cast my lot in Bridgewater, in the county of Plymouth, about thirty miles southward from Boston; a town settled in the year 1652, by a number of serious Christians, wherein there was a church gathered, and Mr. James Keith, a Scotch gentleman, ordained the pastor of it in 1663, who continued with them preaching the gospel about fifty-six years.

And as to the people of the town, I may further observe, it was remarked of them by strangers, as well as persons in the neighbourhood, at their first settling, and sometime after, that they were a people of the greatest modesty and seriousness, and most exact, punctual, and conscientious in discharging first and second table duties, of any they were acquainted with. But this high character (with lamentation let it be spoken) was not given them long: for a number of the first planters (pious men, and experimental Christians) being deceased; their posterity (not having their holy examples, pious instructions, and faithful admonitions) soon began gradually to depart from the God of their fathers. And thus they went on for several years; until religion was almost sunk into a mere form: few had more than a name to live: little of God, of Christ, of heaven, of the soul, was to be found in the conversation of those that passed for the best of Christians. Experimental religion, and the power of Godliness, seemed to have taken their flight from Bridgewater. This I had a great advantage and opportunity to know, by reason of Providence calling me to keep school in all the parts of the town, before this remarkable revival of religion. Now in these days of declension, neither ordinances nor providences, had much effect on the people. Indeed, by some sore distempers with which God was pleased to visit them, and the ministers in the town improving them, by adapting their discourses to such seasons of mortality; some, through the blessing of God, were awakened to a concern about the salvation of their souls. But I have reason to think that few of their convictions issued in conversion, or their distress in the joy of the Lord, or comfort of the Holy Ghost: but that most of them rested in various duties, short of a saving closure with Christ. And so in general they remained very secure, and unconcerned about the great and momentous affair of securing the salvation of the soul; 'till sometime in the beginning of the year 1741, after Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Tennent had been at Boston, and through the province, preaching the e-

verlasting gospel with such unweariedness and success. Whose names, especially the former, I shall always mention with respect and honour, whatever others may think or say of him, from the benefit one of the meanest and most unworthy of Christ's ministers hopes he received by his holy and fervent ministrations while at Boston. Be sure I knew nothing rightly of my sin and danger, of my need of a Saviour, of the way of salvation by him: neither was established in the doctrines of grace; (though a preacher, and one who endeavoured to instruct others in the way) till I heard that man of God. And if the Lord had permitted me to have took the oversight of a flock, as I had a call to do, and had given my answer; the blind would have led the blind, and so 'tis like both would have fallen into the ditch.—But he did not. “Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name,” for what he did for me, through the instrumentality of that man! And I was quickened and strengthened very much by Mr. Tennent's excellent sermons, and was desirous all should hear them, as I had done, and urged many to it.

Few of the people in Bridgewater heard Mr. Whitefield: but the most did Mr. Tennent; for, upon his return home, and passing thro' a neighbouring town in March 1740-1, some of the ministers in Bridgewater, with myself, went to see him; in order to invite him to visit Bridgewater, that we and our dear charges might partake of his gifts and graces, and that he might have some seals of his ministry with us, as well as in other places. And after some intreaties (for he was determined another way, viz. to Freetown and Tiverton) we gained a promise from him, that (God willing) he would visit us next day. Accordingly he came, and preached three sermons in Mr. Perkins' meeting-house in the western precinct; two in the day, one in the evening. And tho' the warning was short, the people in general not knowing it, till that morning, and the season very difficult, by reason of the snow; yet there was a large and crowded assembly. They came from all parts of the town, (for you must note that tho' in good Mr. Keith's day, there was but one society, now there are four; to which the reverend Messrs. Daniel Perkins, John Angier, John Shaw, and myself, stand severally in pastoral relation)—and many I believe went away blessing God for the opportunity; though some mocked. It appears that some close hypocrites were detected, some secure awakened, and many of our young people convinced of the sin of spending away days and nights in singing and dancing, and other youthful sins, which they were much addicted to before, and greatly delighted in. After this, religion was more talked of in our town; particularly the great doctrines of our holy religion were often the subject of conversation, not for strife and contention, but information and edification. The people now through the town were very inquisitive to know how things were, having heard of the revival of religion in some places. They appeared of a very teachable disposition: they were swift to hear the word; an uncommon thirst after it appeared in them. Our lectures (which were almost every week in one part of the town, or another) were more generally attended than before, and with much greater seri-

ousness and solemnity; which encouraged us the ministers in the town, to set up evening lectures, to be attended in all parts of the town; which (excepting one) are upheld to this time; beside all our lectures in private houses, which have not been a few; and occasional lectures from strangers who came to visit us: which I believe God has blessed to the good of many souls. Spiritual clouds seemed to be gathering apace; a shower of divine and heavenly blessings seemed nigh being rained down on Bridgewater, and the whole town becoming a mountain of holiness. O the delightful prospect we now had! But I shall say no more with respect to the other societies in conjunction with our own, or of the promising appearances in them, and what God has done for them. But leaving this for their reverend pastors to do; I come to declare more particularly what great things the Lord hath done for the little society, called the North Precinct, consisting of near sixty families, over which I was ordained the 15th of October, 1740.

And as I observed, in the beginning of the year 1741, there was a visible appearance of a religious concern on the minds of many, especially the young people; which brought them to leave their youthful practices, of singing, dancing, company-keeping, which before they esteemed lawful recreations, and took abundance of pleasure in. And some came to resolutions, not only to leave spending away evenings this way, in which they had so much dishonoured God, and injured their immortal souls; but to spend them in religious exercises; particularly the Sabbath evening, which was spent before in vanity, they proposed to meet on, for the service of God: as I found by a letter directed to, and given me by one of the young men of our society, signed by himself and several others: wherein they signified their concern of soul, and design to set up evening meetings, and desire that others would join with them; as also my direction in, and approbation of the affair, and that I would favour them with a sermon to encourage them to hold on, and encourage others to join with them. This good symptom did put gladness in my heart; and I readily complied with their desire: and accordingly they spent every Sabbath evening in singing, praying, reading, and such like religious exercises. And now, being in the Spring 1741, there appeared a considerable external alteration in most of the young people in the place; which was observed and spoken of by diverse in the neighbourhood. Now things looked very promising and hopeful. All things seemed to be concurring to bring about a glorious and remarkable revival of religion: to make our sons as plants growing up in their youth, and our daughters as corner stones polished after the similitude of a palace. But nothing so remarkable and gracious, as what followed. The best wine was not yet bestowed, as we found by happy experience afterward.

About this time, through the infinite compassion of God, I had a very lively sense of divine and eternal things on my mind from day to day. My meditations run very much at this time on the awful state man had plunged himself into by the fall: on regeneration, its instantaneity, greatness, and necessity: on man's weakness and inability to help himself and effect this change: on man's unworthiness of mercy;

and the justice of God should he damn him after he had done his best: on Christ the only way to the Father; on his mediatorial fulness and transcendent glories; on his perfect righteousness, as the only matter of a sinner's justification before God, exclusive of all works; on receiving it by faith: on the change of heart that followed thereupon, how it left the impress of the divine image on the soul; on the unspeakable sweetness and satisfaction in a life of religion and communion with God: on assurance of the love of God; its attainableness and privilege: on having our conversation in Heaven: on living like creatures made for eternity, and accountable to God: on our capableness of enjoying God the chief and only soul-satisfying good for ever and ever. These with some of the like nature and tendency, were much in my mind. And I was therefore under some constraint to insist on them from Sabbath to Sabbath. Which I urged and pressed with as great a warmth as I was capable of. And have reason to believe that these discourses, thus delivered, on these gospel subjects; (though it may be not with such accuracy and correctness as some might have insisted upon, and so to them might have appeared foolishness) were blessed to the good of souls, and were to them the wisdom of God and the power of God.

Though but few, I believe, were as yet savingly converted and brought home to Christ, yet the concern on the minds of most continued and increased through the succeeding Summer. The most were uncommonly thoughtful about the salvation of their precious souls. But as I remember in the beginning of the Fall 1741, convictions seemed at a stay, if not declining and wearing off from some. But upon this, two young men of Bridgewater, who had been for a time in Connecticut (one had passed through his academical learning and was keeping school there; the other was then a member of Yale-college) and had seen the great things God was doing for his people there; and in a judgment of charity had felt and experienced much of the power of divine grace on their own souls; returned to Bridgewater to visit their friends. And O the concern they appeared to have (and we have no reason to think but it was real) for their town's-folk, especially fellow youth, is not easily to be expressed: which they manifested in all suitable and proper ways. They told our young people that on such a day, if they were willing, they would meet with them and sing and pray, and give them a relation of the great things God was doing in Connecticut, and what he had done for them since they saw them last. To which they readily consented. When the day came, young and old went: and I believe I should have gone, had I not been providentially absent. Accordingly they did pray and sing with them, and gave them a friendly christian exhortation. And the Lord was with them, I doubt not. Some were awakened; and those under concern, had their concern increased by means thereof. And seeing such effects following, they went on in this way for a while; if not at the advice, yet at the connivance of some of the ministers in the town. And whether their practice or our connivance was justifiable, as things were then circumstanced, I shall not take upon me now to say. But this I think I am obliged to say; that if I believe the work going on so remarkably to be divine, as I most firm-



ly do, they were greatly serviceable in promoting it in my dear charge. Here I would observe, that these were the only exhorters we have had. I think we have had no appearances of them since.

After this that grand and important question was in the mouths of most of my people, especially young people, "What must we do to be saved?" Salvation seemed now to be the main concern of their souls, and the main business of their lives. Their secular affairs were at this time, in appearance, made a by-business. Meetings on account of religion were sought after, longed for, frequently attended, exceedingly thronged. And at almost every meeting about this time (which were very frequent) it evidently appeared God was with us in the convincing and converting and comforting influences of his Spirit. Some were awakened, many crying out under a sense of their sin and danger. Some hopefully converted: and some transported and over-born with a sense of the love of God. I make not the least doubt, but there was joy in Heaven among the angels, as well as among the saints on earth, in seeing and hearing of the glorious displays of the infinite power and sovereign free grace of God at our religious meetings. O it looked probable now that the whole society, old and young, black and white, would have been seized by the almighty power and free grace of God; and would have been brought to have submitted to a sovereign God in Christ, and received a whole Christ with a whole soul. My soul did leap within me with joy at the blessed prospect I now had of all joining heart and hand in travelling in the way to eternal glory, and of arriving there at last. But this blessed shower did not long continue. It was not long before God (for our sin in not improving, and our ingratitude under these showers of divine and heavenly grace) did depart from us as to the convincing and converting influences of his Spirit. And many of those that were under good impressions, and had not received comfort in Christ, which many had, gradually lost them, and began to be somewhat careless and secure again. Now and then, 'tis true, I had the joy of seeing and hearing one convinced and converted, and it has been to this time; but 'tis rare, like gleanings after the vintage.

Now all along in this time I did freely invite and gladly improve as I had opportunity, all my zealous fathers and brethren in the ministry, living in the neighbourhood and that travelled (who had been remarkably blessed by God in promoting his work) to preach to my people. I think I can truly say, (though the spirit of man lusteth to envy) I am willing God should send by the hand, by whom he would send; should carry on his own work in his own way, by such means and instruments as pleases him; willing I am, at times especially, with John the Baptist to decrease, in name, success and all, so that Christ may increase, his kingdom and interest be advanced in my charge, and through the world. And I do not yet repent of this my conduct, but greatly rejoice in it. For as far as I can learn, every one that has been with us preaching the everlasting gospel, have been instrumental of doing good to some souls: and who would mourn at that? I will acknowledge that they have been greatly serviceable to the people of my charge: they, and not I, are the spiritual fathers of many of my flock. Nor do I see any of the bad ef-

fects of such conduct, which many talk of; my people, such of them as have been converted by the instrumentality of strangers, love me their unworthy pastor better than ever, I doubt not: and therefore I have reason to think, that had ministers been more free in inviting and improving neighbouring ministers, and them that travelled to their people; the work of God would have gone on more gloriously, and would have prevented the unhappy jars, divisions and separations that have arisen in some places. But I'll return, and say, that in the judgment of charity, through the infinite compassions of God, the number is not small that have been savingly wrought upon among us in this great day of grace, and that are become real lively Christians. I believe 'tis not proper to say how many: though I believe by what I can learn as many in proportion to the bigness of the place, as almost any place that has been remarkably visited at this day. We have had added to the church between seventy and eighty; beside a considerable number that have owned the covenant and been baptised, that have not seen their way clear to come to the ordinance of the holy supper. The most of which are able to give to every one that asks them with meekness and fear all the satisfaction that can rationally be desired or expected, that they are real Christians. They can give a clear, distinct account of a preparatory law-work in all the parts of it; of their discovery of Christ in his ability and willingness to save them in particular, and every way suited to their perishing circumstances, to make them completely and eternally happy; of their closing in with him as offered in the gospel; of the change of heart; and so consequently of principles, desires, inclinations and affections that perceptibly followed thereupon. And their lives and conversations, as far as I can observe myself, and learn from the unprejudiced, are corresponding and agreeing with their experiences: they live in general as becomes the gospel, and evidently adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour. In a word, they appear to love God and men: which is expressed by a careful and conscientious discharge of first and second-table duties: and so are truly religious.

And now these, God is through his abundant goodness, frequently visiting and refreshing by the gracious influences of his Holy Spirit. For altho' God has almost departed from us as to the convincing and converting influences of his Spirit; yet he has not, as to the quickening, sanctifying and comforting influences thereof: blessed be his name for it. God is verily with us in our religious meetings. 'Tis frequent on lecture-days and on Lord's-days, while we are supplicating the Divine Majesty, singing the high praises of God, hearing his word, celebrating the holy supper, that we see some of the above-mentioned influences. Sometimes many of them have their frail tabernacles overborn with a sense of the great and distinguishing love of God the Father in contriving, Son in purchasing, and Spirit in making application of redemption to their souls. Sometimes they have such a sense of the perfections of God, his holiness, justice, mercy, faithfulness, &c. as greatly weakens and overcomes the body. They have often such sweet tastes of redeeming love, and such blessed discoveries of the glories of God, beauties of Christ, holiness and happiness of Heaven; as

affects the body so greatly, that spectators have been ready to conclude that it would have dissolved the natural tie and union between the soul and body: and that their souls would have actually dismissed and left their bodies, and been conveyed by kind guardian angels in a chariot of love to the God and region of love. O to see them in these frames, is enough to make any new creature rejoice: methinks 'tis enough to warm the souls, of all that have experienced a work of grace, and so know something of the enjoyment and employment of Heaven; to see them at these seasons, like the birds of Paradise, chanting forth the praises of our glorious Redeemer. They do in some low degree resemble the humble worshippers of Heaven. I am almost sure that none that have had given them, a small, a little taste of the special grace of God, ('tis so sweet) will with the elder brother in the parable, stumble and wonder, tho' others are feeding on the fatted calf, or have larger measures; but will be able to account for the musick and dancing, the joys and rejoicings of returning prodigals, and will come in, and rejoice with them. For 'tis undeniably true, that by a little here, we can tell what a great deal means. And to see the effects these discoveries have on them; how humble, holy, heavenly, loving, and weaned from the world they are for a considerable time after, is abundantly refreshing and satisfying, and confirms further that their discoveries are true and genuine. Thus they are frequently visited and taught by the Holy Spirit: so that they are growing Christians, in grace and knowledge. In grace, every true visit evidently transforms them more and more into the divine image and likeness: in knowledge, 'tis wonderful to see how their knowledge is increased, as to God, Christ, the doctrines of grace: and as to themselves, their own hearts, the pride, envy, hypocrisy, deceit and ingratitude of them: they see and know so much of their own vileness, that every one looks on himself as the most unworthy, and greatest miracle of mercy, and most beholden and indebted to the free grace of God: they are labouring after progressive holiness, to be perfect as their heavenly Father is. God grant their path may continue to be as "the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

Now of this number, many of them were, before this day of God's searching our Jerusalem, as exact and strict in the performance of the externals of religion, (as far as would be observed by man,) as any among us, and had gained the charity of their neighbours: but now see they built upon the sandy foundation of their own righteousness; and so had perished eternally notwithstanding their blazing professions, & the good opinion of others, had not God in mercy opened their eyes, to see the way of salvation by Christ, and enabled them to embrace it. O may all professors every where examine the foundation they build upon for eternal happiness; and see they don't deceive themselves, as some did among us 'till this day of grace! The rest that have been wrought upon amongst us have been mostly young people, who were not professors in the full sense before. As to children, under ten; I durst not say any are included in the abovesaid number; tho' they were, at first when the work began, under some concern of soul; yet it seems

worn off, they are children still. As to the vitious and immoral; we had some, tho' I believe as few as in most places. But I do not observe any remarkable change and alteration in them. Tho' the revival of religion seems in some measure to check and restrain them from that boldness in sinning that appeared in them before. We are generally, thro' the goodness of God upon us, united and agreed in the belief of the work being divine; and are using such methods as God directs to, and blesses in promoting and carrying of it on. O how good and pleasant 'tis for brethren of one society to dwell together in unity. As to trances, visions, &c. we have none, and I think have had none from the beginning. And now I would thankfully acknowledge and heartily bless God for his distinguishing goodness to me and my charge: in giving us to see, and live in a day of such great grace as this is; and in making so many of us partakers of his special grace whom, I make not the least doubt, all the saints of God will ere long see, clothed in white, at the right hand of Jesus, and with him entering into everlasting habitations; to join the heavenly quire, in tuning their golden harps in songs of praise to the eternal Three; the Father, for his mercy, the Son for his merit, and the Holy Ghost for his efficacy, forever and ever. Lord Jesus be like a roe or a young hart on the mountains of separation.

JOHN PORTER.

P. S. The above account as far as it relates to the rise, progress and continuance of the work of God among us was read to our church, and voted by them to be a true and faithful account according to their judgment.

JOHN PORTER.

#### SECTION VIII.

*On the 26th of February 1741, it appears at Wrentham in Suffolk in the Massachusetts.—Under the Ministry of their ordinary Pastors, Messrs. Messenger and Haven.—The Texts, Zech. xii. 10. and Jer. xxvi. 13.—Great Attention.—Many Tears.—Desire of Lectures.—Longing for the Sabbath.—Frequent preaching.—Religious Meetings and Conference.—Some brought under Concern by hearing Sermon.—Some by hearing of others, fearing lest themselves should be left.—Some a long Time under Convictions.—A second Revival.—Distress for the Souls of others.*

[ From Messrs. Messenger and Haven's Account, dated August 12th, 1743, in Prince's Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 30, &c. ]

OUR blessed Lord's observations in Matth. v. 14, 15. are indeed verified with respect to many places in this land and elsewhere in late months and years; "A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, and it giveth light unto all that are in the house." A man must be a very stranger in our Israel, who doth not know, that almighty God hath done such wonders of grace in many of our towns and churches, the same whereof has been spread far; and the news whereof hath been very refreshing to many pious souls, at a distance. We should surely be unwilling, as we are unable to conceal such glorious things

from the churches abroad, and from the world. Nay, we cannot but think it the duty of those who are so highly favoured of the Lord, "to publish the goodness of the Lord with the voice of thanksgiving, and tell of his wondrous works;" by which he is doing honour to his own name, to his Son, and to his Spirit; and greatly promoting the kingdom of Christ in the souls of men. And since the God of all grace hath shewn much of the power of his grace in our parishes, which neither can, nor ought to be concealed; we think it our duty to give the public an account thereof with as much distinctness and brevity as we can.

It is now about fifty years since the first church of Christ was gathered in the town of Wrentham; and since the rev. Mr. Samuel Man was ordained pastor thereof, whose name is still precious to many here, who laboured in this part of Christ's vineyard till March 1719, and died the 22d of May following, and left a very mournful family and people, bereaved of their worthy and highly esteemed Shepherd. But the goodness of the great Shepherd was very remarkable, in keeping the sheep from scattering, and in speedily uniting them in the choice of the senior subscriber to this account, to be their second pastor, whom God in his holy providence, and without the design of either Mr. Messenger or the people, sent to preach with them on the next Lord's day after the death of their former pastor. And it afterwards appeared that then the hearts of many of the people were knit to him in such love, as hath not yet been broken; and proved a kind Providence to promote his speedy settlement among them, viz. on the 9th of December 1719. The town has mostly, from its infancy, been greatly smiled upon by Divine Providence, and is greatly increased; so that, on the 23d of December 1737, the general court was pleased to divide it into two parishes; and, on the 16th of February 1737-8, a second church of Christ was gathered in the town. On the 8th of November the junior subscriber to this account was ordained pastor of the said second church in this town: and an happy correspondence has hitherto continued, blessed be God, between the two parishes, churches and pastors. And this is the more properly taken notice of in this place, as it gives us very frequent opportunities to change pulpits on Sabbaths and lectures, public and private, without prejudice; to converse with persons of each other's charge, who are under spiritual difficulties, and with one another relating to any difficult and perplexed cases, that come under either of our observation: (a privilege which we pray may be commensurate with the life of us both.) All which gives us opportunity to be acquainted with the state of religion through the town, and enables us to sign our names in conjunct testimony for the work of Divine Grace that is happily carrying on among us.

The people in this town (so far as we can learn, or have had opportunity to observe) have generally been externally sober and honest; have kept up a great deal of external religion, especially in their families, and the house of God; so that the generations that have risen up from time to time, have generally been instructed, from their very early youth, in the first principles of our holy religion. But, alas! for a long time past, and just before the descent of these late remarkable show-

ers of divine influence, religion was plainly in a languishing condition; even some externals of it began to be more and more neglected; inso-much that in the year 1739, there were but two in the whole town admitted to the Lord's table: and vices of various sorts were much more prevalent than before. And though we have reason to think that some among us did sigh and cry for the abominations that were among us, and for indifferency about religion; yet we had awful reason to think that the wise virgins slumber'd and slept too too much with the foolish; and, as for us, our hearts were ready to sink to see religion dying, and were ready to mourn in the prophet's language, Isa. xlix. 4. "I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nought, and in vain."—But behold in the midst of darkness, light arose! and the great God was pleased to glorify the riches of his boundless grace, and visit the souls of many of his people with the powerful influences of his own Spirit: and many that were going their own sinful ways, we trust, he hath turned about, and set their faces toward Zion. Blessed be God for his preventing goodness! "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream.—The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad. Praise ye the Lord!"

The first open and public manifestation of the Lord's return to us by the power of his grace, was on the 26th of February 1740-1. It was the day appointed by the government to be kept with solemn fasting and prayer throughout this province to implore the blessing of Heaven on our nation in the war with Spain, &c. and the day in course for the public lecture preparatory for the administration of the Lord's supper in the second church in this town; where, on this double occasion, the minister preached from Zech xii. 10. There appeared, especially in the afternoon, a very uncommon attentiveness unto the word, a wonderful tenderness upon the assembly: the tokens of a very serious concern were visible on many faces. And though there is sufficient reason to believe that many persons, before this, were under considerable convictions, and abode so after the day aforesaid; yet they kept their concern very much to themselves, until some time in March following, when they could no longer conceal their distresses; they began to lament their own cases to one another, and to come frequently to their minister under soul-trouble. It was agreeably surprizing almost daily to hear of new instances of young persons (for the work of God's Spirit seemed to be chiefly on young people) in great concern, what they should do to be saved. The same thoughtfulness seemed to run from house to house, and from soul to soul; and their complaints against themselves were very much the same.

It was but a little while after this before the same Spirit's operations of the same kind were equally remarkable in the first parish and congregation in the town. Particularly on the annual fast April 23d, 1741, was a very open and public display of Divine Grace there, very much as mentioned above (in the other congregation) when the minister preached from Jer. xxvi. 13. and many were brought under strong convictions, and thenceforward many flocked to their minister, especially young people, under soul-distress. The powerful awakenings

and convictions on persons minds spread from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, so that by Mid-summer there were instances in all parts of the town under great concern to know what they should do to be saved. Yea, it appeared to us, so far as we could observe in our respective parishes, that very few houses, if any in the town were passed by and left without some observable spiritual concern on some or other of the family. Our people, in general, became much more attentive in time of public worship; their countenances being generally solemn, listening and tender, shewed their extraordinary appetite for the word: and it became a very common thing with us to have a great part of the assembly in tears at hearing the word, and especially when they heard the glad tidings of the gospel, and they were invited to rest their weary souls in Christ the Saviour. While we endeavoured with great plainness to show unto sinners their guilt and danger, and to open the awful contents of the law to them, these truths would often have their proper effect, in alarming guilty consciences, and filling the minds of many with great concern for their own souls; and then the gospel-news of a Saviour, and the freeness of Divine Grace would marvellously melt a great part of our congregations into tears, and persuade them, by Divine help, to seek the great salvation. Nor have we seen reason, as yet, to think any other than that many of these earnest seekers were sure finders of the Pearl of great price.

Our people grew very desirous of lectures; that they might have more frequent opportunities for spiritual instruction, and to join in social worship; where we found God often bestowed his blessing. It was not rare to hear them confess that they used to be weary of the Sabbath; but now they longed to have it return, and that it seemed exceeding long to them, if they went from Sabbath to Sabbath without hearing a sermon. We used frequently to gratify their desires, and preach public or private lectures: though we have since seen cause to lament that we did not preach much oftener at the beginning of this very remarkable day of grace, than we did; when the Spirit was most evidently with the word, and the work of the Lord, through infinitely wonderful grace, did prosper in our hands. We have since, upon more observation and experience, been more frequent in our preaching, and see no reason to repent it, but to bless God for strengthening us unto and succeeding us, as we believe he hath, in our more abundant labours.

It is now above two years since our young people have generally and voluntarily done with their frolicking and merry meetings: many of them have appeared bitterly to lament their mispence of much precious time in such meetings: it hath been very agreeably surprizing to observe the resentment of themselves, which some of the late ring-leaders of their merriment expressed. Nor did they degenerate into melancholy, or refuse company, but frequently would associate themselves for religious exercises. Accordingly the religious societies of young people that were before formed in the town, grew much more numerous; and other societies were set up, and continue in various parts of the town, both among young people and heads of families. And both family meetings and young mens religious meetings are much frequented.

We have great reason to rejoice in the Christian conference that has long been one stated part of the exercise of our young mens meetings; there being evident tokens of their gain in spiritual knowledge thereby, discoverable when we had opportunity to converse with them, and others in private about the state of their souls. Upon which we can freely recommend it as a very proper part of the exercise of private meetings, where it has not yet been practised. As we have also abundant reason to recommend it unto young people to associate themselves for religious exercises, in proper time, and under due regulations; from what we have heard of the advantage thereof to many of our young people, when they have declared to us, and in the public congregation, what God hath done for their souls, at, and by such meetings. And doubtless private societies for religious exercises among heads of families, under equally proper regulations, might be proportionably beneficial; of which, we trust, God hath not left us without witness in this town.

Before this blessed revival of religion in the town, there was very little to be heard, among old or young, of pious discourse, when they were occasionally together; but it is now above two years since there has been an happy reformation in this regard, though it hath not yet been prevalent to the degree it ought in the town. It was very pleasant to see and hear the wonderful alteration in this matter among the youth, and some children of nine, ten, or twelve years of age. Many of our young people who, whenever they visited one another or met occasionally, would spend their time in meer vain and useless discourse, if not worse, now grew much more desirous to be together than heretofore; and the Bible, or some pious author, must ordinarily, at such times, be one of the company, and their conversation would turn chiefly on the state of their souls, divine and eternal things: and many of their minds seemed much more intent on these things than formerly on vanity. Such as would before purposely avoid the company and discourse of the godly, would now industriously seek both, and would frequently apply to those, whom they thought more knowing and pious, with serious and weighty questions about the things of God. Many of our people living three or four miles or more from our places of public worship, are necessitated to tarry at or near about the meeting-houses, through the intermission between forenoon and afternoon exercises, and there used to be little else but vain and worldly talk among most; but upon the late remarkable divine influence on people's minds, there was a wonderful change in this regard among (we think) the greatest part of our people. It became a common thing for them to retire in small companies, to different places, for religious conferences, or reading; and sometimes these exercises were mixed. And more lately there are several societies that spend part of the intermission in praying, reading, and singing together. So that on many accounts the intermission, as well as time of public exercises of God's worship, is very remarkably holy to the Lord, esteemed honourable, and a great delight unto the more serious among us. And even the time of travel to and from our places of public worship has often been sweetly redeemed for pious



discourse between two or three, as they walk in company together.

We are satisfied that the general concern upon people's minds which prevailed among us above two years ago, and has not ceased, did not arise from a disposition to conform to the prevailing custom of people around us; for this was the first town which was so remarkably visited and blessed by sovereign Grace within several miles: and it evidently appeared that many would be under the same concern at the same time, and would be agreeably surprized when they unexpectedly found one another uttering the same complaints relating to the state of their own souls. It is also very evident that this general awakening was not from the influence of travelling ministers, (though we are satisfied God has made use of some of them for the revival of religion in many places) for there was but one sermon preached in the town in such a way, and that to a small auditory, (the warning being very short) and this some months before the concern was very general through the town. And here it is very observable that there was a spirit of conviction on the hearts of many in the Winter before it was externally very evident; when, by the extremity of the Winter and depth of the snow, many of our people could not, for many Sabbaths together, attend on the ordinary and stated exercises of religion; so clearly was it the work of God. Nevertheless we are glad to own that the news of many conversions in Northampton and other towns in that part of the country some years before, and of some remarkable success of the gospel in some parts of England and America, were means of stirring up thoughtfulness in many, and encouraged godly persons to pray with the more confidence for the out-pouring of the Holy Ghost also on us.

Many came to offer themselves to join in church-fellowship, whom we looked upon ourselves obliged to examine particularly of their experiences, which gave them reason to hope that they could in sincerity enter into solemn covenant with God and his people. Our times for the administration of the Lord's-supper in each church are two months apart: and into the second church in the town (which before consisted of sixty-three communicants, and the parish of about seventy families) just before the sacrament May 3d, 1741, were admitted twenty-four more: and between the said 3d of May and the first of July following, were admitted thirty-seven more. And considerable numbers afterwards from time to time. Into the first church in the town (which before consisted of ninety-two communicants, and the parish of about one hundred and twenty families) were admitted just before the sacrament June 7th, 1741, twenty more. And then before August 1st, thirty-eight more. And then before October 1st, eighteen more. And before the administration of the Lord's-supper there have constantly been a considerable number admitted ever since; (never less than five, except twice, and usually more at a time.) So that now one hundred and thirty-six communicants are added to the first church, and eighty-nine to the second since April 1741. Thus greatly are the numbers of our communicants increased, and we had opportunity to discourse with each of those admitted into the respective churches under our particular watch, of the state of their souls, and with many of them seve-

ral times; as well as with a considerable number who were professors before, and came to us in this remarkable day fuller of concern about their souls than usual: and many that have been brought under some convictions, who yet stand off from the Lord's table. Many (as each of us can declare relating to such as one or other of us discoursed with, and to others that both of us discoursed with, and many, of whose discourse with their neighbours and acquaintance we had almost daily an account of) used to complain of their mispending of time, especially of Sabbath-time, and of their vain wandering hearts in time of religious worship; they would lament over their whole life, as having been filled up with sin, and complain of their own wicked hearts, as leading them to all manner of abominations naturally: they would frequently confess it with apparent mourning, that they had so long despised an offered and glorious Saviour; and express their wonder and amazement that God had spared them so long, that he did not cut them off in the midst of their wickedness; acknowledging that God would be infinitely just if he had done it, or if he should still cast them off for ever; professing their sense that it must, and would, be infinitely free grace, if ever they were saved; most wonderful grace. They would frequently complain of themselves as greater sinners than any they knew of: if others had been guilty of more open scandalous sins, yet they hoped that none had such wicked hearts as themselves. They would often express it, that the sinful ways, which they used to delight most in, were now the most loathsome and grievous to them; together with very earnest wishes, that they might be kept from all sin; and would lament, that they could not live without sin, because of in-dwelling corruption. Many would still express their hope of mercy through Jesus Christ, notwithstanding all their vileness, and that they hoped they were enabled to venture their immortal souls on that chief Corner-Stone for safety; and that they found a free acquiescence of soul in him; that they desired nothing so much as to submit to him, and to live to his glory.

Some could tell the time when they first became seriously concerned about their souls, and what was the sermon, or the particular passage in a sermon that pricked them to the heart: and some would assure us, that the news of many others brought under soul-concern, and as they thought bringing home to Christ, awakened them. It seemed as if almost all their acquaintance would be saved, and themselves left, which would look very awful to them. Some could give a distinct account of the time when from great distress, their souls were enabled to venture upon an infinite Saviour, and (if they deceived not themselves) found gospel-rest in him. Others could give a less distinct account as to the time of their greatest distress, and first finding rest in Christ, and yet perhaps equally distinct, as to the genuine fruits of the Spirit in their hearts. Some have had, to appearance, much greater degrees of concern and conviction than others, and there has been a great variety as to the degrees of persons rest and joy of soul in spiritual things. And we have been ever careful to advise persons to observe, rather the spring, nature and effects both of terrors and joys, than the degrees of them: and that the heart of a sinner must be so broken for sin as to be broken

off from sin; and that every true convert hath such a discovery of Christ as persuades the soul to chuse him in all his offices. Some have been much longer under a spirit of bondage than others, before they have had any satisfying tokens of having received a spirit of adoption, whereby they could cry, Abba Father. And some who were early under convictions of sin, seem still to remain so, without giving the distinguishing marks of a saving conversion; or without returning to their former way of living, and frame of mind, now for above two years. But we have awful reason to fear that some who were under considerable awakenings at the beginning of this remarkable day, have unburdened themselves without finding rest in Christ, by a true faith.

There was about a year ago, some decay among us. There seemed to be less solemnity and liveliness in the countenances and behaviour of the generality of our congregations while in the house of God; less earnestness after divine instructions, both public and personal; not so much favouritiness in private conversation; but a greater eagerness after the things of the world, than in months before. Some who had seemed to be under some small awakening, seemed to lose their concern and tenderness; though we think that very few, if any such have returned to so great a degree of lewdness and vanity as they formerly lived in. Some that appeared to be under great awakenings, as well as some that appeared to be hopefully converted, seemed to lose much of the sense of divine things which they had before; and many were sensible of this decay. But, blessed be God, among all those, that we looked upon in a judgment of charity, to be born from above, there has not one turned an open apostate, nor evidently and impenitently scandalous in their behaviour: nor have the generality of those who have been in any considerable measure awakened, returned, in this time of decay, to their former heedless and airy way of living, their frolics, or vain and merry meetings; nor did they cease from their religious meetings, nor drop any of them, unless on occasion of an extraordinary busy season, and short evenings, and that only in one part of the town where they live remote from one another, and for a short time. Although religion for some months about that time did not seem to be so reviving as before, nor the word to have such power, nor convictions nor conversions to be multiplied; yet neither did the state of religion among us, nor the face of the town appear to be at all the same as three years ago. And we have reason to think, that all this time conversions were more frequent than for some years before 1740. We have reason to hope that many prayers were ascending from among us daily to the throne of grace for a greater plenty of divine and saving influences on the people of the town, as well as for the prosperity of Zion in general: and we trust that many of the people of God were (and are still) praying for these things.

And the Lord, the overflowing fountain of grace, hath been pleased to visit us with another plentiful shower of grace, and so strengthen that which he had wrought for us. It is now above half a year since a second revival of religion began to be very observable in the town; first, in the first parish in the town, and very soon after in the second. As to the

substance of the work, it appears to us to be the same as was remarkably among us above two years ago, of which there has never since been a cessation. But there are a few things observable, which are circumstances attending the work of God's grace now among us, in which there is some difference.——There have not been so great numbers brought under convictions, and the spirit of bondage now as before; according to our observation. Some who have of late been under strong convictions, have been more suddenly pricked to the heart, and brought into greater distress, than before. Some, who we have reason to hope were sincere converts unto God before the time which we are now speaking of, have now been brought into exceeding great distress, at renewed and clearer discoveries of their own hearts, and a more bitter remembrance of their sins. Not a few of real Christians have been more remarkably quickened now than before, in their Christian walk. Some who we charitably hope have been lately converted to God, as well as some who we hope were converted a year or two ago, and some who have been looked upon as sincere Christians for a considerable number of years, have in this time been very much filled and feasted with the consolations of God, (as we judge from what they say, and their after-life.) There have been not a very few among us within seven or eight months past that have cried out with great agonies and distress, or with high joys on spiritual accounts, and that in time of religious exercises. But these two things we would observe relating to what we have seen of this nature, viz. 1. That we are persuaded that very few if any among us have cried out in such a manner while they could refrain: and we have ever cautioned persons against making any outcries in time of religious worship, if they could avoid it, without doing too much violence to their nature, or turning their thoughts from divine things; though we have not thought it ordinarily proper to leave off speaking, or to have the persons so affected removed out of the house. And, 2. That we by no means account persons crying out in time of worship, falling down, or the degrees of their joys or sorrows, that might occasion these effects on their bodies, to be any sign of their conversion, when separately considered; and have carefully warned our people against such a way of thinking: though at the same time we cannot but think that most who have so manifested their sense of things, were under the operations of the Holy Ghost at the same time, which occasioned these outcries; and that their inward experiences were substantially the same as theirs, who have been savingly converted to God (as we hope) and have given no such tokens of their distress or joys.

People have within this time appeared as desirous as ever, or more so (as to considerable numbers) of sermons and social worship, than ever before. There have been a variety of instances among us of persons appearing in very great distress, even unto agonies, for others souls, beyond what we have ever seen before. And some among us have not been so well satisfied, nor so much delighted with this late revival, as they seemed to be two years ago; and some that seemed something awakened then, have appeared to look something strange upon what we take to be the same work, now it hath been attended with some

uncommon circumstances. And we are concerned lest some have been prejudiced against the powerful manner in which God hath been pleased to carry on his own work; and so have lain the less open to convictions and benefit by gospel ordinances. We have not known trances, visions, revelations, or the like. We have had great freedom from the appearances of a censorious spirit in the subjects of this blessed work; though some tender and compassionate expressions have been misconstrued. Christian conference hath been much encouraged and practised among elder and younger people.

To conclude; we can, upon the whole, freely declare our opinion, That almighty God hath begun, and now, for more than two years, been carrying on a glorious reformation and revival of pure and undefiled religion among the people of our charge; convincing, hopefully converting, and greatly sanctifying, quickening and comforting many among us, by a wonderful effusion of the Divine Spirit, accompanying the word, ordinances, and providences. And that God hath been exceeding good to us in preserving us from such errors, separations, and disorders, which we have heard have been in some other places. For which, may God have all the glory. Thus we have endeavoured to give a just account of the late remarkable revival of religion in Wrentham; with an exact regard to truth, according to our observation and remembrance, of persons, conversations, and events. Now, earnestly wishing the prosperity of Zion; and begging the prayers of God's people for us, and the people under our immediate care, we subscribe  
Henry Messenger, pastor of the first church in Wrentham.  
Elias Haven, pastor of the second church in Wrentham.

*To this Letter may be added the following Information from the rev. Mr. Cotton of Newton, referring to one remarkable Instance, which fell under his Observation, when occasionally at Wrentham in August 1742.*

[ FROM PRINCE'S Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 32. ]

The first person that cried out under the preaching of the word, in the first parish of Wrentham, was a man more than forty years old, at a lecture, August 19th, 1742, when Mr. Cotton was preaching from Matth xi. 28. Towards the close of the sermon, the said person spake out with much concern and distress about the state of his soul.—Soon after the congregation was dismiss'd, he went to discourse with Mr. Cotton; who asking him the reason of his crying out in the assembly, in the manner he had done, the man replied, That he could not avoid his doing so; though he had often spoke against other peoples crying out, and had said that they might, if they would, refrain from it, and not disturb the congregation in hearing. He then added, that he went to that lecture, with a more serious concern upon his mind, than he had commonly done, that he might get good by that opportunity; and he said, that the word he heard, came with such power upon him, that he could not help crying out, and speaking as he did.—When inquiry was made concerning his spiritual state, he declared, he had been an honest, moral liver; had prayed constantly in his family, though not so constantly in

secret; had made conscience of attending the public worship of God, loved to hear (as he thought) faithful preaching;—and he had been ready to conclude, he was in a good and safe state, and all was well with him. But now he was brought to see his sin, misery, and danger, in a natural state, and his need of Christ to help and save him; and to see that if a new and saving change was not wrought by the Spirit of God upon his heart, he should be undone for ever!—And he expressed his fears that the day of grace was over as to him.—Upon which it was suggested to him, that now the Spirit of God was so striving with him, he might be assured, that there was hope concerning him; and it looked as though God was waiting to be gracious, if such convictions were cherished. Mr. Cotton gave him what advice and direction he thought needful, for one in his state and circumstances, upon his first coming to him. He came again the next morning, and was in as great distress as before, because of the provocations he had given to the Spirit of God to forsake him, and to strive no more with him; but yet declared, he was resolved to seek and plead (as he was able) for the Lord's compassion and mercy to him; and said, if God should not shew him mercy now, he believed the Spirit would never so strive with him any more. After considerable time spent in conversing with him, he remained greatly concerned and distressed, lest he should not obtain mercy from God: but still resolved to seek and cry for it. And, upon inquiry, Mr. Cotton has been informed there is now reason to hope and believe that God has heard prayer for this man, and not turned away his mercy from him.

#### SECTION IX.

*In March 1741, at Taunton in the County of Bristol, after Mr. Tennent's preaching there.—His Text Matth. xi. 28.—Increase of religious Conversation.—Mr. Crocker their Minister excited by the News of the Revival in Connecticut.—Good Effects of Mr. Daniel Rogers' occasional Preaching from John v. 40.—And Mr. Wheelock's from Mark xvi. 16. which was attended with great Power.—Awful Solemnity in hearing.—A particular Instance of one in great Distress.—Rev. iii. 20.—The Detection of Hypocrisy from Job xxvii. 8.—Wonderful Power attending Mr. Wheelock's last Sermon on Hosea xiii. 13.—Mr. Crocker preaches to the Negroes.—Young Children affected.—Disputes did hurt.—People of all Characters wrought upon.—Profligates, Formalists.—The good Fruits in their Lives.—The Doctrines preached during this Revival at Taunton.—Though some made a Cry People would be undone by so many Meetings, God gave as great or greater Plenty than ever.—Mistakes rectified, and Objections answered.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Crocker, Minister at Taunton, to Mr. Prince, Minister at Boston, November 24th, 1744, Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 93, &c. ]

R. D. S. According as you desired me some time since, I here present you with some account of the late remarkable visit which the Lord hath made us by a marvellous effusion of the Spirit of grace, in his a-

wakening, convincing, humbling, converting, sanctifying, and comforting influences. Whatever any may say or think, I freely declare my firm belief, that the great Jehovah has been remarkably present with his people and ordinances in Taunton, in reforming his people, and in reviving and carrying on the power of religion among them; as is plain to any, who are acquainted with things of a religious nature here; unless their minds are blinded by infidelity and enmity, or awful and unjustifiable prejudices against the gospel, or the sovereign and free Spirit of grace, and his works of grace upon the hearts of his people. God has been with them of a truth: many have felt his power, and seen his glory; the goings of our God and King have been glorious in the assemblies of his people in this part of his vineyard. And indeed I can never be enough thankful to our divine Redeemer, I can never enough adore and magnify his holy name for the late display of his almighty grace in the midst of this dear people! If the reformation of one person is matter of great joy among all the real friends of religion; what then is the reformation of the generality of a town? If the effectual conversion of one sinner to God is matter of exceeding great joy among the angels in heaven, and among the Bridegroom's friends here upon earth; oh then what matter of joy is there in heaven and earth, when numbers are effectually converted even in one single town? Wherefore, for my own part, I desire with humility, delight and gratitude, to acknowledge to the praise and glory of free, sovereign grace, that whilst the Lord has been watering one part and another of his vineyard by the precious influences of his Spirit, in the late remarkable day of his people's visitation; he has not altogether pass'd us; but has wrought marvellous things in the midst of us; his right hand and his holy arm have gotten him the victory, over a number of souls among us.

Being diverted by one means and another, I have for some time delayed writing to you; but (as I think) duty and gratitude to the blessed God and our dear Lord Jesus, and likewise common justice, which we all owe to the world, and to the cause of Christ, and interest of vital godliness, in the late happy revival thereof (which has suffered so much by these among other things, viz. the repeated misrepresentations which by some seem to have been devised and industriously spread, and by others unwarily received and published abroad concerning it, as if the whole, or most thereof, was nothing but a wild scene of enthusiasm, disorder, &c. whereby even some good people, who either have not had, or have neglected to improve opportunities, impartially to examine into the nature and evidences thereof, may either have been prejudiced against, or stumbled at it; whilst others may thereby have been confirmed in their infidelity and security, and in their natural enmity against the power of godliness, and so take up with a form, or nothing in the room thereof; being frightened at, and carefully avoiding the least appearance of it, lest they should turn enthusiasts, distracted, or catch what may be looked upon by some too much the prevailing distemper of the country, &c. I say these things oblige me to declare and publish the conquests and triumphs of the almighty Redeemer,

in the midst of the dear people of my charge. It is indeed exceeding difficult to give a just, faithful and impartial account of what the Lord has wrought among this people in the late day of his great grace, so as not to wrong the cause and interest of pure and undefiled religion, and the methods which a sovereign God has been pleased to take in reviving and propagating it among them, either on the one hand or on the other, either by attributing that to it which belongs not to it, but is rather of a contrary nature and tendency, or by taking that from it which belongs unto it, and is part of its real beauty and glory. But relying upon the Lord for his gracious assistance, I shall endeavour to give a just, faithful and impartial account of the rise and progress, nature and effects, together with some circumstances which have attended this work of God's grace among them; as in the sight and fear of God, before whom I expect quickly to appear and give up my account, and receive of him according to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good, or whether they be evil.

That I may therefore give you a clearer and juster representation of the late surprising visit of the Spirit of Grace, it will be proper to give a brief account of the state of religion among them before the late happy revival thereof. The number of families belonging to this congregation is about two hundred and seventy or eighty. And the state of religion among them before the late happy revival thereof (as far as I have learned) appeared to be very dark and awful. The church was but small, considering the number of inhabitants; and deadness, dulness, formality, security, &c. too awfully abounded among them. Any who were wise virgins (as I trust there were a few) appeared to be slumbering and sleeping together with the foolish, and sinners appeared to be at ease in Zion. In a word, it is to be feared that there was but a little of the life and power of Godliness among them, and irreligion and immorality of one kind and another appeared awfully to increase. Tavern-hauntings, divisions and animosities, contentions, merry-meetings and frolickings were much pursued and attended: yea, to that height of wickedness had they arrived, that (as I have been informed) they would even contrive them on the Lord's-days; and things of that nature were much the subject of their conversation upon holy time. Indeed vital and experimental Godliness seemed to be almost banished from among both old and young. The holy Sabbaths were awfully mispent by the town in general; and their conversation chiefly turned upon worldly and vain topics, and much irreverence appeared in the house of God. From whence it is something easy to form a judgment how the remainder of the week was spent; in as much as the general and prevailing bent and temper of the minds and conversation of a person or people is more or less religious and spiritual, according as they are more or less strict and conscientious in their sanctification of the holy Sabbath. As to doctrines, perhaps it did not so openly appear what were the religious principles of many of them in the time of their security, till they came to be moved and roused by the powerful influences of the Holy Ghost, which have accompanied the plain preaching of a crucified Jesus. For persons may profess to believe and esteem the self-denying



doctrines taught us in the gospel of Christ, yea, they may think themselves that they really believe and esteem them, until by the powerful influences of the Holy Spirit accompanying them, they are awakened and are led into some measure of an experimental acquaintance with their own hearts; and then will they find their natural unbelief of, and enmity against them; they will find their carnal hearts rising up against, and cavilling at them; yea, and come really and openly to appear against them, if the grace of God, prevent not. Many may be able to bear with those doctrines of the gospel in the theory, who cannot endure the power of them, who cannot endure to see them exemplified in practice, &c. as is too evident in this day. But indeed other doctrines prevailed: doctrines exceedingly agreeable to the natural blindness, pride and haughtiness of human nature in this its lapsed and depraved estate; doctrines in their nature and tendency, contrary to the tenor and spirit of the gospel, and destructive to the souls of men.

Thus had this people degenerated from the primitive piety of their ancestors! thus had they almost sunk into the very dregs of formality, irreligion, &c. and seemed, according to an human view, to be almost ripe for the signal execution of divine vengeance upon them! but God (whose thoughts are not our thoughts) was pleased to take this time wherein marvellously to display the unsearchable riches and adorable sovereignty of divine grace among this people! as God will be known by the judgments which he executes, so much more will he be known by the astonishing acts of his grace among the apostate sons of men! oh how glorious did the riches and sovereignty of divine grace appear in visiting this back-sliding and rebellious people by a plentiful effusion of the Holy Spirit, in visiting them just at such a time when they had arrived at such a degree of wickedness, and in triumphing over all their sins and vilenesses! verily grace thus manifested and displayed eminently appears to be the grace of God, boundless like himself, infinitely surpassing the understandings of men and angels! surely God is self-moved when he shews mercy to any person or people! he loves them from himself; he loves them because he will love them; and he has compassion on them, because he will have compassion on them: so that it is neither of him that willeth nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy! God gives not his grace to us either because we are good, or have done any good! no, verily. But he gives us his grace that we may be good and do good! it is all from infinitely free, self-moving, and sovereign grace<sup>a</sup>!

But to return—The people began to be somewhat reformed by the blessing of God upon the preaching of Mr. Guild (who is since settled in the ministry in the Jerseys) and others; and before he left them there appeared to be somewhat more of a reconciliation among them in general. Now in the time of his preaching among them, the rev. Mr. Tennent in his journey from Boston to New-Port, in March 1740-1, visited and preached to them from Matth. xi. 28. He had a considerable number of hearers, considering the shortness of the warning and the

<sup>a</sup> See Ezek. xvi. at the beginning.

difficulties of the season. The effects of his preaching were not deep and lasting upon the minds of many of the people, as I have understood. Some were filled with wonder as if they had heard strange things to day, and some were brought under concern of soul: but I have not found that it was deep and abiding, excepting upon one or two. Now from about this time religious conversation increased more and more among some of the people, by the blessing of God upon the means of grace, some, at least, appeared to be more thoughtful, and to consider their ways: public exercises were attended with more apparent diligence, and seriousness, &c. About this time (I think) their frolicks were abandoned<sup>b</sup>, and a number of young persons formed themselves into a society for religious exercises; which societies had been neglected for a long time since. Thus there appeared to be some external reformation among many. Sometime also this Summer, as I remember, one was awakened by a special dispensation of providence, whose awakenings, I hope, issued in effectual conversion.

In the beginning of August 1741, they sent for me to come and preach with them a few Sabbaths upon probation; and I accordingly engaged with them for two or three. I went and preached my first sermons to them upon August 16th. I found that the people generally attended the public worship with some measure of heedfulness and seriousness. They were much reformed in this respect. Some as I remember were affected. I also heard of some who were under more concern of mind than they used to be: but I then observed but very little appearances of vital and experimental religion among them, though indeed my observation was short and narrow. One Sabbath evening I visited, exhorted and prayed with the before-mentioned society of young persons: and they seemed to be seriously affected and concerned, tho' not under deep and clear spiritual convictions as I could learn. About this time, by rumours of the religious stir and commotion abroad, and especially at Bridgewater, many of them were probably stirred up to talk more about these things, some for and some against them. At length the church came to a choice of me for their pastor. And about this time hearing how religion flourished in many places in Connecticut, (though indeed I was sometimes stumbled at some things which I heard reported from thence concerning some parts of their conduct, yet I believed there was a glorious remarkable work of God's grace revived and carrying on among the people there, and also in some other places in the land, and hope I was in some measure enabled to rejoice therein) I had some sense of the awful state of religion in Taunton; and on a particular time especially was filled with distress on that account, together with earnest desires that God would also visit them with his special grace, that he would revive and propagate the power of godliness among them, and had some hopes raised in me that he would. After this, sometime in October, the rev. Mr. Daniel Rogers, having been preaching at o-

<sup>b</sup> Here observe, that as soon as the great truths of our most holy religion, and the great concern of our souls and another world are seriously thought of and laid to heart; these cursed frolicks and merry meetings, those nurseries of impieties and debaucheries are abandoned by us.

ther places, came and preached a sermon at Raynham, a town adjoining to this. I was there with some of this people and heard him. There appeared to me to be a favour of the Holy Spirit in his ministrations, which made me desirous that he should preach here also. Accordingly I invited him to go home and preach a lecture for me the next day in the forenoon, to which he consented, and notice thereof was given among the people as generally as might be. People began now to be more swift to hear, and there was a considerable number attended the lecture with some from other neighbouring towns. There were some who came from Middleborough West-Precinct, who being awakened before, appeared to be under clear and deep spiritual convictions of their sin and danger, and in great distress and agony of soul therefore, whom Mr. Rogers observing, he spake to them, as I remember. I also spake to the people, desiring them not to be affrighted or disturbed in their attention by these convinced and distressed persons, their agonies, groanings. Having observed these things to the people (because they had never seen the like before) he proceeded.—And he gave us a sermon, from John v. 40. His discourse appeared to be very spiritual, and I trust, was attended by the power of the Holy Ghost. In his discourse he opened to us and confirmed the state of legal and spiritual death, wherein all mankind naturally lye, as is implied in the text: he moreover shewed us what that life was for which we were to come to Christ, as it consists in a freedom from condemnation, and in a conformity to the moral communicable excellencies of the blessed God: he also mentioned some of those reasons why sinners will not come to Christ, or believe on him that they might live, &c. He applied his discourse; urging upon sinners the absolute necessity of coming to Christ or believing on his name, that those which were naturally dead in trespasses and sins, might live a life of justification and sanctification, &c. A solemn and awful seriousness appeared among the people, and those beforementioned who came from the Precinct appeared to be in awful distress and anguish of soul, &c.

The rev. Mr. Wheelock of Lebanon having preached at Norton (a town adjoining) on the same day, and, after exercise was over, being invited by one of our deacons, came to Taunton: he appointed to preach a lecture at the meeting-house the next day. Before meeting he sent for me, but I being out of town, at the time appointed he went to lecture, and preached to a considerable number of people from Mark xvi. 16. In his sermon, among other things, as I have been informed, he opened the nature of gospel-faith; gave some marks and evidences of it; shewed the awful danger of a state of unbelief, &c. A considerable number, as I was informed, were awakened and pricked in their hearts under his preaching: some were constrained to cry out, their convictions of sin, and of their exposedness to the immediate and actual execution of the divine anger upon them being so sudden and piercing<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The first who manifested their distress, by crying out this day, and indeed the first who did so of this people, had been much stumbled at the religious distresses expressed

in out-cries, &c. which she had heard of from abroad. The reports which she had heard, together with what people said to her at home, tended much to prejudice her

A far greater number, who seemed to be seriously concerned and distressed, did not manifest their distresses in such a public manner; whilst some perhaps were inquiring what these things meant. There was also a word of exhortation given by a young candidate after Mr. Wheelock was gone. Upon the whole, I do verily believe, that this day was a day wherein God remarkably displayed his power and grace in the assembly of his people here.

Upon my coming home that evening, and hearing what the Lord had done among this people the day past; my thoughts were fixed upon Rev. iii. 20. first clause, (although I had designed to have preached from another text I had wrote from.) Accordingly I minuted down some thoughts that evening, and hope had the gracious assistance of the Holy Ghost. The subject appeared to me to be seasonable; it being a time in which the glorious Redeemer was remarkably knocking at the doors of sinners hearts, in this town, for admittance and entertainment. I think indeed it is my duty to study my sermons as well as I am able, and to labour to feel the power of them upon my own heart before I deliver them to the people; yet I believe ministers may sometimes be called in providence to preach when they have not had opportunity for such preparatory studies as might be their duty at other times, and then

against these things. She said, she was brought to think that it was an evil spirit or a sort of enchantment which caused them. However, when she heard that the rev. Mr. Wheelock was come to town, and was to preach a lecture in the meeting-house; notwithstanding the prejudices which were raised in her mind against these things, she was resolved to go and hear him if she could. Accordingly she went; and as she was going, she says, she secretly wished, that if these things were right, she might partake in them. (Here observe that she had for some time been under some concern, but not under any clear, distinct spiritual convictions as I could learn of her.) Accordingly in sermon-time her eyes were immediately opened to see her guilt and danger; and it appeared to be all blackness and darkness unto her; so that she knew not which way to turn, that she might escape the wrath of God; which she saw hanging over her. She says that she had a sort of knowledge and belief that Christ was able to save her, but dare not believe in him, being such a sinner. She was afraid of going to hell every moment as she deserved; but yet had a secret hope kept alive in her soul in all her distress, that it may be God would have mercy on her, &c. On the Sabbath after she was very much distressed, especially in the afternoon, trembling under the word; distressed under conviction of sin and awful apprehensions of the wrath of God due to her for sin. After the exercise was over, she came to Mr. Wheelock, as he stood out of the doors, inquiring what she

should do, &c. Her distress and anguish of soul because of her sin and danger continued with many awful temptations, as she says, till the Sabbath se'nnight; when being at meeting in the forenoon, she thought she had Christ discovered to her by some passages in the sermon. Upon which discovery, she says her distress was all removed immediately: "I saw (says she) Christ was a complete Saviour; just such an one as I would have chosen, were I to chuse a thousand times. Oh then I thought I should have lived a heaven upon earth for the time to come; a blessed life indeed! My sins seemed to be subdued and gone. After this I was not angry and fretful under crosses and oppositions as I used to be before." But by and by she finds her corruptions stirring in her; complains of them, says she is burdened with them, hopes she hates sin, her heart-sins, and longs after purity in heart and life. She is examining herself, and inquiring lest she should be deceived; though at the first illumination she thought herself sure, she still has her ebbs and flowings; her light and her dark hours; sometimes distressed, at other times rejoicing, &c. she appears to live like a Christian for all that I have heard: God alone knows and searches the heart!

One also received comfort this day (who had been under more or less concern of soul for some time before) breaking forth in the language of the Spouse, Cant. ii. 8. She appears to walk answerably, and to have her conversation as becomes the gospel; to live near to God.

they may humbly look up to the Holy Spirit for, and expect his gracious assistance answerable to their necessities. And as ministers should be co-workers with God; so, with humility, do I desire to say, that I would always endeavour carefully to observe the particular frames of my people, the particular dispensations of providence they may be called to pass under, times of any special and remarkable visitation from the Spirit of grace; the truths which, through grace, I may at any time find peculiar light, liberty, strength, sweetness and refreshment in feeding upon, and adapt my discourses accordingly. The next day (which was the Lord's-day) I went to meeting, and preached to a large, serious and attentive assembly. I have reason to believe that some were under spiritual and scriptural convictions of their sins and misery, and under deep and serious concern of soul, others who I believe were under more than usual thoughtfulness and concern of mind either from what they had seen or heard, or from both, might perhaps still be enquiring what these things meant. In my sermon, among other things, I endeavoured to speak to sinners of the astonishing grace and condescension of the dear Lord Jesus in knocking at the door of their hearts for admittance and entertainment; of their own particular and great concernment therein; that now was the day of Christ's patience with them, which would quickly be over unless they opened to him; that sinners hearts were naturally barred and bolted against the Lord Jesus; mentioning some of those bars and bolts which kept Christ out of their hearts, and which must be removed if ever he came in; shewed them what it was to open to Christ; and improved the discourse, giving them some rules and marks of trial, whereby they might examine themselves, whether they had opened to Christ yea or nay, and applied it as closely and pathetically to saints and sinners according to their particular concernments therein, as I could.

The word was attended with power, and some were pricked in their hearts by it, as I afterwards learned. Though indeed I observed no visible manifestations of their conviction of their sin, and distress of mind, in the time of public exercise, other than an awful concern, and solemnity which was evident in most, or all of their countenances. I think I never saw such an assembly before; such awful reverence, such serious concern of mind, under the word. Let all the praise and honour be given to the God of all grace, whose glory filled the temple, and the power of whose word most or all felt in a greater or less degree this day! I desire not to speak of these things, and others of the like nature which may hereafter be mentioned, that either I or others may have whereof to glory save in the Lord, who was pleased to magnify his grace and strength in the weakness of the instrument! Oh may I continually be humbled and broken under the workings of latent pride, &c. May I for ever be made and kept humble under a spiritual conviction of my own nothingness, vileness and unworthiness, and be enabled to give the God of all grace all the honour and glory of any thing he has been pleased, or may still be pleased, to work in me, by me, or for me. It is the plain preaching of the gospel of a crucified Jesus, not with words and reasonings which mens wisdom teacheth,

but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, that God has been pleased to honour and bless in the late remarkable day of his peoples visitation in this town, and in other places so far as I have been acquainted with them.

At noon I went to my usual place of retirement. Some of the people came to the house also, and appeared to be under concern of mind. I gave them a word of exhortation, and hope it was not in vain. About this time nothing which was said to people seemed in vain. In the afternoon, at the usual time, I went to meeting, and Mr. Wheelock preached to a crowded assembly from Job xxvii. 8. In his sermon, he endeavoured to detect the hypocrite; to shew how far a person might go, what he might do, and what he might experience, and nevertheless be nought but a very hypocrite; to represent to them the awful danger and folly of hypocrisy, &c. to urge it upon them that they would be willing to know themselves before it was too late; that whatever they might gain by their hypocrisy in this world, as credit among men, &c. would be all lost in that day, when God should take away their souls, and they be stripped and stand naked before the inlightened and awful tribunal of a holy God, to their everlasting shame and contempt, &c. His sermon was close, searching, experimental, awful and awakening. The visible effects of it upon the people, were an awful concern and solemnity which appeared in their countenances in general, and one or two trembled under it. Surely God was with him; he appeared to speak of spiritual and divine things as awful realities. Many, I doubt not, could witness to the truth of his sermon, by finding their hearts discovered and read to them therein. The kingdom of darkness trembled, I trust, before the gospel of Christ, dispensed by this his dear servant. He appointed to preach another sermon after a small intermission, and accordingly did. Many of this people tarried to hear him. He preached from Hos. xiii. 13. He opened the connection and the text itself, and then observed, that inasmuch as he was about to leave them on the morrow, and there were a number under convictions, he would point out some things which were oftentimes means of hindering persons convictions from issuing in conversion. Accordingly he mentioned some of them; as the world, and putting off convictions till a more convenient season, &c. He gave some account of the various workings and lustrings of the sinners heart whilst under convictions towards forbidden objects, towards false resting-places. He was delivering his discourse very pleasantly and moderately; but oh an increased power and authority accompanied it, a power and authority too big, awful and majestic, for any creature; it was the voice of God which is powerful and full of Majesty! The great Comforter, whose office it is to convince the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, to teach his disciples all things, and bring all things to their remembrance, accompanied the word with his almighty and efficacious grace! Oh it discovered the secrets of mens hearts to them with irresistible energy, light and evidence! Indeed he spake in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power, so that one must say, God was with him of a truth! By and by some began to cry out both above and below in awful distress

and anguish of soul: upon which he raised his voice, that he might be heard above their out-cries; but the distress and out-cry spreading and increasing, his voice was at length so drowned, that he could not be heard. Wherefore, not being able to finish his sermon, with great apparent serenity and calmness of soul (having mentioned it to me) he called to the distressed, and desired them to gather themselves together in the body of seats below. This he did that he might with more conveniency converse with them, counsel, direct, exhort them, &c. Oh how were sinners in Zion afraid! How did fearfulness surprize the hypocrite! Whilst they saw their state, and saw no way opened to them, how they could dwell with the devouring fire, how they could inhabit with the everlasting burnings! Whilst they saw no way how they could approach unto the holy and jealous God! Oh the distress and anguish of their souls! Oh the pains that were upon them, like as of a woman in travail; whilst they saw their just deserts at the hands of the great God; whilst they knew not but that, yea were awfully afraid lest they must eternally dwell with devils and damned souls in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, and bear the fury of God, with whom now they saw was terrible Majesty! Seeing somewhat of the awfulness of hell, and that they deserved it; seeing also that nothing but the mere uncovenanted good pleasure of God, who was very angry with them, kept them out of hell every moment: no wonder that they cry out, they should go to hell, they were going to hell, "What shall we do to be saved?" &c.

Mr. Wheelock left the people generally if not universally impressed with a serious and awful sense of invisible realities; conversing about the important concerns of their immortal souls; searching into their state towards God; fearing, complaining, and inquiring what they should do; longing after the word and ordinances. In a word, their thoughts seemed almost wholly taken up about the great things of another world, endeavouring in all appointed means to secure the one thing needful.—I found a few who had received comfort; and many others appeared to have such deep convictions of their sinful condemned state by nature, and such awful apprehensions of the anger of God due to them for sin, that they seemed like persons who had received a sentence of death, and had a gloominess over-spreading all their worldly enjoyments which they had so inordinately placed their affections upon and eagerly pursued after. They seemed struck with amazement at their danger; and the awfulness of a Christless state, and their past blindness and stupidity therein, and were seeking after Jesus, after pardon, acceptance, &c.

This morning I with the rev. Mr. Wales went to Middleborough first precinct, to a stated lecture, where there was a sermon delivered.—The sermon was plain, searching, awful. Its chief tendency was to discover the danger of a Christless state—to open and explain the gospel-way of salvation by Jesus Christ—to shew them that now was the day of Christ's patience with them—to give some characters of those who had opened to, or believed in Christ—and to invite and beseech all to open to, or believe in Christ that they might be saved. There was a

plentiful shower of divine grace which fell upon the assembly.—Numbers had their sins set in order before their eyes, having the sins of their lives, and the plague of their hearts discovered to them, fearing, trembling, complaining and enquiring, what they should do to be saved. They seemed, from their natural legal spirit, ready to catch hold of any thing that they might be delivered from the wrath which is to come, and to be opposite to submitting to the righteousness of God as all natural men are—Numbers, yea even some young persons had such discoveries of their sin and misery by nature, as could be given them by none save the Holy Ghost, whose office it is to convince of sin.—Indeed almost the whole assembly appeared to be impressed with a serious concern for the salvation of their souls: but some had clearer and deeper convictions than others, &c. O how feelingly did they speak and complain of their sins, especially the sin of their nature; such as pride, &c. Oh how earnest and solicitous were they in their inquiries after Jesus Christ and an interest in him. How did they fear lest they should fall short of Christ; lest their convictions should wear off, &c.—We tarried, after the exercise was over, some time with them in the meeting-house that we might converse and pray with them. We left them that evening and returned home.

The spiritual concern still remained upon the minds of this people and increased if any thing. There were presently several societies of young persons formed in town for prayer, reading God's word and good books, singing God's praises: and some or all of them agreed to meet twice a week stately, besides other occasional meetings, lectures public and private. There were also in a little time one or two family meetings set up in town for religious exercises. I found little if any open opposition as yet among the people: though afterwards the religious concern among some of the people wearing off or at least abating, they began to stumble at and oppose more freely and openly these appearances.

On Friday being desired by the Negroes, I preached to them with many others that attended at my lodgings, from Rom. viii. 1. "There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus." In my sermon I endeavoured to open and confirm the state of condemnation in which all mankind naturally lye; to open the way provided for the salvation of sinners by God, and exhibited to them in the gospel, viz. through the righteousness of Christ imputed to them and received by faith alone; to shew them the safety and happiness of those that were in Christ by faith, and the sin and misery of those who were unbelievers and in a state of condemnation, &c: to give some marks and characters of believers, and to urge upon sinners to give themselves no rest until they had secured an interest in the righteousness of Christ by a faith of God's operation. We had a crowded assembly, and much of the gracious presence of God. The whole assembly seemed to be under the influences of the Holy Spirit. They appeared to come and hear the word in some measure convinced of the great necessity they were under of securing an interest in Christ. They appeared not to be careless hearers, but to hunger after the word; looking and waiting critically and earnestly for



a word suited to their particular cases, and waiting for the power of the Holy Ghost to accompany and make it effectual for their salvation. Some were under consolation, joying and rejoicing, and appeared to be filled with love to a precious Christ, and to all men, especially those who they hoped were of the household of faith, for Christ's sake. Others appeared to be in deep distress for sin, and for fear of the wrath to come, enquiring what they should do? Now Sabbaths were prized and seriously regarded. More or less of the power of God accompanied the public and private assemblies of his people. There was often much of the divine presence with them in their private meetings, when they had preaching, and also when they had not. I could and did preach frequently with the people. They appeared to be swift to hear, especially young people—they seemed to hear as for their lives. They were wakeful, serious, reverent and attentive in God's house; and gladly embraced opportunities of hearing his word. Oh it is sweet preaching when people are desirous of hearing! sweet feeding the flock of Christ, when they have so good an appetite! yea sweet seeing it fed, if one is not permitted to feed it.—In those days surely the word of the Lord was precious: many like new born babes desiring the sincere milk of the word that they might grow thereby. Their merry meetings were turned into praying and singing assemblies: their vain, foolish and frothy conversation into religious and experimental discourse. When people occasionally visited one another, or providentially met together, their conversation turned on religious topics. When I visited them, or they me, they would be conversing about religion, and asking serious and important questions about their souls; about doctrinal and experimental religion. What a wonderful reformation was there in this town! it is impossible fully to describe it. Moreover, I labour under some peculiar disadvantages, so that I cannot give so full and particular an account of things of a religious nature, especially in the time of the greatest out-pouring of the Holy Spirit, as otherwise I might have done: being but a stranger among and unacquainted with them, and not committing particular accounts of things to writing in the time of them; and labouring under many perplexities, particularly awful spiritual darkness, desertion and temptation for the most of that Fall and Winter; my memory also being impaired thereby. Indeed it was a wonder of the power and grace of God, that I was carried through the service I was called unto.

Sometime in November on the Sabbath, I preached to a full assembly.—There appeared to be an awful concern continuing upon the minds of the people in general; though I feared not so great as had been; and was fearing lest God was about to depart from us: but when the afternoon exercise was over, some were in great anguish of soul. Being obliged to set out on a journey the next day, I appointed to preach another sermon at the meeting-house in the evening. Accordingly at the time appointed I returned to the meeting-house, and found that many were in great distress. I preached to a considerably large assembly, from Rom. viii. 1. Many among the assembly were deeply affected, groaning and sobbing; though not so as to disturb the people in

or hinder them from hearing, as I remember. After the exercise was concluded, the distress among the people appeared greater: many groaning or crying out, complaining of their sins and danger, of their blindness, hard-heartedness, &c: a great weeping and mourning. The whole assembly, old and young, seemed to be concerned in a greater or less degree; though indeed some were rejoicing in Christ in hopes of their interest in him, and also to see others in distress for their miserable and sinful state by nature: because of the reasons of it, and because they hoped it would issue well. I prayed several times with the people, and exhorted them, &c. I conversed particularly with many young and old as they were brought to me. We tarried in the meeting-house till nine of the clock for what I know, and then retired. It was indeed a wonderful evening of the out-pouring of the Spirit, as a Spirit of grace and supplication upon his people.

In the time of my absence there was a stated monthly lecture among this people, preached by the rev. Mr. Tobey of Berkley. I heard that God was graciously present. Upon my return the next week or the week after, as I remember (having supplied the pulpit in my absence) I found people were stumbling at these things and more openly cavilling, and I found more disputing, &c. which was a disservice to the work of God as it grieved the Holy Spirit, and kept people more from conversing with their own hearts.

I continued preaching and conversing among them until the latter end of January.—But difficulties arising and increasing about my settlement, and more appearing openly against me; being sent for by a relation of mine, I went to Ipswich to take his advice.—Upon my coming to Ipswich and conversing with him, he said he would go to Taunton and preach for me a fortnight or three weeks, and see how things were circumstanced there, and I should tarry and supply a Winter parish which he had the charge of. Accordingly I consented.—But I was detained much longer from Taunton than I expected by reason of the difficulties of the season: so that it was towards the latter end of March when I returned to Taunton.—Here I would just observe, that in this time I had opportunity to see much of the glorious work of God's grace which he was carrying on at Ipswich and other places at the eastward.—And surely there was a remarkable and plentiful out-pouring of the Holy Spirit there. Upon my return to Taunton, I found the religious concern upon people not to be so great in general as it was when I left them, as I could learn: though the people in general appeared still to be serious and thoughtful, to be seeking to secure the one thing needful:—The preached gospel was fully attended especially on Lord's-day, and attended with general seriousness, concern and a seeming appetite. Things remained much the same 'till May 19th, 1742. upon which day I was solemnly ordained to the pastoral office over them.—Since that, there have been several times of refreshing, and some revival of God's work. Several sacramental occasions have been special seasons of refreshment to the people of God: especially the first sacrament I administered, I believe was a sweet and soul-reviving feast to many souls; many I believe were brought into Christ's

banqueting-house, his banner over them was love. Also at a catechising of the children (after I had catechised them) I discoursed to them from Prov. viii. 17. and in as familiar a manner as I was capable, taught them the love of God to those who love him, and urged the necessity and advantage of early piety.—Some of them were affected while I was discoursing, and in prayer their distress increased. After which several cried out in great distress of mind.—They complained of fears of hell, want of love to God; and that though Christ was willing they were unwilling, &c. I spake scarce any terrible words to them, choosing rather a soft and gentle method of treating them. I spake little of hell and damnation; but chiefly of the love of God, his readiness to receive little children, the advantages of loving him. Their concern appeared not to proceed from an affrightment but from a conviction of sin; though it is to be feared that their convictions have not issued savingly. And as to some perhaps the unkind neglects, if not discouragements of their parents, have had an awful influence into their losing of their convictions.—Nevertheless in the general people have been growing more cold, dull and lifeless in religion.—There have been but few hopeful conversions since my ordination, the most who were brought home, having been brought home in the Fall and Winter. So that generally speaking, there has been an awful withdraw of the divine influence both from saints and sinners. An occasion of which might be the disputes about my ordination, and also for and against these things; as also false reports and prejudices thereby raised in the minds of people: whereby the Holy Spirit was grieved, and the spiritual concern of many abated.—Some of our private meetings have come to nothing, tho' others are still attended.—Many who have been under the divine influences have fallen away, and some I fear are more blinded and hardened than ever, cavilling and mocking.—Some still remain under convictions.—Some it is to be feared who have reformed and returned, have not returned to the Most High, but to some refuge of lies.—Others in a judgment of charity, have experienced a saving and thorough work.—Some few who were professors, I trust, have been plucked off from their false foundations, and have been savingly converted to God.—An hundred and two have joined in full communion with this church, though none lately.—A few others of this people in the time of the vacancy (who have been wrought upon in this day of God's great grace) joined in full communion with other churches.—Three or four have renewed baptismal covenant.—Three or four more have been baptised.—So that upon the whole it is evident to the glory of the God of all grace, that there has been a remarkable shower of divine grace among this people; the Holy Spirit has been poured out in his common and special influences upon them; the most or all of them have first or last been under serious concern of soul and searchings of heart.

Thus I have given you some general and imperfect account of what the Lord has wrought among this people in the late day of his great grace. But, before I conclude my account, I beg leave to speak more particularly to some things, viz. Before the Lord wrought in such a

marvellous manner among this people, some of them had, by degrees, been brought to be more serious and thoughtful, and to consider their ways, (as I have before observed) which in some sort prepared them for such a surprizing visit from the Spirit of grace, as they were thereby excited to give the most diligent heed to the things which were spoken to them in the name of the Lord. The late work among this people, I am fully persuaded (according to the best judgment I am capable of forming of things of this nature both from scripture and reason) is the same as to its essence and substance, which has been in all ages in the application of the purchased redemption to the souls of sinners by the supernatural and almighty operations of the Holy Ghost. Though it has been attended with some circumstances which have not been so common. The Holy Spirit has acted like himself with a sovereign freedom, as to the suddenness of his opening the eyes of secure sinners, and letting them into a knowledge of their sin, misery, and danger by nature; some being led into the knowledge of their sin and misery more gradually than others. As to the measure and degrees of their convictions of sin and wrath; some having clearer and more awful convictions thereof than others. As to the length of time; some remaining longer under a spirit of bondage than others. And so as to the degrees of consolation, he gave them upon their flying for refuge to Jesus Christ; some having stronger consolation than others, &c. But they say they were convinced of their sins original and actual; had their sins set in order before their eyes in a clear and convincing light with particular application; were convinced of the plague of their hearts, of their blindness, pride, self-righteousness, enmity, opposition to God's sovereignty and the way of life by Jesus Christ, unbelief, &c. of their being under the wrath and curse of almighty God, and being continually exposed to the immediate and actual execution thereof upon them in hell; of their utter inability to deliver themselves from this wretched estate; of their lost and undone estate in and of themselves, their duties, tears, repentings, &c. and being convinced of God's righteousness, though he should cast them off for ever for all they had done or could do; having their way hedged up, and being brought into the wilderness, they were brought to submit to God's sovereignty with an, "Who knows but God may be gracious," &c. Upon their submission they felt a calmness in their souls, having done with quarrelling and disputing with the justice of God. Upon this, they say, they had a discovery of Christ, and the new-covenant way of life in and through him; saw his glory, all-sufficiency, suitableness and readiness to save even the chief of sinners, according to the gospel; (these discoveries were generally given them in and with some texts of scripture: or if they had no text of scripture as they remember at first, there immediately came many flowing in upon their minds) had their hearts sweetly and freely drawn out to receive Christ, and rest upon him, and him alone, for salvation according to the gospel; being brought to renounce all self or creature dependencies, accounting their own righteousness as filthy rags, they were brought to joy and delight themselves in Christ, and in his whole salvation, found peace of conscience, and joy in the

Holy Ghost, according to the measure of their knowledge of and faith in Christ and the new covenant way of life in and through him: had their mouths filled with praises of Christ, glorying in him, commending him to others; had their love drawn out to God and to all mankind, but especially to those, who they thought belonged to the household of faith, for God's sake—loving and forgiving their enemies, being filled with a concern for the salvation of precious and immortal souls, mourning for and hating sin as against God, and as dishonourable to him.

Some, who we charitably hope are really converted to God, do not give so clear and distinct an account as some others; some passing through more temptations and exercises than others; some perhaps not so distinctly observing or not remembering the various steps of the Holy Ghost upon their minds as others, &c. But yet their accounts agree in the essential parts. They were brought to see themselves sinners, and lost in themselves; to see their natural impotence and enmity; see God's righteousness though he should cast them off for ever; brought to submit to God's sovereignty; had the way of salvation opened up to them; brought to renounce all confidence in themselves, and rejoice in Christ Jesus. Most of those who have been wrought upon were young, and had been very ignorant; and therefore they scarce knew how to express their conceptions of spiritual and divine truths; so as properly to convey their own sense of things to others; and did one but captiously converse with and examine some of them (without making due allowances) one might gather strange accounts from them, though they might intend honestly and orthodoxly.—And perhaps some of those frightful accounts which are told of abroad concerning some of the subjects of this work have their rise here. Some give such a clear and distinct account of the work of the Holy Spirit upon their hearts as a spirit of bondage, and a spirit of adoption enabling them to cry, Abba, Father, and of their after-experience, &c. that they even command our charity: others leave me in more suspense: and others, for all the account they gave of their experiences, give awful grounds to conclude that they had but a common work. But God is the searcher and judge of hearts: yet there is a judgment of charity we may, and, upon some occasions, ought to form concerning the states of others.—When I find a person habitually and visibly sinful in his life and conversation, or ignorant of the internal operations of the Holy Spirit on his heart; I do not look upon it to be a breach of charity to fear or conclude that he is unconverted, and in a proper manner to tell him so. “By their fruits you shall know them,” says Christ.—And I believe much of the rash judging wherewith the subjects of this work have been accused and branded about the country, has been only such a judging as this.—Not but that there has been too much rash and unseasonable judging of persons interior state. Those who I charitably hope have experienced a saving change among this people having been generally very ignorant, and being but babes in Christ, having but little experience in the spiritual and divine life, having their affections much raised and inflamed with a new glorious and ravishing view of spiritual

and divine things;—No wonder that at first they might, some of them at least, be carried out too rashly and unseasonably to judge the interior state of others who were not in their frames, or especially if they appeared luke-warm and indifferent in the present day, or to speak against these things.—But further experience teaches them their absolute inequality for such an important work as infallibly to judge the interior state of others, and may and does so more and more. But some of their judging was only a judging those who were visibly irreligious, or unacquainted with the internal operations of the Holy Spirit—a rising from a love to their souls, though they may not always have acted with that wisdom herein as might be desired.—But do you expect children to act like men?

As for the character of those who have been savingly wrought upon in this day;—some were openly vile and profligate;—others moralists; and others formalists. If you now inquire into the reasons and grounds of the terrors and distresses of those amongst us;—those I have conversed with, say, they had their eyes opened to see their sin and misery, their lost and undone estate by nature, &c. agreeable to the scriptures, as far as I am capable of judging. If you enquire into the grounds and reasons of the joys of many amongst us; they say, they were from discoveries of the all-sufficiency, suitableness and readiness of Christ, to save even the chief of sinners; they beheld the transcendent glory and excellency of Christ, and were constrained to joy and rejoice in him: the dying love of Christ, the glory, excellency and safety of the way of salvation by Christ: a gospel-hope and persuasion of their deliverance from hell, from the guilt and spiritual defilement of sin through Jesus Christ, of their living a life of communion and fellowship here by faith with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ, and of the everlasting vision and fruition of God in the coming world, &c. These are some of those grounds which they give me of their joys, &c. Oh how feelingly and experimentally do they sometimes speak of precious Christ! How do they exalt, admire, and adore him! How do they commend him to others! As to out-cries, &c. I would observe that they might be occasioned by one of these things; either by the suddenness of the discovery of divine things; or the clearness and greatness of the discovery; or their particular constitutions; or by these several things co-operating.—And I verily believe from particular conversation with many of them, that the distresses and joys of most, if not of all those who cried out, &c. as well as the distresses and joys of others, arose from a scriptural representation of truth to their understanding, and the application thereof to their own consciences. Many or most of whom I hope were converted, &c. did not manifest either their distress or consolation by out-cries.

But what fruit of all these things? Why, a chusing and esteeming God's laws as holy, just and good, and delighting in them according to the inward man: accounting Christ's yoke easy, and his burden light: accounting wisdom's ways, ways of pleasantness, and all her paths peaceful: as new-born babes desiring the sincere milk of the word, that they may grow thereby: searching and delighting in the scriptures, and in

such books as are the most searching, and experimental and awakening; longing for, and attending upon ordinances, and hungering and thirsting after communion with God in them, delighting in Sabbaths, and endeavouring to sanctify the Lord God in their hearts: examining and trying themselves by the scriptures, and by what the most searching and experimental authors have written upon that subject:—Restitution made to any they have wronged: prayerless persons turned prayerful: the swearer fearing and reverencing that great and dreadful name the LORD our GOD: the thief honest: the merry and jolly turned grave and sober: the dull formalists made spiritual, and breathing after communion with God in ordinances. As far as I can learn, they are seeking after knowledge in the use of all appointed means: they are thirsting after a speculative and experimental knowledge of such doctrines as cast contempt upon the natural pride and haughtiness of man and exalt free-grace; setting the crown on the head of the Lord Jesus Christ, where God has placed it.

And though many, who were awakened, have fallen away to their former security; yet what wonder is it? is it any thing new? or what might not have been expected? is this therefore a reason for concluding, that either those were not under scriptural convictions, or that others have not been converted? And though further, a few that received joy and comfort, give awful proof that they never experienced a saving change; and even some that made a public profession of Christ, give awful grounds to fear lest they are strangers to him; yet are these things so strange and unheard of, as to give warrant to conclude that none of them are any better? there are, and have ever been hypocrites, and stony-ground hearers in the church; and shall we act agreeably to scripture or reason if we say that therefore none are sincere? indeed there is abundant reason to bless God, that so few of the professed subjects of this work appear to apostatize in proportion to the great numbers who give all the evidences of a supernatural and abiding change that we can reasonably expect. And though two, as I remember, for a few hours whilst under convictions of sin and wrath, were so overpowered as to lose the free exercise of reason; yet is this so anti-scriptural as to warrant us to conclude the persons were not under the convictions of the Holy Spirit, though distracted by divine terrors, as He-man was? and though I believe, some have been tinctured with Enthusiasm, which I believe they are come or coming off from, as they grow more experienced; yet is it at all wonderful that true Christians should be thus tinctured; when we consider the remaining darkness of their understandings, the malice and subtlety of Satan, with our natural proneness to run from one extremum to another? As to what has been reported of the subjects of this work, that they neglect their secular business by going to so many meetings; I would say, it has not been so with us; but they have generally, and I know not but universally, worked as much or more than ever, and with more cheerfulness and delight, and I trust some of them from gospel principles. They have indeed been more conversant in the duties of religion; but they have reckoned their time for these purposes from idleness, tavern-haunting,

frolics, merry meetings, and vain conversation: and where is the harm of this to the church or common-wealth? indeed some whilst under great convictions or strong consolation might, and I believe did, in some measure neglect their business: but what wonder of this? I would observe here, that for all the cry there may have been about so many meetings of late years, as if such and such places or persons would be undone; God has been pleased to load us abundantly with his benefits, to give as great or greater plenty of provision these few years past than ever.—As for what is reported about divisions being occasioned by this work; I would say, it has been I believe the accidental cause thereof, which I think is no just ground of prejudice against it. It cannot be expected that the power of Godliness should flourish in such a degree as it has done, and not be opposed by the devil and the lusts of men. But the doctrines insisted on and blessed here in carrying on this work, have no other than an accidental tendency to create divisions; the subjects of the work and such as appear friendly to it are united by these things.

To sum up all in a word——there are many things reported of the subjects of this work, about their imprudencies, irregularities, &c. some of which are false or gross misrepresentations, or charging those things upon all which some pretended ones are guilty of; or may I think be accounted for by considering either that many appear friendly to this work who are unconverted, or that those who are converted, are in a state of imperfection. But if persons will receive none as Christians or as under a divine influence except such as they can see no fault in,——Where will they find any Christians in their esteem then upon earth. And now, if after the account I have endeavoured to give of the revival and progress of a work of God among this people in the late day of his great grace, any reject it for a wild scene of enthusiasm; give me leave to ask, “What true religion is, and where we shall find it?” if true religion is not to be found in these things, where shall we find any religion save the religion of nature? I freely confess, for my own part, that if these things are not true religion, I know not what it is either in theory or by experience. But who is the author of these things, and what are their tendency? is it not evident that they are from God and lead directly to God? who is he that opens the eyes of blind sinners to see their sin and misery by nature? who awakens those who were at ease in Zion, making them earnestly solicitous to be brought out of the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God’s dear Son? who discovers to men the secrets of their hearts exactly answering to what is written in God’s word concerning them; humbles them at the feet of divine sovereignty, and brings them to submit to the righteousness of God; opens their eyes to see the glory, all-sufficiency, suitableness and willingness of the dear Redeemer to save even the chief of sinners who come unto God by him; giving them a spiritual view of these great truths according to the scripture, effectually persuading and enabling them to receive him and rest upon him and him alone for salvation according to the gospel? who makes sinners see and feel their spiritual poverty, and mourn under it and vehemently and insatiably hunger and



thirst after Christ and his righteousness, esteeming him as the chiefest among ten thousand, as one altogether lovely, &c. Who opens the eyes of sinners to see the odious nature and deserts of sin, and the real beauty of holiness, and makes them prize and long and seek after Christ's whole salvation? who makes them complain of indwelling sin as their greatest burden, and long for perfect deliverance therefrom, for purity of heart and life? who changes their tempers, so that they come to love and relish those things which once they hated and disrelished, and so *à contrâ*? who makes them leave off their former sinful ways, and change their vain companions for the company of those who are most serious and spiritual; makes them delight in and attend diligently and seriously upon ordinances, and yet mourn if they only meet with empty ordinances, &c. Who is the author of these things? but the eternal, sovereign and almighty Spirit of Grace? for which for ever adored be his holy name.

And what is the natural tendency of these things but to make men holy, perfect and happy, according to the account given us of the recovery of fallen man in the gospel? if these things are only the effects of an overheated imagination, how shall I be certain of the reality of any thing, that I love any person, or delight in any thing; but I forbear--- only I would say to those who cavil at or reject these things as the work of Satan, idle dreams or imagination, Come taste and see: candidly and impartially examine and let scripture be judge.—It seems if they would do thus, their minds would be changed.—But perhaps some will say that these things which you have given us an account of and call a work of God are right and scriptural.—You have nothing against these things. Well, I have endeavoured to write the truth.—I have conversed with the subjects of this work, and am bound in charity to believe what they say they have been convinced of, upon which their lives were changed, which things I have endeavoured to give you an account of. My prayer to God has been that I might do it with uprightness and sincerity as in his sight, and I hope I have had in some measure his gracious assistance. May God accept of it as a testimony for him, and accompany it with his blessing, mercifully forgiving me all my infirmities which I have been guilty of in writing it, for his names sake! and thus desiring your prayers for me that I may make full proof of my ministry, &c. for my charge, that God would graciously revive and carry on his own work here more gloriously.—That he would plead his own cause and work when men make void his law.—I subscribe myself your younger and unworthy fellow-labourer in the gospel of the dearest Jesus,

JOSIAH CROCKER.

P. S. I have been in some measure acquainted with the late revival of religion in many other places, as in Middleborough both parishes, in Plimouth, some of the parishes in Bridgewater, Raynham, Berkeley, Norton, Attleborough, Martha's-Vineyard, and other places. And as far as I am capable of judging, the revival appears to be the same for substance in every of these places.—They appear to have the same grounds of distress and joy, the same after-complaints and delights, evidencing, that it is the same omnipresent sovereign and eternal Spirit

of Grace, who is the author of these things, who gives forth his influences to what person or people, and whensoever he will, and none may stay his almighty hand, or say unto him what dost thou, or why dost thou thus. The same Spirit our fore-fathers and we have been praying for. As the personal coming of the Messias in the flesh, which the Jews had been praying and waiting for, was not according to the expectations of the carnal Jews, yea, his own disciples laboured under much ignorance, and had many gross apprehensions of his person, manner of coming, kingdom, &c. May we not therefore justly expect that Christ's coming to his people according to his promise by his Spirit, though they have been praying for it, should be mistaken by many of his professed people. John i. 12. We are so prone to limit the Holy One of Israel, through our natural ignorance, pride, &c. that we are for rejecting him when he comes not to us and works not according to that plan we have laid out in our own minds for him to work by. O let us judge of God and his works by faith, according to the scriptures. Yours, &c.

JOSIAH CROCKER.

## SECTION X.

*On the 29th of March 1741, at Lyme in Connecticut, West Parish.—While their Minister, Mr. Parsons, narrates to his Congregation what he had seen and heard of the Revival in other Places, from Isa. lx. 8. —Mr. Tennent preaches on Ezek. xxxvii. 9. and Luke xiii. 4.—Remarkable Power attending a Sermon of Mr. Parsons on Matth. xxiv. 37, 38, 39, about our Lord's coming to Judgment.—Ministers send for each other to preach.—A Concern among the Children in Time of Sermon at New-London.—Mr. Parson's Itinerancy blest in several Places.—And when he returned to his own Charge, some manifest Tokens of the Presence of God accompanying every Sermon for a Time.—The sincere Complaints of some were a Means of awakening others.—Edifying Discourse in the Streets, Fields, and private Houses.—Evidences of a Christian Temper.—A wonderful Day of Christ's Power at a Communion.—The Work chiefly among the Youth; but some very old, two near seventy, and one ninety-three.—Mr. Davenport blest among the Indians.—Some Irregularities.—Defence of the Work itself.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Parsons, Minister of the West Parish of Lyme, to Mr. Prince Minister at Boston, April 14th, 1744, Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 67, &c. ]

LYME is a town, I suppose, near seventy-seven years old: it was originally the same with Saybrook, and is that part of it which lies on the East side of Connecticut river. They called the rev. Mr. Noyes to preach among them; soon after they had town privileges bestowed upon them. I was ordained among them in 1731. The Summer following my ordination, there was a great effusion of the Holy Spirit upon the people. There appeared to be an uncommon attention to the preaching of the word, and a disposition to hearken to advice; and a remarkable concern about salvation. It was a general inquiry among the middle-aged and youth, "What must I do to be saved?" great num-

bers came to my study, some almost every day for several months together, under manifest concern about their souls. I seldom went into a house among my neighbours, but they had some free discourse about religion, or were searching after the meaning of some texts of scripture. Many of the young people were greatly reformed: they turned their meetings for vain mirth into meetings for prayer, conference and reading books of piety. There was a number of them kept a religious society about two years; and they not only behaved soberly, but took pains to dissuade others from levity and frothy conversation. But, although there was such a fair prospect of a considerable harvest of souls, I have no special reasons to make me think that many were savingly converted to God in that season of concern.

In that day I myself was greatly in love with doctrines that tend to gratify the pride of men, to give them exalted thoughts of their own duties. I had a zeal of God, but not a laudable one, because it was not according to knowledge. Being ignorant of God's righteousness, I endeavoured to get others to establish their own righteousness, and to keep them from submitting unto the righteousness of God. 'Tis now more than ten years since I have seen cause to renounce such principles, and turn quite about in some of the most important doctrines of the Christian religion: and consequently, you may well think, that there was as great an alteration in my preaching: for I have all along preached, (as I suppose other ministers do) agreeably to my own sentiments. But God knows with how little success I insisted upon the things which I had learned and been assured of. Nothing seemed to make any deep and lasting impressions for good upon the minds of people in general: it looked to me, they lived easy without Christ, and without God in the world. Our young people took unwarrantable liberties; night-walking, frolicking, and lewd practices, some grew bold in, and encouraged and corrupted others thereby: others fell into party-quarrels, and grew uneasy with the plainness of the preaching, and were pleased sometimes, to call it censoriousness; especially if I told them, "that I could not, upon our practice, reckon conversions by the number of those that had joined to the church; or that I feared very few had been converted since my ministry among them; and when I insisted upon it that an external profession of the true religion, joined with a good degree of doctrinal knowledge, external devotion, negative blamelessness, and the like, were not good evidences that a person was a real Christian; but insisted upon it that all were spiritually dead by nature, must have a principle of spiritual life implanted, must be converted to God, have sensible communion with Christ, and live a life of faith, as they would entertain well-grounded hopes of Heaven." These were hard sayings, and many would not receive them. Thus it was with us for several years, until I was awfully deserted of God, and got into a very dull, legal frame myself, and then some were better pleased.

'Tis now almost four years since it pleased God to strengthen and enlarge my desires after the increase of Christ's kingdom, and to stir me up to more ardent endeavours after the eternal welfare of immor-

tal souls. Christ and his cause grew exceeding precious; and one soul appear'd of more worth than a thousand worlds; the souls that were committed to my charge lay with vast weight and tenderness upon my mind. The state of religion look'd dismal: but few instances of persons that I could meet with among them, that seem'd to be suitably affected with the miseries of a perishing world, and the decaying state of religion. The news of Mr. Whitefield's rising up with great zeal for holiness and souls, had great influence upon my mind: God made use of frequent accounts about him to ~~draw~~ taken my attention, to humble me for past deadness, and rouse me up to see my own standing, and sound an alarm in some poor sort, to a drowsy, careless people. When he came to Boston, Dr. Colman wrote me an account of his zeal and success in his daily ministrations among them; which I freely communicated to one and another as I had opportunity; hoping that such accounts from a father of the country, so justly esteem'd, might have an happy effect: and doubtless it was made use of, by a gracious God, to draw the attention of many among us, and stir up their diligence in hearing the word preached. Some time after Mr. Whitefield had been thro' this colony (tho' he came not by the way of Lyme) our people were more generally rous'd up to bethink themselves, and converse about religion. Probably the frequent accounts of the success he had in many places were serviceable among us. But more especially my going to hear him at New-Haven and some other places: this gave me a different turn of thought about him and his preaching; and satisfy'd me more fully that there were many misrepresentations of him and his views; and, I believe, serv'd as a means to take off the prejudices that some among us had conceiv'd against the effects of his ministry.

A little after he left New-England, I heard of a very great concern upon the minds of many people at Hartford; especially among the children and youth. The various accounts we have had about them stir'd me up to take pains, that, if it might be, I should understand the true spring of all their concern. To this end I frequently conversed with persons that told me they had seen very surprising effects of some cause: they also told me the effects; and, some of them told me of many questions they ask'd the persons under the surprising operations, and the answers they gave them; which gave some considerable hope, that there was a glorious work of God's grace among them. But I could not be easy still for want of a further light; and therefore I wrote several letters to gentlemen in that town, who I thought were judicious and prudent, desiring particular accounts of the most extraordinary facts observable among them: and one of them wrote me a prudent and discreet answer, relating to some matters of fact, and added, that it was his opinion the Spirit of God was pour'd out among them very gloriously. Yet still, I wanted further light if it was to be had; and therefore on the 11th of March 1740-1. I set out upon a visit to that place and people, and to converse with the ministers there. Mr. Whiteman, one of the ministers of that town gave me a

particular and surprising account of some things he had certain knowledge of; especially of the strong consolations of some persons, and the great distress of others. He kindly related some discourse of a number once at his own house; and some extraordinary distresses of many persons at a religious meeting: facts that he knew, and inquiries that he made to find out the rise of them: and when I asked his judgment upon the things he had related, he told, as I remember, that he did not doubt, but the persons in general, who had been thus affected, were, at that time, under the influence of God's Holy Spirit; and that a very gracious manifestation of mercy had been made among them. This pains I thought necessary to take, and much more that would be too tedious to relate at present. The enemy of souls was very busy, and much pains were taken to represent the extraordinary things we heard of from abroad, as the effect of an heated imagination, or meer enthusiasm and disorder. 'Twas nois'd about, as if the country would be undone if such a spirit should have a general spread; and religion would be banish'd from all the churches. I observ'd that this was the cry especially among those that had been the looser sort, and seem'd now afraid of any concern about their eternal state; and that gave me some grounds to think that indeed the Lord was about to do some great things for the church which had been so long sunk down into almost meer formality.

Upon my return home from Hartford, I had further accounts by letters from Dr. Colman of the wonderful progress of the gospel at Boston and at towns round about, by the blessing of God upon the ministry of Mr. Tennent, and their own pastors. So that by the latter end of March I was furnished with a considerable history of the work from many places, attested by credible witnesses; and from what I received from their mouths and their hand-writing, I was able to relate certain matters of fact, in a light vastly different from what they had been represented in among us; and to add the judgment of wise, prudent and judicious ministers concerning them and the true spring of them. And therefore on the 29th of that Month I preached from Isa. lx. 8. from which my special design was to rectify those mistakes, about the religious affairs abroad, that had been spread among us; and to give an history of certain facts, together with the opinion of those ministers and some others, concerning the rise of those things, that had been so much the conversation and amusement of the people. The history and application of it in this sermon, had greater visible effects upon the auditory, than ever I had seen before in the course of my ministry.

But before I give a particular account of these effects, and other things that have more lately fallen under my observation respecting religion, either at home or abroad, I beg your patience a little, and your leave also just to mention four or five preliminaries which I have made use of in this season; and which, I am humbly of opinion, others ought to carry in their minds as true, viz. 1. I am humbly of opinion, that it is not reasonable for any to conclude persons to be under the influences of the Holy Spirit, either in convincing of sin or in sanctifying the

soul, meerly because they cry out aloud, faint-away, or the like; even though this be observed under the faithful preaching of the most important truths of religion. Though it may look hopeful and encouraging, yet it is not sufficient to draw a conclusion: wherever men take upon them to judge in any matter, they ought, certainly, to look upon themselves obliged to get the best evidence of the truth that can be had. And who will pretend but that we may get clearer light of the reality of persons being under divine influence than what springs from bodily agitations? nay it is a clear case that persons may be thrown into hysterisms, faintings, out-cries, &c. and that under the ministration of truth, by the meer power of imagination, a sudden fright, or bodily disease. And this I have seen to my satisfaction formerly, before ever I was a preacher of the gospel, as well as more lately. As then, these bodily seizures may arise from, or be occasioned by many other things besides the influence of the Holy Spirit upon the soul, it is not reasonable to conclude that they do arise from that source, without some further evidence to convince us of it. Nor, 2. Is it reasonable, I think, for any to conclude persons are not under the convincing or sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, because they tremble, cry-out aloud, fall down as dead, or have great bodily disorders of such a nature. For although these bodily commotions may be from another source; yet, they may also spring from the operations of the Holy Spirit upon the mind. Nor can I see any need that the reason of the greatest philosopher, or the most judicious divine should reproach him for believing a person to be under the influences of the Holy Spirit merely because of such effects upon the body. Have not the soul and body mutual influences upon each other? do not the daily occurrences of life make this manifest? how common is it for persons to cry out, fall into hysterick-fits, and bodily agonies, from worldly sorrow? why then should it be deemed a strong presumption of delusion, merely because persons have these agonies under sermons? is not the true discovery of sin, and the consuming vengeance of God more shocking and dismal, than any sad scene of temporal evils? if so, then it must be unreasonable for any man to argue against the reality of spiritual convictions, merely because persons are thrown into these bodily distresses. Certainly he would not shew himself a man, nor act the part of a philosopher. And so, how common is it upon some joyful occasions, for one to weep, another to faint and be overcome, and a third cry-out aloud? who is at a loss for the reason? And why a quick and affecting sense of pardoning grace, and an interest in the favour of God, may not be supposed to have the like effects upon the body, is what no man, I believe, is able to say. And if Philosophers cannot disprove a work of the Spirit of God from such bodily agitations, 'tis certain that a Divine will be as little able to do it.

Whoever will read the accounts of conviction recorded, Acts ii. 37. 41. &c. Chap. xvi. 30. chap. ix. 4. Rev. i. 17. and other places, must allow that persons may be under all these bodily seizures when the spirit is convinced of sin, or reject the letter of the word. And so if we read, Psal. lv. 32. 63.--42. Cant. ii. and many other portions of scripture, we must conclude that persons may cry out, faint,

and have other bodily distress flowing from thirsting for God or rejoicing in him.—But I forgot that I was only to hint at things here. And 3. Much less is it reasonable for any to argue that men are not under either the convincing or sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit because they have none of these bodily agitations. God by his Spirit gives greater encouragements and supports to some men under convictions than he does to others: all have some gleam of hope that it is possible they may be converted; but some have great refreshings and a great sense of the glories of Heaven; and hence they are not so much borne down as others: some have fainter views of the grace of the gospel, and are less sensible of a work of grace wrought in their souls than others, and are proportionably less likely to be overcome or thrown into bodily agitations, though the discovery be effectual, and the grace special. Some have a work of the law and the gospel carried on more gradually than others, and therefore, though they have a thorough work, their bodies are not so sensibly and suddenly affected. Others are not so easily affected and made to tremble, faint, shriek, groan or the like, under the same views of sin and the wrath of God; or the same views of a God reconciled in Jesus Christ, that would throw their neighbours into violent agitations of body or into a fainting fit. Various are the degrees of light; various also the length of time the Spirit takes to let in that light, and to give those influences which are necessary to prepare and bring a soul to Christ: various are the dispositions and constitutions of men; various are the encouragements, discouragements and impediments they meet with. And hence they may be variously affected, tho' each one or all are brought to the same happy issue, respecting a law and gospel-work upon their souls. 4. I think it is not reasonable to suspect persons are not under divine influence, or have not had a saving change, merely because we look upon them to be imprudent or irregular in some respects. Men are too apt to magnify every real or supposed wry step, and at once call it disorder, and represent it as wholly inconsistent with the being, or at least the exercise of grace. Thus a glorious work or an excellent Christian may be trod upon, and many real excellencies over-looked, merely because of some real or fancied imprudencies and irregularities: yea, and in this way the innocent may be involved with the guilty, and a great multitude may suffer reproach for some imprudent measures of a single person: or a whole profession may be insulted because a few particular men are detected in an unwarrantable practice. If we take such measures as any of these on either side, I cannot see where any bounds can be left to censoriousness.—Is it to be supposed that all the subjects of God's special grace must at once become wise philosophers, or judicious divines?—If it were so, yet do not the wisest and best of men differ in opinion and practice in some circumstantial things, and those that are of lesser moment? And is the kingdom of God meat and drink?—Nay, are they free, entirely free from all blame?—But if they, the best of them miss it in some things, and precipitate into real faults; why should others of far less advantage and opportunity, be censured as enthusiasts, being led about by diabolical delusions, and what not, merely because there are some things in

their conduct which we do not so well like? indeed, if the course of a man's life was plainly immoral, there would be enough to shut my mouth from speaking favourably of his state.—But if that is the case, who are the persons?—And if that is not the plea, why should every imprudent act be deemed a sufficient argument against the influences of the Spirit of God? Did our blessed Saviour tell his apostles that they had not sanctifying discoveries of God in Christ, when they were led into a great mistake of judgment, and were fired with false zeal?—How common is it; nay when is it otherwise, but human mistakes and false fire mix themselves in with our best services? Should we wait for the time when no disorder, no irregularity, no false step is to be found in such as may be called the subjects of God's special grace, we must never expect to see the day upon earth, when we shall be brought to confess that verily God is in the midst of us, working in us, and in others, that which is well-pleasing in his sight. “If allowances are to be made, doubtless young converts claim our charity in the first place, especially when their distress has been great, and their joy proportional: like men coming into a new country, or rather a new world, they are not yet acquainted with all the fashions and decencies of it;—it is no wonder every punctilio is not observed, which after-experience, and cooler reflection will dictate. Shall we pardon the learned Archimedes, though going beyond all the bounds of decency, when transported with a mathematical discovery, and shall we make no allowance for illiterate country-men, and others of small experience, when ravished with the discoveries of another world, and the knowledge of God and Christ, whom to know is life eternal<sup>a</sup>?” 5. If persons, in great numbers, are, in their general course, turned from a careless, vain and carnal, to a careful and religious conversation; from an immoral and loose, to a moral and strict life; if they discover by all reasonable evidence that they have a deep sense of sin and the wrath of God, or afterwards, the consolations of God; if they are apparently changed from worldly pursuits to things of everlasting importance; if from resting in self-righteousness and blamelessness they are made sensible of the necessity of faith and holiness, and cannot rest until they have what appears to us a good evidence of resting in Christ; if they are turned from an apparent irreverence to an apparent devout and reverent attendance on the institutions of the Lord; if from spending Sabbaths in idleness, or much of their time in worldly conversation, or disputes, which gender strife, they are turned to spend Sabbaths in public and private exercises of worship with evident care and devotion, and in Christian conferences about the things of God; if there is, added to these things, a manifest reformation in relative duties, and persons apparently grow in Christian knowledge at an unusual rate, and really appear to have frequent and sensible communion with Christ; if it makes men better husbands, women better wives, fathers and mothers better parents, children more careful in their stations, people more prayerful for and loving to their ministers (such as they think properly their ministers:) if this in general is true of any people, all in a few weeks or months; I think we must conclude that

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Webster's Letter, p. 22.



such are under Divine influence, and God has graciously poured out his Spirit upon them, even though they precipitate into many imprudent measures, or, through wrong judgment, they differ from us in many things that are not fundamental. What if they cry out, faint, speak aloud in a public assembly at an improper time, happen to think they should tell their neighbours their fears that they are strangers to Christ: what if they think themselves called to stay as long from their families in the night to pray to and praise God, as they have heretofore tarried to revel and drink, and to make themselves merry with vain companions; what if in these and some other things they believe differently from others; and in some other things they have, for want of due consideration, run into some indecencies, but upon serious reflection see the mistake and reform; I cannot think these things any good argument against their being under the influences of the Holy Spirit, either convincing or sanctifying.—But I have exceeded my design in hinting at preliminaries, though I hope, you will forgive me, and carry these things in your mind, while you read on in the subsequent part of my account.

The effects of that sermon I spake of, preached on the 29th of March were then surprising. Indeed there were no out-cries; but a deep and general concern upon the minds of the assembly discovered itself at that time in plentiful weeping, sighs and sobs. And what appeared hopeful then, I found, upon conversing with many afterwards, to be true, as far as I could judge. Many told me that they never had such an awakened sense of the danger of putting off the grand concern of their souls to a future season before, as God gave them under that sermon: they were surprized at their own past carelessness, and astonished that God had borne with them so long. Several told me, that tho' they had lived thirty, forty or fifty years under the preaching of the gospel, they had never felt the power of the word upon their hearts, so as to be long affected thereby, at any time as they did then. Before it was the cry of their hearts, “when will the sermon be over, and the Sabbath be ended”; but now the minister always left off too soon, and the time between sermons was too long: they long for frequently returning opportunities to hear. Before, they did not love soul-searching discourses, but now never could hear too much of that nature; together with many other things of the like import.

On the beginning of the following month, Mr. Tennent came thro' this place, and preached two sermons among us: the first was in the evening, from Ezek. xxxvii. 9. But he seemed to be very dull; and, I thought, several times, he would have had nothing almost to say. Yet he got thro', and, I believe, he preached the truth, tho' with no freedom; nor had the people in general much sense of what was delivered according to the best observation I could make; yet it was not wholly in vain: one of our communion was convinced of sin, which after some days, issued, I trust in a saving conversion to God.—The next morning he preached again from Luke xiii. 24. to a very attentive and deeply affected auditory. Many that I heard lamenting their own folly immediately after sermon, spake as one would expect those to do that had the arrows of conviction shot deep into their

hearts. I was not indeed so sensible of the extensive effects of that sermon in the time of it (tho' there was so much visible concern under it) as afterwards. In a little while a considerable number came to me and confessed that they saw themselves undone, that earnestly enquired what they must do to be saved, who dated their first awakenings from that sermon.—From us Mr. Tennent went over to Saybrook, and many of the people of this place, and the neighbouring societies went with me to hear him. There he preached a rational, searching sermon, suited to unconverted sinners and drowsy saints. I saw but few instances of persons much moved by it to appearance, in sermon-time; but found some very much enraged with the preacher afterwards. Some that went from this town, spent their time upon the way home in cavilling, and finding fault with what had been delivered, and I believe did much hurt thereby. One especially who shall be nameless, seemed exceedingly disaffected, and endeavoured to disaffect others. But still he could not forget the sermon, especially that part of it which was to backward Christians; and tho' he thought, or endeavoured to think, that it was a censorious discourse, yet, as he told me afterwards, it never left him until he was made to see that he was the very man to whose case it was suited above any sermon that ever he had heard.

After this I observed that our assemblies were greater and more attentive at times of public worship than before. Sabbaths alone would not suffice for hearing sermons, but greater numbers still urged for frequent lectures. I was well pleased to observe such a flocking to the windows, and a hearing ear become general; and therefore I readily consented, upon the request of the people, to preach as often as I could, besides the stated exercises of the Sabbath. Once every week I carried on a public lecture, besides several private ones in various parts of the parish. And I could not but observe about this time, that an evening lecture I had set up the Winter before in a private house, for the sake of a young man that was a cripple, though at first exceeding thin (but seven persons, as I remember, besides the family) was now greatly increased, and in about a month grew up to several hundreds, so that I was obliged to turn it into a public evening lecture. Now it pleased God to encourage my heart, give me unusual freedom, and such a firm state of bodily health, that I could go through three times the service I had been able to endure at other times; so that I was able to study and write three sermons a-week, and preach several others of my old notes (for I seldom in all the time preached without writing.) Sometime in this month Mr. Griswold invited me to preach a lecture for him, and I consented. While I was preaching from Psal. cxix. 59, 60, I observed many of the assembly in tears, and heard many crying out in very great bitterness of soul, as it seemed then by the sound of voices. When sermon was over, I could better take notice of the cause; and the language was to this purpose, viz. Alas! I'm undone; I'm undone! O my sins! How they prey upon my vitals! What will become of me? How shall I escape the damnation of hell, who have spent away a golden opportunity under gospel light, in vanity?—And much more of the like import.—'Tis true, out-cries were new and surpris-

sing at that time: but knowing the terrors of the Lord, I was satisfied that they were but what might be reasonably accounted for; if sinners were under a true sense of their sins, and the wrath of a sin-hating God: and therefore I did not use any endeavours to restrain them at that time; but the greater number cried out of themselves and their vileness, the more I rejoiced in hope of the good issue. As I was satisfied that it was the truth they had been hearing, so, by their complaints, it appeared to be the force of truth that made them cry out, and threw many of them into hysterick-fits: and, if I mistake not, every one that were so violently seized that night, have since given good evidence of their conversion; but that their rev. pastor can give the best account of.

But my heart burned with love to and pity for the people of my peculiar charge: I had constant supplies of argument flowing into my mind, and zeal to urge a speedy answer. By the latter end of April our young people were generally sick of that vain mirth, and those foolish amusements that had been their delight, and were formed into several religious societies for prayer and reading books of piety under my direction: many of them were frequently in my study for advice; the bent of their souls was evidently towards the things of another world: whenever they fell into companies, the great salvation was the subject of their conversation. They were so generally displeased with themselves for past carelessness, and spending time in revels and frolics, that several, at the desire of others, came to me, and desired me to preach them a lecture upon the 14th of May (the day of our election in this colony) which they had, for many years, accustomed themselves to spend in feasting, music, dancing, gaming, and the like. I complied with the request, and preached to a great assembly, from Matth. xxiv. 37, 38, 39. Upon which I observed, "That Jesus Christ would certainly come to judge the world; and that when he did come, he would find it overwhelmed in carnal security;" and from these considerations I applied myself to those that had been secure and unwatchful, both among Christians and unconverted sinners, in a manner, which I thought proper to awaken and convince. Under this sermon many had their countenances changed; their thoughts seemed to trouble them, so that the joints of their loins were loosed, and their knees smote one against another. Great numbers cried out aloud in the anguish of their souls: several stout men fell, as though a cannon had been discharged, and a ball had made its way through their hearts. Some young women were thrown into hysterick-fits. The sight and noise of lamentation seemed a little resemblance of what we may imagine will be when the great Judge pronounces the tremendous sentence of, "Go ye cursed into everlasting fire." There were so many in distress, that I could not get a particular knowledge of the special reasons at that time, only as I heard them crying, "Wo is me! what must I do?" And such sort of short sentences with bitter accents.

Now those that could not restrain themselves were generally carried out of the meeting-house, and a second sermon was preached by Mr. Jewet to others that were able to attend; after which the assembly was

dismissed; and my house soon filled with wounded souls: and I took pains to satisfy myself and others, by inquiring into the reasons of the trembling, crying, fainting, and other signs of fear that were so manifest in the assembly: and they declared, in their own words, all to this purpose, viz. that a deep sense of past sensualities, and careless neglects of the concerns of their souls; their slighting frequent and solemn warnings, and withstanding the calls of the gospel; together with a deep sense of their liableness, every moment, to be arrested and cast into the prison of hell, where those sinners lay, that refused to hearken to the warnings given by Noah the preacher of righteousness, was truly the spring of all these various signs of distress. Some run back upon the sins of riper years (for there were several persons upwards of forty and some of more than fifty years old, that discovered great concern by their pale countenances and tears, and trembling too.) Some cried out of the hardness of their hearts, others of their unbelief; some were crying, "God be merciful to me a sinner;" and others intreated Christians to pray for them. Thus they continued, at my house, for several hours; and after I had taken what pains with them I thought necessary for that evening, and prayed with them, they were advised to repair to their own places of abode; and accordingly all that were able went home.

Now I thought the people in great danger, and especially those that were most deeply wounded. I knew, in all probability, that the Prince of darkness seeing his kingdom shaking, and that he was in great danger of losing many of his obedient subjects; therefore, if possible, he would allure them back to former fidelity; persuade them to settle down upon the foundation of their own works, or drive them to utter despair of mercy: and therefore I dared not sit in my study the next day (tho' that loudly called for me to be there,) but spent my time abroad among distressed souls, and others that fell in my way that were more lightly touched. Nor were private Christians contented in their fields or shops at home, but some of them also, in their places, were helpers in the work that seemed necessary to be done. The following evening a religious meeting was attended in a private house: I went to it, though I could not pretend to preach a sermon. I offered a few words of the miseries of the unconverted, the price that was now put into their hands, and the great danger of not improving it; but was obliged in a few minutes to desist, because the house was filled with out-cries and bitter lamentation. The complaint was much the same with what it had been the day before. I continued to preach and exhort publicly, and from house to house, about six times a week through this month at home, besides attending upon distressed souls upon certain appointed days in my study. And though I spake to them with unusual moderation, in my study, (as well as in sermons about this time,) that I might have greater advantage to instruct their minds, yet I was commonly obliged to make several stops of considerable length, and intreat them, if possible, to restrain the flood of affection, that so they might attend to further truths which were to be offered, and others might not be disaffected. Some would after a while recover themselves, and others, I'm

satisfied, could not. I have thought since, whether I did not do wrong in endeavouring to restrain them: the pains they took with themselves to keep from out-breakings was a greater hindrance to their hearing, than their out-cries were: and it was so far from satisfying others, that it was improved as an argument against the reality of their concern, if, upon the utmost violence used with them they could after some time hold in. I find no such restraints laid upon distressed souls in the apostles days, though, we must allow, that they were as good judges of what is right in such a case as other men: and indeed, why might we not expect some direction from the inspired writers if it was our duty to restrain them, and put them upon the torture to keep silence? if the Lord is pleased to make this open shew of the victories of his grace, his will be done: let him take his own way. The same things that served for the conviction and conversion of many in our Saviour's and the apostles days, were the occasion of blinding and hardning of others to their utter ruin: and the distressing out-cries of awakened sinners were blessed to convince many, tho' others cavilled and found fault. Tho', I think, none ought to speak or pray with a loud voice in the time of public worship, yet I am free to confess that I mistook my duty in taking so much pains to prevent out-cries in the assembly. 'Tis true, persons may, of design, cry out; but then, 'tis like, they would generally be detected, and have their madness exposed. However, if our blessed Lord is pleased to make bare his arm upon stubborn rebels, to the glory of his sovereign grace, why should I say that he shall not take this method to bear witness before the ungodly world, of the dreadful miseries hastening upon them?

On the 20th of this month I preached a sermon for Mr. Griswold of Nahauntuc, from 1 Tim. ii. 5. upon the sufficiency and excellency of the mediation of Christ: under which, as far as I could observe, many Christians were sweetly refreshed with a deep sense of the truth, and many sinners as full of anguish (though the sermon was not terrible) as at any time I had seen. The assembly in general, were in tears, and near one half, I suppose, crying out aloud in distress. After sermon they gave themselves liberty to speak out the sentiments of their souls; some in thankful praises to God and the Lamb; others in bitter complaints of themselves for despising the blessed Mediator, and for the hardness of their hearts, and the like. Several were, at that time, shaken off from the foundation of their own righteousness, and afterwards, hopefully converted.

I hope, rev. Sir, you will pardon all my digressions: I chuse to relate the few things that I give an account of, in that order of time, in which I observed them, and noted them in my diary. About this time, the rev. Messrs. Lord of Norwich, Owen of Groton, and other ministers in the Eastern parts of this government, sent letters, inviting me to visit them, to see the work of the Lord, and help them also; (for it was common in that day for brethren to send for each other to preach). After some struggles with myself, I consented to go; and accordingly set out on the 8th of June, intending to preach some few sermons before I returned. The same day I preached for Mr. Lovett of New-Salem at his

desire, and there I observed a solemn attention; concern in the countenances of some, and delight in others. I have had some acquaintance with the people in that place since that time, and believe that there is a considerable number of persons savingly converted in the late season of grace. From thence I went, the same day at evening, over to the North Parish of New-London, and June the 9th preached two sermons for Mr. Jewett; under which, but especially the first, there was a great and general concern visible in the faces of the people: weeping, sighing and the like among the aged and the youth, while many of the children of about ten, twelve, and fourteen years old, cried aloud, and spake some such sentences as these, viz. "What must I do? I never honoured this great King!" Lord Jesus help me!" &c. From thence I hastened over to Norwich, because Mr. Lord expected me to preach a lecture for him that evening. And when I came there, there was a great assembly gathered, to which I preached from Psal. cxix. 59, 60. They gave very solemn attention; and there was a concern apparent, by tears and sighs, in almost every corner of the house. The next day I preached another sermon for Mr. Lord, the visible effects of which were not so great as the first. I observed a great flocking of the people, not only to hear the word, but to their pastor for advice. Mr. Lord gave me several surprising accounts of conversions; which, I trust, he will favour the public with in his history of the late revival of religion among them. From thence I went forward to Stonington, and on the 11th of June, preached two sermons for Mr. Eells: there seemed to be tokens for good; an attentive audience, and much weeping in the assembly; but I do not remember any out-breakings in the extraordinary manner that I had sometimes heard: yet Mr. Eells informed me afterwards in a letter, that there were many instances of particular persons, unto whom the ministry of that day was blessed. I thought when I was with him, that he had the blessing of some excellent Christians in his parish. 'Twas formerly, a place noted for profaneness and other vices, but he said (and so I thought) that there was a great reformation among them. From Stonington I returned back by the way of Groton; and on the 12th of June preached a sermon for Mr. Owen, to a great assembly of people. It pleased God to give me greater freedom of thought and expression than I had found in all my journey before. I preached from Mat. lxi. 1; and the people to all appearance, were all attention. There were no out-cries, but the countenances of many discovered sweet refreshment; and others discovered great distress. And I had some satisfaction afterwards, by accounts from diverse persons, that the spring of comforts and concern was from the Spirit of God. I could not tarry, indeed, to speak with many after sermon, because I had encouraged Mr. Croswell to preach at evening for him. But I had the company of a considerable number up to Mr. Croswell's parish, which is five miles distant from Mr. Owen's. Upon the way they told what things were done, and how Jesus had been made known to them, and their hearts burned within them, while they spoke of him. Jesus seemed to be their delight, and humility their glory. At Mr. Croswell's I found great concern upon

a I was preaching upon the kingly office of Christ.

the minds of people: it was apparent, in sermon-time, by their weeping, and their looks: some cried out, and from after-conversation I was satisfied that many were very sensible of their sinful and undone condition, and some others were really converted. I remember two came to me, who had made themselves easy, for some time, with a way of conversion, that fatally settled persons down short of Christ; but now they had an awakened sense of their sin, and of the infinite hazard they were in of perishing; yea, that they must perish unless God was self-moved to pity and save them. From thence I returned to Norwich on Saturday, and kept Sabbath at Mr. Lord's. On June 14th, being Lord's day, I preached again to a great, very attentive, and deeply affected assembly. The concern of some, and the delight of others, was manifest in their countenances: and by conversing with many afterwards, I was satisfied they were under the influences of God's holy Spirit. And so from time to time upon opportunities with that people, I believe, that Mr. Lord has the blessing of many souls turned to righteousness among them; a considerable number of old Christians, and many newly-born, that are feeding upon the sincere milk of the word, and growing up in Christ. June 15th, I rode out to Mr. Troop's a new society in Norwich, and preached a sermon for him, to a full assembly. There seemed to be great listening to the word; great concern appeared in the countenances of many; a great number were in tears; and several cried out: some fainted away, and one or two raged. After the sermon was over I took pains to find out the spring of that distress which appeared in many instances, and I think, they gave grounds to judge it was from conviction of sin; except those instances that were distressed with their out-rageous passions. One gentleman, who was a hearer, tho' he carefully avoided discovering his dislike before the congregation, expressed himself greatly dissatisfied to me after meeting, at the out-cries and faintings in sermon-time: he took some pains to convince me that the persons were under strong delusions; tho', I thought, he did not take much pains, by discoursing with them, to convince himself of the rise of their distress. He read me some extracts which he had taken out of the excellent Mr. Flavel upon *Mental Errors*, which I was pleased with; but did not see that they were to the case before us.

Now I had accomplished the whole of my design in this journey, both in visiting and conversing with my fathers and brethren in the ministry, and in seeing the displays of rich and sovereign grace; and much exceeded my first design in preaching. The next thing was to return home as fast as I could; but the rev. Mr. Adams of New-London sent me a letter, desiring that I would return that way, and give his people some exhortations. Having been there before in the time of the concern among the people, I was unwilling to deny his request, because I had found that there were peculiar difficulties rising up, and I feared my refusing might rather increase them than otherwise. There was a number of new converts with a flaming zeal, and jealous lest the labourers should not bear a proportion to the Harvest: and some others, from what spring I don't say; (though some have imputed it to the im-

prudence of these new converts) who opposed themselves to the work going on among them. Thus the kingdom seemed to be dividing against itself: and I was the rather inclined to gratify Mr. Adams on that account, not knowing but that I might be instrumental of some good. Accordingly I went, and, on June 16th, preached two sermons in that place, besides using some private endeavours to make things more easy, if it should please God to make use of me for that end: but the success was not according to my wishes. I found mutual rising jealousies, and, as I thought, groundless surmisings in some instances, prevailing among them. These difficulties increased afterwards; and for want of charity and mutual condescension and forbearance, they have produced an open separation. I doubt not but there are excellent Christians on both sides; and there has been a very great display of Divine Grace among them; but they are doubtless to be blamed for the manner of separating. What grounds they may have I don't know, but I am afraid they have gone off upon a wrong principle. Unhappy case, when Christians have such sharp contentions between them, as to part asunder from one another! Yet so it has sometimes been with the best of Christians, Acts xv. 38, 39.

Perhaps some will think strange that I should be so many days from my particular charge, at such a critical season as this was, when a great number were under distressing concern, and the adversary was very busy: but the people were not left without preaching: and we found it of real service to have our people partake of the various gifts of ministers; some to reason with them out of the scriptures; others to address their consciences; others to apply to the affections; and all in their manner and measure to speak of the things of God. I found it was eminently servicable many times, when I could obtain the help of my brethren. Indeed, there is something natural in it, besides what I have observed already: new faces; new voices; a new method, all tend to draw the attention of hearers: and hence, they were sometimes caught, by the same truths that had been offered them divers times before. I have reason to bless God that he has sent so many of his servants along by us, and inclined them to help us from time to time. I have not found it a disadvantage to keep open the pulpit door to ministers; but see many ill consequences of a contrary practice in other places. Those that have received spiritual benefit among us from the preaching of others, allow me as good a share of their good-will, as those that have been more especially benefited by my preaching. But where all those that were looked upon as favourites of the extraordinary work in the land must stand off; or through vast difficulties liberty has been obtained for them to preach; I think many ill things have followed that strangeness, and fear many more are upon the back of them.

Being returned again to my own particular charge, I endeavoured to pursue the great ends of the ministry in the best manner that I could; and I don't remember that I preached a sermon through the month, without some manifest tokens of the presence of God in our assemblies. Many were awakened and convictions were deep: it plainly ap-



peared by the distinct accounts given, that the concern was no sudden fright, nor the effect of fancy, nor yet the alone strivings of natural conscience, but a clear and real sense of sin and its direful consequences, raised in the mind from a realising sense of the majesty and holiness of God, the purity and strictness of the divine law. People flocked to my study daily, and in great numbers, deeply wounded, and the errand was to lay open the state of their souls, and receive direction. Sometimes I had thirty in a day; and sometimes many more, all upon the grand affairs of their souls.

Many with the greatest freedom confessed, that though they had a name to live they were dead in trespasses and sins: and this not only in private, but to numbers at once. They did not think it matter of offence, if their neighbours believed them when they said it: they spoke sensibly of it, as we might expect a condemned malefactor would do if he was going to the place of execution. They would solemnly declare that they never knew what real union to Christ was; that they were strangers to sensible communion with the Father and his Son Jesus, and to the temper of the gospel; and had rested easy with merely external communion, or the form of Godliness. Their dissembled countenances and free and frequent confessions that they were yet in the bonds of iniquity together with their warnings to others, never to rest until they knew Christ was formed in them, proved awakening to many professors, and put them upon the search, and inquiry into the reasons of their hope; and some were shaken off from their old foundation, supposing they had built upon the sand, whilst others had the more peace in believing. The like effects, sometimes more, and sometimes less observable, continued through the Summer. There were also many instances, (and the number was daily increasing) of persons filled with great joy and comfort. 'Twas common to hear of, and to see them overcome, and fainting under high discoveries of God reconciled in Christ. Some also I have seen overcome with concern for others; and sometimes their concern terminated on particular persons that they feared were in a state of sin.

The conversation of the people in general was religious. If at any time neighbours met, the great affairs of salvation were the subject of discourse. In the streets, in the fields, and in private houses the discourse was instructive: some enquiring the way to life: others in their proper sphere, endeavouring to help the distressed by their humble advice and counsel: some that knew the terrors of the Lord, would persuade the careless, and modestly recommend the grace of God to their acceptance, from their own experience of its sweetness.—And as there were frequent inquiries about the things of infinite concern, so there was a great increase of knowledge in religious matters. According to the best observation I could make, I believe, the people advanced more in their acquaintance with the scriptures, and a true doctrinal understanding of the operations of the Holy Spirit in conviction, regeneration, and sanctification, in six months time, than they had done in the whole of my ministry before, which was nine years.—Nor was this all, but many evidently looked upon sin with abhorrence: they appear-

ed to be renewed in the spirit of their minds: bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, seemed to be put away from them, with all malice: their fruit was unto holiness: love to God and man, with their genuine fruits were increasing. Rough and haughty minds became peaceful, gentle and easy to be intreated. Lowliness, long-suffering, forbearance, a courteous deportment, beneficence, and tender-heartedness, meekness and moderation, to all appearance, seemed to increase abundantly. And also a delight in Christian fellowship, in breaking of bread and in prayer. I think it cannot be expected that men, in their general course, should give clearer evidences of a Christian temper formed in them, than many did in that season: their faith worked by love, and discovered itself in acts of piety towards God, charity and righteousness towards men, and sobriety towards themselves.

We had some special seasons of divine influence in that time, both upon converted and unconverted, which I must not now relate: it would make the account too long; but I cannot pass over our Pentecost, on the 11th day of the following October: I preached from Psal. ii. 12. upon the nature and necessity of faith in Christ; and then administered the sacrament of the Lord's-supper, to near three hundred souls, as I judge.—'Twas a day never to be forgotten; but, I think, ought to be remembered with holy wonder and gratitude by all that were present. The house of the Lord was full of the glory of the Lord. It pierces me to the heart, that any have ever attempted to throw darkness over the rich grace of God that was so clearly discovered; or to misrepresent the gracious effects of those discoveries that were made to many. —Though we had enjoyed much of the gracious presence of God in our assemblies before, yet, I think, never saw so much at any time as on that day; especially, when the Lord's supper was administered, God poured out his Spirit in a wonderful measure. I spake a few things to the communicants, as I remember, concerning the mediatorial excellencies and the love of Jesus Christ, when I came down to the communion table, and began to break the bread; and then invited them all to come to him as well as to his table; and assured them in his name, that they should be welcome to the rich treasures of his grace which were open and free to all that would come. I had no sooner offered some things of this nature in a few short hints, but several of the church cried out in most bitter accents of their piercing the Lord Jesus Christ by their unbelief, and shewed the signs of distress in their countenances; whilst many scores were dissolving in tears. A considerable number trembled in the anguish of their souls, as though they had heard the thunderings and seen the lightnings from the thick cloud; whilst many more began to put on immortality, almost, in the look of their faces. I could not but think that the Lord Jesus was come to his table, and feasting their souls with his love, discovering his mediatorial glories to them; letting them taste of his preciousness, and opening to them the mysterious wonders of his grace. Their looks were all love, adoration, wonder, delight, admiration, humility. In short, it looked to me a resemblance of heaven; where the shining hosts of angels and glorified saints are ever before the throne of God, in the lowest prostration, cry-

ing, Holy, holy, holy Lord God, "Thou art worthy to receive glory, and honour, and power, and blessing, and thanksgiving." Some of those in distress, about the end of the distribution of the bread, appeared to be in a calm, and before the cup was poured they seemed to have a delightful sense of something upon their minds: their looks were changed from anguish to pleasure and admiration, love and humility, and the like.—I made minutes of my remarks and sentiments, in my diary; and find that, upon the best evidence I could gain by conversing with particular persons afterwards, I had fallen far short in my observations at the time, of what was really discovered to many souls, and the power of the gospel felt upon their hearts.—Many old Christians told me they had never seen so much of the glory of the Lord, and the riches of his grace, nor felt so much of the power of the gospel before: they had never seen so clearly the infinite ocean of divine love; never been so sensible of the love of God to them; nor had such strong love so clearly in exercise to him. Several of them had the full assurance of faith, who had been seeking after it for many years, but were denied till that time. New Converts were greatly refreshed and quickened.—I cannot doubt whether they had the presence of the Comforter: Christ then appeared more lovely than the princes of this world: they "sat under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to their taste:" they were feasted in his banqueting-house, and his banner over them was love: they could not support themselves, many of them, under the weight of it, they were so deeply affected with it. Had not Christ put underneath his everlasting arms for their support, I know not, but many would have expired under the weight of divine benefits.—And besides all this, I think, we have a good evidence of the saving conversion of several of the communicants at the same time. The several discoveries they gave an account of, together with the effects these discoveries produced in a law-work, and a true closure with Jesus Christ, gave me considerable hope of it; and a long time since to observe their pious life and holy conversation, confirms my first hope that it was a reality and no deception.—I am persuaded the marvellous grace of God appearing at that season, is admired by hundreds among us here in time, and will be much more admired by the armies of saints and angels throughout eternity.—Christ came like a roe or a young hart; he looked forth at the window, and shewed himself through the lattices! I never saw such a love-feast before! he spake the word and it was done; he said, "Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away:" and lo, the Winter was past, the rain was over and gone: all invited us to come and partake of the Divine joys which the near approach of the Sun of righteousness produce. O that he would "return like a roe, or a young hart upon the mountains of Bethel!" that he would make haste to perfect his loving-kindness to us.

Since that time, we have had many refreshing seasons, both in public worship and more private assemblies; and many hopeful conversions. Nor are public and private meetings the only places of these influences and effects; the closet, the field, the shop, and the kitchen, are all witnesses to them. 'Twas no uncommon thing for Christians to be over-

come in their private retirements, as they have told me: in meditation at sometimes, and conversation at others, Divine truth has been set in a clear light, and they have been made to know the truth of the gospel of the blessed God. But the work has not appeared in a general way, so powerful since, as it did the first eight or nine months; indeed God gives witness to the truth of these things, at times, more or less, unto this day; and will, I trust, until the end.—The work, as I observed, began chiefly among the youth, and so it has been carried on chiefly among them: they left their sports, and grew sick of their youthful amusements: but it was not among them alone; the disease (as some called it in derision) did not stop here. Many of middle and old age were alarmed, and some of them, to appearance, savingly converted. Three or four upwards of fifty, two near seventy, and one ninety-three years old, I trust, were turned from darkness to light, from the power of sin and Satan unto God. Several persons that were noted for immorality and some others that were not so openly marked out, were brought to confess their sinful deeds, not by constraint but of their own accord, and are now joined in our communion, and I hope, are Christians indeed. And there are some few instances of the conversion of those that bitterly opposed the work at first: such as have gone to hear sermons, with design, as they confess, to cavil and oppose, have been taken.—One or two, that supposed themselves converted, greatly rejoiced in the work at first, when the people were under deep convictions: the concern they well understood, and thought it reasonable, and were pleased to see so much reformation, they themselves having gone so far; but when persons came to rejoice in God, and to be overcome with the love of God, and to tell of the excellencies of Christ, it was all foolishness to them; they grew all enmity and opposition; but were afterwards made to see that they settled down upon their reformatations; were enemies to God themselves and strangers to Christ; and since then are brought to rejoice in God also.—Some others who were under distressing concern at first, and very forward to promote every thing that seemed a probable means of good, are since turn'd zealously averse to the work, especially to the comforts and joys of Christians.—It has been observed by many, that such as were most eminent for religion before, have been friendly and forward to encourage this work; and they have been abundantly quickened and refreshed. Several of them are since dead, and went off triumphing over the king of terrors, in full assurance of hope. Many that were greatly affected and concerned for a while are grown easy and careless as formerly; tho' there is a number unto this day remaining under convictions.—I do not remember any two instances among us that ever gave me satisfaction of their conversion, but what still manifest comfortable signs of the truth and reality of it. And if we may give credit to the accounts persons give of a clear law-work, and a work of effectual grace wrought upon their hearts; after it has been strengthened by frequent repeated accounts of their communion with God, and a spiritual conversation and good life, in a general course, for several years together, I have reason

to hope above one hundred and eighty souls belonging to this congregation, have met with a saving change, since the beginning of the late glorious effusion of the holy Spirit among us; besides the frequent, and more than common quicknings and refreshings of others that were hopefully in Christ some years before. And, perhaps, we have a confirming testimony of the truth of the work, above what some others have had, in the visible meekness, forbearance, love, forgiveness, and the like, with which they have generally behaved themselves in the time of injurious calumnies; when the work of God, and their personal conduct have been misrepresented. We have had times of singular trial and temptation: what would try every vein in a man's heart.—But in all this day of difficulty, our new converts as well as others, in general came forth as gold from the furnace. I would speak it to the praise of free and rich grace that has abounded to them; and hope they will ever carry it in their minds that the Lord has been their strength and their shield, and their helper in a time of trouble.

But perhaps you are ready to wonder, and say within yourself; What, is all pure at Lyme? Has there been nothing from whence these formidable accounts, we have had among us about that people, should arise? What means the unhappy representations that have been given of us? No doubt, Sir, there have been many things amiss: I thought so from the beginning, and I think so still. The Spirit of God has been grieved by questions and strife about words; by evil surmisings and perverse disputings; by many foolish and hurtful lusts. The work of God's grace has been opposed by persons under convictions, by their standing out against the calls given them to believe in the name of him whom he has sent, and by persons that have been disaffected to this rich grace.—Some were disposed to cavil and find fault with the work and all the measures used for the carrying of it on from the beginning. Some I thought a little intemperate in their zeal at times, and for some things that it was hardly worth while to contend about.——I have seen reason to alter my own conduct in several things. Particularly, to treat those that oppose the work with great candour and mildness, and to address myself to all conditions of men with more tenderness than I did several times.

But when I have taken the utmost care that none might be offended, I have reason to think that my unskillfulness in and unworthiness of the great honour God has put upon me, in making me the father of many spiritual children, has prejudiced many persons against it. Yet there was so much purity, prudence and care in the conduct of the subjects of this grace, and so little irregularity for four or five of the first months, that the most prudent, observing and judicious have mentioned it to me with wonder and pleasure, as well as with thankfulness to God, that they could observe nothing worth the notice of any tho' watching to find an occasion. But towards the latter end of the Summer I observed several things that some persons were disposed to, which stained the purity, and hindred the progress of the reformation. The vast esteem we had of Mr. Davenport, in some measure prepared us to have a better opinion of his conduct when he came

among us; tho' I do not remember that any of us were pleased with all his measures. Some things which I have heard of his practising in other places, I know nothing of his practising here. It was said that he judged of ministers, by name, as unconverted, in a publick manner, but that I knew not of then, tho' I heard him do it in one instance since that time. It was said that he used strange methods to scare people into fits, and did not take pains to instruct their minds; but I cannot charge him with any such thing among us. I heard him preach several sermons which were as instructive and searching as any sermons, perhaps, that ever I heard in my life. His zeal was great, and so did his charity appear to be. Yet I have sometimes thought that his coming over to the Main that Summer of general concern was the occasion of much hurt. Before I have repented of exchanging pulpits with him: many prejudices were stirred up and increased against the revival of religion thereby. But after all I see no more of a fault in that than in ministers admitting him into their pulpits: nor could that be deemed a matter of public complaint when he was in a good standing with all the churches.——And tho' he did, I believe, miss it greatly in some points, and greatly prejudice persons against religion, yet it must be acknowledged that he was made a great blessing to many souls; but especially to the Mohegan and Nahauntuc tribes of Indians. Tho' much pains had been taken to win them to embrace the gospel before, yet nothing seemed to have any considerable effect until Mr. Davenport came among them: But the pains he took were eminently blessed to incline them to receive instruction, and to awaken a great concern in many about their eternal welfare. I greatly love him for his eminent piety, but I cannot justify all his measures.

I perceive that there are great complaints of vast iniquities, error, discord, and enthusiasm generally prevailing among the new converts in the land. But I hope the complaints are generally groundless, and things have been misrepresented. No people, I believe, have had a larger share of such charges than those of this place: and knowing that the complaints are generally without grounds here, I would persuade myself that they are generally so in other places. The new converts are represented as guilty of monstrous uncharitableness and rash judging some among us, I think, have been to blame in their judging of the state of others: but the error has been chiefly on that which is called the charitable side. Pretty much as it has been common in some places where relations have been offered by persons in order to their admission to communion: if persons could say any thing almost, about a divine influence upon their souls, at once they were ready to vote them converted. But, generally speaking, there has been a great reformation of that evil: our new converts, as far as I can observe, are very prudent on that account: they suspend giving any judgment at all, on either side, before they have that which they think is the amount of two witnesses. They do not judge of their neighbours to be unconverted as the country has been amused (and as I suppose, Mr. Davenport did some ministers) unless the course of their life is manifestly carnal and vicious. But as we do not look upon ourselves

bound to judge a man converted because he is a professor, and orderly in his life, (especially if he declares himself unconverted, and by discourse seems to shew himself a stranger to Christ) so neither do any, that I know of, allow themselves to judge a man unconverted, who is a professor, and of a good life and harmless conversation in his general course. The country has also been strangely amused with a notion of trances, visions, extraordinary missions, and immediate revelations. It has been represented as tho' these were common among the new converts. I have had a very extensive and personal acquaintance with the converts in the late season of grace; and among the thousands that I have conversed with, I have not met with a score that pretended to any such things: yea I doubt if half that number are to be found in all the churches of this government; but however there may be one instance of this nature, among a thousand that are not chargeable therewith, we have been free from them, and I hope ever shall. It is insinuated as tho' the subjects of the late work were generally chargeable with error in the doctrines they hold; and those among us have been as severely charged on that account as any, perhaps, in the country. Therefore, I may be allowed to clear off that imputation so far as they are innocent. I do not know of an instance among our new converts, but who disapproves all those doctrines that lead to licentiousness, by highly approving such as inculcate holiness. It is true, since we have been told that there is a considerable harmony between the principles of new converts, and some people that were pests to the churches a little more than an hundred years ago, there has been much art used to represent that to be the case with us: But salvation is of the Lord; and I trust, he will save us from these groundless imputations. One complaint is that unconverted ministers are incapable of being instruments of the conversion of others. This doctrine, I never met with more than one that would own it as his opinion; and he does not belong to this place. I am of opinion that some two or three persons went a little too near such doctrine; but as to our new converts the mistake was soon rectified.—Yet, tho' we do not hold that saving grace is necessary to the being of the ministry, so that if he who is unconverted should administer ordinances, his administrations would be a nullity; our new converts and many others among us are of opinion that the case of a person is very sad indeed, not only when their minister has not a good stock of knowledge, or is erroneous in his principles, or is not of good life and conversation, but also when he has not experienced a work of saving grace upon his own soul, and that for this reason, viz. Because unexperienced ministers will be very unlikely to encourage the power of godliness and very likely to keep their people easy, (i. e. use their endeavours to do so) with the dull form of religion. We have none among us that withdrew from ministers under a notion of their being unconverted: but some have declined hearing some ministers that have preached among us, because they had heard that they were generally cavilling against the extraordinary work. Nor do I know of any one of our new converts chargeable with despising human learning; slighting

schools or colleges; so depending upon the spirit as to make it a shelter for idleness, or a neglect of the diligent use of means, or to reflect dishonour upon the written word of God. When shall I have done? Do they vilify good works too? This has been charged upon us as well as others, no doubt. And thus far is true that some few have spoken of works before justification in unsuitable language, and a bold manner of expression; but even these instances have been rare, and are, I think, reformed. But as to good works considered in a gospel sense, I know of none of our new converts but speak highly of them, insist upon them as necessary, and, in their general course, are careful to practise them. They seem to have a godly jealousy lest they should at any time substitute good works in the place of Christ; but they seem to be saved from their sins, and to be zealous of good works. Suffer me to mention one thing more; our new Christians are charged with denying sanctification to be the evidence of a justified state. If any one has pleaded for such a tenet in the face of the world, let him answer for himself. I dare venture to deny that it is the principle of any of the new converts so far as I know their opinion of such a principle; and have often heard many of them among us speak freely to the contrary.

Upon the whole, I am persuaded there has been a wonderful work of God's grace among us, and in many other places where I have been acquainted; and the sorrows and joys that have been so common, were produced in general by the operations of the holy Spirit upon the souls of men.—The joys were the joys of the Christian, and not wild, enthusiastick whims. I have met with few, among the thousands that I have conversed with (some at home and others abroad) but could give a rational account of their joys. The foundation of them appeared to be laid in faith, which flowed out in praises to God; self-abasement; godly jealousy, &c. I must confess that I am a stranger to the religious joys of new converts among us, after the strictest inquiry, and long observation, if these are not the concomitants of their joys. And the same I may say of others in other places (some few excepted) where I have been most conversant with the subjects of this grace. Perhaps, if those that have set themselves to speak and write against the times had acquainted themselves more intimately with the subjects of these sorrows and joys, and depended less upon accounts from those that never cared to converse much with them, they would have given juster representations of these things, and not have borne false witness against the glorious work of the late work of grace.

If you think it for the glory of the Redeemer to suffer the whole or any part of this account to be published; you have my consent. That you may have much of the presence of God, and a great blessing attending your labours in the ministry, is the prayer of, Your affectionate unworthy Brother, JONATHAN PARSONS.

*ATTESTATION to the above Account by RICHARD LORD, Esq; and others of the Church in Lyme West-Parish.*

We the subscribing brethren of the first church of Christ in Lyme, having heard our rev. Pastor read over the preceeding account of the



revival of religion, and being much acquainted with the subjects of the late work, as also with the circumstances of the most extraordinary particulars related in the account (i. e. those which relate to this place) do give our attestation to the truth of the account, so far as it respects this place, according to the best of our knowledge and judgment; tho' we can't but be of opinion that much more might have been added to show the glory of it among us. RICHARD LORD, ZECHARIA MARVIN, JOHN DENISON, MOSES NOYES, JOSEPH MATHER the 3d.

## SECTION XI.

*On the first of April 1741, in the East Parish of Lyme.—By Means of Mr. Tennent's Preaching.—And Mr. Parsons'.—Crying-out.—Strangers come to see and hear.—Neighbouring Ministers preach.—The greater Part who get Benefit do not cry out.—An hundred English and thirteen Indians admitted into Church-Communion.—Triumphant Death of a young Man.—Mr. Davenport blest to the Neantick Indians in this Parish—Twenty or upwards of them hopefully converted.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Griswold Minister at the East Parish of Lyme, to Mr. Prince Minister at Boston, April 3. 1744.—Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 66, &c. ]

R. S. According to your desire I shall endeavour to give you a short but true and just account of the wonderful work of God's grace in this parish. We as well as the rest of the country were grown very careless and stupid in matters of religion: but little of the life and power of godliness was to be observed among us; yea, as to sundry, the form was wanting. And I had reason to fear family and secret prayer was neglected by too many. Many were very slack in attending the preaching of the word on Sabbath and other times: the communion was thin; the world and the follies and vanities of it prosecuted; besides open sins and vices that some run into. There was but little of good discourse to be observed on the Lord's-day. Thus things run, 'till the rev. Mr. Whitefield came into the country, and people began to talk of religion and the best things; but it did not seem to be with a feeling sense of it; and I do not know of any great concern about the state of their souls, but in three persons who belonged to this place at that time, which I hope were converted in the latter end of the year 1740, or the beginning of the year 1741, before the remarkable concern began among us. It was observed, that in the Winter 1740-1, there seemed to be a greater seriousness and thoughtfulness than usual in the minds of people about the state of their souls. This Winter the rev. Mr. Gilbert Tennent went to the Eastward; and on his return, he preached two excellent sermons in this place April 1st, 1741, and the people of this parish came generally together, and many from other places. These sermons were blessed to a great (if not a general) awakening among my people; and two or three were deeply wounded:—so that they plainly discovered it in their looks and behaviour; and the concern spread and increased, and was visible in the face of the congregation on the Lord's-

days, and other times of public worship; and some were distressed that they were so stupid as not to be concerned. The concern spread and increased apace, and evening religious meetings were set up. The 14th of April in the evening, the rev. Mr. Parsons minister of the first parish in this town preached at one of the evening meetings at a private house in this place. The word fell with great power on sundry, who were deeply wounded under a sense of sin and divine wrath. Some had fits, some fainted; and it was observable, that God made use of the concern in some to create a concern in others: and some that did not appear much concerned when the public exercise was ended; yet seeing others distressed, fell into deep distress under a conviction of sin and the sense of Divine wrath due to them. Some hours were spent in praying with and counselling the distressed; and cautioning them that they did not grow careless as to the state of their souls, and to watch against the temptations of the devil; and to seek earnestly to God to convince, humble and convert them. After this, cryings-out at the preaching of the word were frequent. These things being the first that had been so remarkable in any town or parish near us, were much talked of; and many persons from other places came to see and hear, and different were persons apprehensions of it; some taking it for a work of the DIVINE SPIRIT; others suspending their judgments: very few, if any at this time, would say that they believed it to be a delusive spirit.

From the first appearance of it among us I was persuaded, that as to the substance of it, it was the work of God, though accompanied with some unusual circumstances. (1.) Because the distressed persons expressed the same conviction of sin and sense of the wrath of God, that I expected they would do if that God came to work savingly on them by the Holy Spirit. And as convictions were wont when in a lower degree to produce tears from the eyes and sadness in the countenance; I was satisfied that if God gave a clear discovery of sin and his wrath, it would have this effect to cause crying out, fainting and fits. (2.) Because this concern put persons on seeking after and inquiring what they should do to be saved; the same thing that genuine convictions of the Spirit of God were wont to do. (3.) It stirred them up to attend the mean of conversion; as reading God's word, hearing it preached, and prayer. And other reasons that might be offered, but I forbear; because my design is to give a brief account of the work, rather than now to confirm it to be a glorious work of the Spirit of God.

One thing remarkable was; that soon after this, there was a great concern at a private house, among about ten persons, where there had been no preaching, praying, or any thing of that nature. And as I was riding by, I was called in to pray with and to counsel them; and some that came in to see them were struck under conviction, and the most of these persons were soon after hopefully converted. Upon the religious concern breaking out so powerfully among us, weekly lectures were set up; and sundry neighbouring ministers came and preached to crowded assemblies: and persons seemed glad to have opportunities to hear the word preached: and evening lectures, and other religious meetings, were frequent. Now out-cries, fainting and fits were oft in meetings;

though the greater part of them that I hope experienced a saving change did not make any out-cries; nor did they faint or have fits.

The work went on; and at the latter end of April, May, and June, I had reason to hope about forty persons experienced a saving change. Now persons conversation at all seasons, but especially on the Lord's-day, was about religion and the concerns of their souls; though they did not neglect and throw by their worldly business; but generally the labour went on as well as ever. Some from the depth of their concern were for a short time taken off their labour, tho' not many days. Now the greater part of the people seemed seriously to mind and discourse about God, Christ, and heavenly things. Now it was frequent to see and hear young ones conversing with pleasure about the eternal concerns of their souls and their Saviour; who but a few weeks before were serving their youthful lusts and vanities. Great was the visible change that was among us. Some that were church-members before and hoped they were converted, were thrown off their hopes, and 'tis to be hoped have been led to build on Jesus Christ received by faith. Some that it is to be hoped were converted before, have been much enlightened, invivened and comforted. And as the law-work in the heart in these days hath been more deep and sharp than usual heretofore; so, generally, persons have sooner passed through it; and when they have received comfort, their joys have for the most part been higher than formerly persons had. I have often observed persons in distress, greatly afraid that they should take up with a false hope, and so be eternally undone. And I have sometimes observed when persons have hopefully had a discovery of the grace of God in Christ, that they have said, they saw such glory, such excellency and beauty in Jesus Christ, that they could not express it; and their hearts have seemed to be raised up in a flame of love to Jesus Christ. The high experience of many in this day of grace, hath caused sundry that were looked on as good Christians to question their own estate; and have thereby been put on a more careful examination of themselves. It hath been frequent for persons to be in great distress for others, so as to be overcome thereby. Many have had such discoveries of the love of God and Christ, as to be overcome, and to lose their bodily strength thereby: not only persons hopefully converted since this remarkable religious concern, but those that have been formerly converted. Though the work hath been chiefly among younger people, yet some of all ages have been hopefully wrought upon. Sundry children seemed greatly moved, and some hopefully converted. From the 1st of April 1741, for some months, seldom a sermon was preached here but there was some visible effect of it either in persons crying-out, under a sense of sin and divine wrath, or overcome with a sense of the love of God and Christ. Persons long overcome with a sense of the love of God, so as to have their bodily strength taken away, has been a great stumbling to some. They could not see through such great joys they never had felt, and were ready to think it was not of God. And indeed to say, there was not any false joy, I cannot; but I am persuaded from the account that sundry have given me as the spring of

their joy, that they have been wonderfully filled with the love of God, and have had joy unspeakable and full of glory.

Since the remarkable concern, there hath been admitted into the communion of the church in this small place an hundred English, and thirteen Indians; and all these, except two or three, give hopeful signs of a saving work of God's Spirit on their hearts. A mercy for which God be adored.

Sometime about the latter end of August 1741, to the beginning of Winter, the work of conviction ceased in a great measure; and in December it much revived again, and sundry were hopefully converted, and saints edified. Indeed the work has not been so powerful at any time as it was the first three months after it began so remarkably, April 1741. I have all along taken care to caution persons against laying weight on crying out, fainting, and fits, as signs or marks of conversion. Conversion may be and often is without them; and people have been put in mind, that extasies of joy, considered in themselves, are not evidences of a saving change; and have been taught, "That true conversion is an inward work of the Spirit of God, turning the sinner from darkness to light, from Satan to God, and from sin to holiness; it brings the heart to embrace Jesus Christ." And if these things are not wrought in a person, he is not converted, whatever distress or joy he may have had. The great impression that divine things seemed to have on persons minds, so as to engross all their conversation, seems to be much abated. I don't know that I have reason to think one soul hath been converted in this place for more than a year past. Those that I have reason to fear are unconverted, seem to be stupid and unaffected. And some of them to have lost the concern that they had when the remarkable concern first came among us. And the saints are not so often filled with divine light and joy as was common about two years past. So that the work seems to be declining, though means are used to prevent it. Weekly lectures and religious meetings are kept up in the parish; but people don't flock to them as they did two years and an half ago. I preach, and get some of my brethren in the ministry to preach in some part of the parish once, twice, or sometimes thrice in a week. The intermission between the public exercises on the Lord's-days are generally filled up with praying, singing, and reading.

There hath been but little of enthusiasm and extravagancy among us. I have reason to bless God, that he hath so much preserved the people of my charge from extravagancies. I don't know of any of my people that are disposed to forsake the written word of God to follow impulses and impressions. We have had no separations and divisions, neither do this people approve of or encourage them that I know of; though they have been disposed to think charitably of some that in other places have separated. We have had very few that have openly opposed or spoke against the work that hath been among us, except it be persons of other persuasions.

Here it may not be amiss to give a short account of a young man that belonged to this parish, and died here last August. He was one that was hopefully converted in the year 1741. He appeared for some

time after his conversion very much engaged about religion; and then, by degrees, seemed to grow more cold and indifferent: but nothing inconsistent with grace appeared in him. Sometime in August last he was taken sick: great was the distress of his mind: he bitterly bewailed that he had so much forsaken God. Before his death, the Lord was pleased to lift up the light of his countenance upon him; great was the joy of his heart in the Lord. He sent for many of his acquaintance; and, in a very moving manner, warned them not to depart from the Lord as he had done. He desired his parents and relations not to mourn for him; for he was assured that he was going to possess a crown of glory that fades not away. For about twenty-four hours before he died, he seemed to be in an extasy of joy, and so remained till he could speak no longer; and, when he was speechless, he, by signs, desired the company to sing praises to God; and, when they seemed backward, he was the more earnest, and took Dr. Watt's Hymns, and turned them to the third Hymn of *The second Book of spiritual Songs*<sup>a</sup>, and by signs urged them to sing, which they did; and he endeavoured to join them as well as he could: and then, with eyes and hands lift up, fell asleep.

Seeing I have mentioned something of the Indians, and the head quarters of the Neantick Indians being within the limits of this parish; I shall write a few things of the wonderful work of God's grace among them: a poor ignorant people, that for ages past have lived without God in the world; that did not seem to have any thing of religion among them; generally given to Sabbath-breaking, but especially to drunkenness, and thereby kept themselves very poor and low in the world. Some years past there were attempts, by preaching the gospel, and a school among them, to bring them out of their heathenish state, to the knowledge of the true God, and the embracement of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ: but to so little good effect, that it was given over. After the remarkable concern among us 1741, I made an offer to go among them, and preach to them; but not receiving any encouragement from them, that they would come to hear me, I did not go. About the beginning of August 1741, the rev. Mr. Davenport of Long-Island came and preached to them; and some of them were hopefully converted by his ministry, and some others awakened. And after that, the religious concern not only continued among them, but increased for a considerable time; and there are twenty, or upward, of this tribe of Indians that have been hopefully converted. And since that time, the greater part of them have been careful to attend the preaching of the word on the Lord's-day, and other opportunities. When the religious concern came among these Indians, most of them, and that even those of them that have not been thought to have experienced a saving change, very much left off their excessive drinking and Sabbath-breaking. Though of them that have not been thought to be converted, a few of them seem to be returning to their old habit of

a Why do we mourn departing friends?

Or shake at death's alarms?

'Tis but the voice that Jesus sends

To call them to his arms, &c.

excessive drinking. And of them that have been hopefully converted and church-members, there hath been two or three instances of excess: but they soon manifested deep repentance for it. Those of the Indians that have been hopefully converted, have seemed to live near to God, and to have much of the Divine presence with them; and have been often comforted and refreshed, and filled with admiration of the wonderful grace of God to them. It is to be observed, that the great sense of divine things seems to be in a great measure abated among those Indians as well as among the English. The Indians not living all of them constantly here (they not having a sufficient quantity of land to support themselves and families, but at times go from us where they can find work) some of them have joined to other churches. And of them that I hope have experienced a saving change, some, through fears and scruples of their own good estate, are not, as yet, joined with any church. Thus I have given a very short account of the wonderful and remarkable work of God's grace. Let God have all the praise and glory of it. And let us, with united hearts, supplicate the God of all grace, that he will not suffer his own work to languish and die: but that he will pour out his Spirit more plentifully than ever, in the awakening, conviction and conversion of sinners, and in the enlightening, quickening and consolation of saints. I desire your prayers for me, my people and the Indians; and subscribe myself, Your friend and brother in gospel bonds," GEORGE GRISWOLD.

## SECTION XII.

*In the same Season (viz. Spring 1741) at Sutton in the County of Worcester in the Massachusetts.——Just when their Minister Mr. Hall had Thoughts of leaving them through Despair of Success.——The occasional Preaching of Mr. Edwards, Mr. Parkman and Mr. Prentice blessed to them.——The concern seized on People in the House, in the Highway, in the Woods, &c. while thinking on spiritual Things.——Imprudent Conduct of one or two did Hurt.——On Mr. Daniel Rogers coming, the Work was considerably revived.——Not the Wisdom of Man's Words.——The sure Proof of its being from God, in its Fruits.——Persons of different Ages.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Hall Minister at Sutton, to Mr. Prince Minister at Boston, May 28th, 1744.—Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 73, &c. ]

“As to the matter you was pleased some months ago, to write to me about, respecting the rise and progress of the work of God among us, more especially in the late remarkable day of the Lord's visitation of his people: I have drawn up a brief account, which is as follows.

It is more than fifteen years since I was settled here in the ministry: when there were about eighty families in the town. When I first came among this people, which was in the year 1728, I was wholly unapprized of their condition, both as to their moral and religious character: but before I was ordained their pastor, the scene opened itself to my view, in sundry respects, very dark and melancholy: which filled me

with many discouraging apprehensions as to my settling with them: and a sense of the greatness of the work in general, and of some peculiar difficulties and hazards attending my settling among this people, plunged me into deep distress. But however, some days before my ordination, I was made to hope, that as dark as things now were, I should behold the glory of the Lord in this place, in the advancements of the kingdom of grace among this people: and I believe it was from God. And I frequently have experienced support and quickening from this hope, in the midst of some very gloomy passages of providence, that have since passed over me. There was soon after my settling here, by the favour of God, some considerable abatement of that too common profaneness and some other vicious practices visible among us. And within the space of two years we had a very large addition to the church more than doubling the number of communicants. After this, there appeared a gradual abatement of religious concern; and for the space of five years there was little appearance of the Spirit of conviction among this people. During this term, a raging fever swept away a considerable number in a sudden and awful manner. Yet few if any were observed to shift their courses: the filthy were filthy still; or rather growing more so, to appearance: and a visible symptom of a spirit of slumbering attended professors among us.

In the year 1735, the great concerns of religion, in some considerable degree appeared to move upon the hearts of many among us. At which time it came into my mind, (and I trust it was from God,) to visit the people of my charge, and to apply myself particularly to every one that was arrived to years of understanding; that I might know the state of the flock; and make particular application to the consciences of young and old among us. This appeared to be attended with some very hopeful symptoms of success. At this time, family meetings were set up in four parts of our town. Articles were also drawn up and subscribed by some, if not all of said societies, by which each neighbourhood or family-society, were obliged to attend the set times of their meetings which was once a month: and also engaged themselves to exercise a most peculiar watchfulness over each other; to be free in brotherly admonition; and frequent in religious conversation one with another. A number of young men among us also about the same time formed themselves in a society; to be helpers of one another in the way of the kingdom of Heaven. At these meetings they frequently had a sermon preached to them. And some things now began for a while to look hopeful among us. These religious meetings, were mostly, if not all, continued, till the late remarkable revival among us. Yet not so but that in about five years space, the general face of religion among us was sunk down to a very low and melancholy ebb indeed.

God was pleased wonderfully to convince me of this, on the latter end of April 1740, and greatly to humble me; and with a most sweet and gracious band of love drew out my soul to look after my high calling in Christ Jesus. Now I was again at this time filled with an encouraging persuasion, that I should behold the power of religion reviving among us in the conversion of souls to the Lord Jesus Christ. Toget-

ther with this persuasion, a most ardent thirst, came upon me, that I might gain souls for whom Christ died: to which end I longed for the sanctuary. And from this time I had more knowledge than ever before, what it means to preach with the Spirit and with the understanding also: although still attended with great weakness. Soon after this, we had lectures here, usually once a fortnight, to our young people. And the preaching of the blessed gospel was, by times, my great delight. Our assembly frequently appeared very solemnly attentive; and kindly to accept, urgent and repeated assurances of the necessity of a reformation: but I could not presently perceive that the word took any prevailing hold upon their hearts. The Fall after this, the rev. Mr. Whitefield preached in the neighbouring town. I perceived afterwards, that some of our people were brought under conviction, by hearing the word from him. And some few the Winter following, appeared to remain under concern: but in general there were great symptoms of hardness of heart: and this appeared more melancholy, because it was a time of sore mortality: for neither the word nor providences of God, to any genuine appearance, touched their hearts. Upon which I told one of our Christian brethren (the Spring of the year following,) that I had it in my heart to go preach the gospel at Smithfield, or in some place where they had no minister; for that I was upon the point of despairing of success among my own people.

But so it was, that the very next Sabbath following, I saw considerable tokens of the goings of God in the congregation: our assembly was generally swallowed up in tears: and from this time, I perceived a more general concern set upon the countenances of this people. I had just been breathing out my complaints, with a "Who hath believed our report," &c. But now on a sudden there were some hopeful symptoms of life from the dead: for sundry persons came to me under soul-concern soon after. Some of which I have since reason to think were about that time brought out of darkness, into marvellous light. Some of whom were soon after visibly added to the Lord in the way of his communion among us. Many appeared under concern; and great attention, and great seriousness hence-forward appeared in our public assemblies, and usually much weeping. And blessed be God, a prevailing check seemed to fall upon many kinds of evil-doers: and tavern-hauntings and night-assemblings of young people for wanton pastime seemed at once to disappear. Upon the election day following our young people desired a sermon; which they had delivered them, from those words Joshua xxiv. 15. "Chuse you this day whom you will serve." And soon after the sun was down, I was informed that our public tavern was clear of town people both young and old.

In the Fall of this year which was 1741, the concern seemed much to increase upon many people here both old and young, and sundry persons more gave grounds to hope they had received the Spirit of adoption. But as for the generality of such as had been brought under conviction, and some amendment of life; they still appeared under the spirit of bondage, and unexperienced as to any saving work: which occasioned me to write on Sept. 20th, 1741, concerning the visible ap-



pearance of concern upon a frequently weeping assembly, thus, "Many seemed pierced with the arrows of conviction: but alas I have seen it often, while convictions fall off and Israel remains ungathered! but I will wait upon God, who is able to work effectually. Oh! when shall it once be?" The January following, there appeared hopeful symptoms of a broken spirit and a bleeding heart. What I minuted down of that date expresses it thus,—"Many indeed speak trembling. I hope an hundred persons among us are in a deep concern," &c. A few days after, thus,—"Sure I never needed more of the divine help than now: many are pressing after Heaven, and many in great distress. Soon after this we had a comfortable appearance of a considerable number offering to full communion: they came as a cloud and as doves to their windows. And my time was now almost wholly taken up in discoursing with persons seeking the way to Zion with their faces thitherward.

About this time the rev. Mr. Edwards of Northampton; and the rev. Mr. Parkman, and Mr. Prentice, neighbour ministers preached here: whose labours among us God was pleased to smile upon for good. During all this, we had not any public out-cries in time of public worship; although there might frequently be discovered persons under a most deep and solemn sense of the truths delivered unto them. It is observable how at this remarkable day, a spirit of deep concern would seize upon persons. Some were in the house, and some walking in the high-way: some in the woods, and some in the field: some in conversation, and some in secret retirement: some children and some adult, and some antient persons, would sometimes on a sudden be brought under the strongest impressions from a sense of the great realities of the other world and eternal things. But such things, as far as I can learn, were usually if not ever, impressed upon men while they were in some sort exercising their minds upon the word of God or spiritual objects. And for the most part it has been under the public preaching of the word that these lasting impressions have been fastned upon them. Religious societies were now set up in several parts of the town to be held weekly. And reading, praying, singing praises, and speaking one to another of their particular experiences were frequently means of enlargement of heart: and some were by this means brought under conviction who were before strangers to the power of godliness. (Nevertheless the imprudent conduct of a particular zealous person or two in going beyond the proper bounds of duty and decency in some of these meetings, I do apprehend was very hurtful to the progress of this blessed work among us.) Convictions in this remarkable day of the Lord's visitation appeared to take hold of men's hearts with a permanent and prevailing power: that many poor sinners, were made to pant for Christ "as the hart panteth for the water-brooks;" and I trust most of them found no rest 'till they found a Saviour. We have had a considerable number visibly brought home that were before not only destitute of the form of Godliness; but also sundry who were before of but a poor character in point of morals. And I have reason to think a considerable number of such were now brought home to Christ who were before visible professors.

In the Summer 1742, but few persons were brought under conviction: and from that time to this, conversions have not to appearance been so frequent among us. Nevertheless in the Fall of the year 1742, upon the rev. Mr. Daniel Rogers's coming to us, we had a considerable revival of the work: at, and after which, the Spirit of conviction seemed for a while very powerful among our children, from eight to twelve or fourteen years of age. A small number of whom I would hope retain abiding impressions. But most of them I fear are much the same they were before their concern. Also about this time, public cryings-out under concern became something frequent among us for some little time: though indeed seldom when we had none but our own congregation. But such things being cautiously guarded against, have never here become common. And in my apprehension, the gospel was attended with less success afterwards, by reason of the prejudices which many among us conceived. But however, such things, I am fully convinced, have been many times altogether unavoidable, from the overpowering views of the great reality of the eternal world: and accordingly, that it is a great fault in such persons as have conceived such prejudices against the work of the Spirit of God, because some persons under the operation thereof in strong convictions or compunction, have lost the command of their own passions; and have discovered themselves when under the most proper concern as to the matter of it; yet through the over-bearings thereof unable to command their own faculties. Although of late this work of divine grace has been under melancholy abatements; yet I am not without hopes, that some souls have the year past been savingly united to Jesus Christ. And there hath been very lately a comfortable instance or two, to hopeful appearance, that encourages me to hope still as for the latter rain, and for the great rain of God's strength in due time. I was, just now, observing something of this work attending children. So I would observe, that altho' the generality of such amongst us as have experienced this work were between twenty and forty years of age; yet that there have been several instances of persons older, yea, some of them very remarkable instances; and one of about seventy-five years old; who lately, and about two years after her conversion, departed this life with joy and triumph.

And now, before I close this relation, by way of acknowledgment to the great God, and that he may have all the praise of his wonderful works among us, I would observe: That as it has been most frequently under the preaching of the word, that such among us as have been the subjects of this blessed work have received their first convictions; that yet I seldom perceived a sermon that seemed best calculated according to the wisdom of man's brain, that brought one soul under lasting convictions. It hath ever been, so far as it hath fallen under my observation, from the application of some plain scriptural truths; and not from rhetorical phrases, nor from the most concise logical reasonings; but most usually some plain unpremeditated sentences that God has owned and blessed. While learned and most studied sermons have sometimes fetched a flood of tears, and been followed with great ap-

plause; yet I cannot say I ever knew such a sermon gain souls<sup>a</sup>. They have informed the understanding, regulated the judgment: but to humble, convince, and convert men from sin to God, hath not been from hence<sup>a</sup>. So that I am convinced there has been much more attending some sermons than was devised by the heart of man or than man could effect: when sometimes a single plain sentence or two in a sermon has been conveyed from the gospel-bow with such power, as hath given so deep a wound to stout and stubborn sinners, that verily, they have been no more able to cure themselves than to create a world, have gone forth trembling in the bitterness of their souls, with abhorrence of themselves and of their old courses; and found no rest 'till their whole foundation hath been plucked from them, and they have been constrained with bleeding hearts, to approach before an unknown physician, Jesus Christ. God's sovereignty has been as visible in the time of improving the like means. As plain and as solemn truths of the gospel have been sometimes delivered with abundance of earnestness and affection; one would have thought surely sinners will now hear, and take it to heart; experienced Christians have thought, verily it is full of the Spirit of the Lord, and of power; but sinners in Zion have not been alarmed, nor, to appearance, touched thereby. Whereas sermons not seemingly for matter or manner, more likely, have been wonderfully owned; and the great God hath in such a triumphant manner come down upon the mount, that many have gone away heart-sick for Jesus Christ, and have had such a mighty change, as hopefully to have appeared the subjects of divine grace. That it is the blessed work of the great Jehovah, I do certainly know. And notwithstanding the mockings of many who have the subjects thereof greatly in derision; and although some devout men may think it would be service to God, to crush them under their feet; yet with them, let me live, let me die, and my soul be with theirs after death: I am not ashamed the world should know it. I venture my salvation upon it, that this is God's blessed work<sup>a</sup>. And why? For it hath the broad seal of heaven stamped upon it. Jesus, the faithful and true witness, hath instructed us, how we shall know his disciples from deceivers, viz. from their fruit, as Matth. vii. and whence this fruit springs, as John xiv. 21. "He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me." Now, if that faith which works by love, and which commands the heart and life into the ways of obedience, be the fruit which cannot grow upon thorns, but upon the heaven-born-plants, formed and sealed by God's own right-hand; this is then the work of God. For I am sure these three years, since the work took place powerfully amongst us, I have had the comfort of beholding more appearance of such like fruit than ever before in all my life.

That I have known many weak and childish things in the conduct of our young Christians, I do acknowledge, and who could rationally look to find such as are just born, behave and act like men? Yet 'tis a joyful thing to have children born in a church as well as in a kingdom or common-wealth: and a cruel foe is he, that, like Babylon of old, will dash their heads against the stones, who are God's offspring, and

<sup>a</sup> See these passages explained below, page 265.

have need of the breast, and to be taught to go. An infant, ere it can speak sense, will discover as true a relish for the breast, as the adult can have to their food. And be our young Christians destitute of that ripeness of judgment, and in want of that wisdom and prudence, which 'tis hoped they will grow up unto; yet such as experimentally know what communion with God means, may discover as true a relish for divine things in many of our young Christians as can be found among the most solid of God's saints. Zion's children, in these remarkable days, may frequently be observed, not drunk with enthusiasm, as some would fain suppose, nor over-heated in their brain, as others would fain have it, but overcome with the love of Christ: raptured in the joys of believing. The world esteems their life madness. But, if a gracious God would please to give those who now despise them, a taste of that joy unspeakable and full of glory, they would surely speak of these things in another manner. See 1 John iv. 13. However, I am not unsensible that some have been tainted too much with enthusiasm: but I am as sure it is not generally the case with the subjects of this work. And when I find persons that some years ago were frothy, carnal, worldly, and vain in their behaviour, who discovered their hearts were all over in the world and its lusts and vanities, who now are become sober, grave, their conversation solid and spiritual; who, meet them when you will, seem to have no relish for any discourse, but of the things of Christ and heaven, and how they may get forward in the way of faith and holiness towards their blessed home; and to whom, in every respect, the way of God's commandments appears their delight: after all declaring themselves mean and miserable, manifesting a broken spirit, and a continual war with remaining corruptions, adoring the doctrines of Free-grace, ever admiring and rejoicing in Christ Jesus, declaring their whole life is upon him and in him. If this does not evidence them the subjects of something higher than enthusiasm, I am much mistaken. I have been astonished sometimes to find even some good men so hard to bear down upon this blessed work, which hath so gloriously prevailed in many places; and I doubt not hath brought forth, in this place, more of Zion's children, in the space of two years, than ever were born here before in the space of twenty years. The Lord make their number an hundred times so many more as they be. And I do solemnly profess it, that notwithstanding what some wise men, and great men according to the flesh have said and done in order to crush the subjects of this grace, and to prevent the progress of this work; picking up all the failings of its subjects, and I fear representing some things otherwise than they ever were, and fastning upon the whole work what some unguarded persons have sinfully done; and perhaps most of such no other than pretended subjects of the work, whom the devil hath sowed as tares among the wheat to scandalize God's blessed work of grace, and to bring a reproach upon the true lovers of Jesus Christ. After all the whole world can say to blemish this blessed work of regeneration; I had rather be only so happy, as to be used in God's hand for a mere instrument to gain but one sinner to partake of so glorious a work, than to gain the whole world. And I heartily desire I may ever be of the mind,

rather to sustain the loss of all things, yea, rather to suffer the cruellest of deaths, than to speak an unthankful word concerning what the most high God hath done for a poor sinful people, respecting the precious shower of his grace that hath fallen upon us. And if any man is so bold and profane, as to persist in striking at the power of Godliness and the very life of the Christian religion; he shall answer it to Christ; he hath done it unto him. I doubt not you will pardon the freedom I have taken in the close of this relation of what God hath done for us: verily the reproaches of many have compelled me; and woe be unto me, if I flinch in the cause of Christ. So after asking your fervent prayers for us at the throne of grace, I subscribe your unworthy Brother in Christ Jesus, DAVID HALL.

[ Follows an Explication of some Passages in the above Letter written about Half a Year after, and published in the Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 104. ]

Whereas some passages in my letter concerning the late happy revival of religion here in Sutton, placed in the first page of your *Christian History* of July 28th, 1744, (although I apprehend every candid reader might easily have perceived my true meaning in them) yet have by some been grossly misunderstood: I now freely declare (as doubtless I have a right to explain myself) that I am far from designing by those sentences, to reflect contempt upon the proper usefulness of human learning, or to discourage hard study, close argumentative preaching, and suitably embellished with acceptable words: which are useful in their place; although, after our highest encomiums upon external means, they are not to have such virtue ascribed to them, as though sufficient to bring men to Christ. In reference to this, I may, without disparagement to human reason and learning, say with the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. i. 20. "Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?" God is not obliged to follow those means which to men appear best, with the most success. He is sovereign in all the dispensations of his grace; so then, it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, or reasoneth, but of God that sheweth mercy. I can uprightly speak it, that my sole design in those passages was this; that I might ascribe all the glory of the late blessed work of divine grace among us, to the influences of the Spirit of God. And I cannot by any means discover how a full ascription of success to God should be any way prejudicial to human industry. As for a rambling indigested way of preaching, I do freely testify against it: but yet I can by no means think it the duty of ministers to confine themselves invariably to their notes, or particular studied sentences, so as at no time to alter, add to, or diminish from, what has been before penned down; especially when in delivering God's sacred truths to men, their hearts and lips are, as sometimes, touched as with a coal from his altar. Moreover, I am persuaded God hath often owned and blessed some new and present thoughts which have occurred in delivering a sermon: and provided they have been safely expressed, and are no other than plain, solid, and scriptural truths; I cannot discern, with what reason in the world, any man should find fault.

There is another passage in the page following the fore-mentioned, allow me to explain. The words are these, ("That I do venture my salvation upon it, that this is God's blessed work") understand me thus, That I do resign myself to God, in hope of salvation, through the blessed influences of the same grace, that hath been through Jesus Christ so abundantly in these years shed abroad among us. DAVID HALL.

### SECTION XIII.

*In the Beginning of November 1741, at Halifax, in the County of Plymouth.—In August they had kept a Day of Fasting and Prayer for asking the Influences of the Spirit.—Mr. Wheelock of Lebanon preaches at Bridgewater.—Religious Discourse.—Meetings of young Children.—Remarkable Instances of Persons under Concern.—Some Account of the Death of Mr. Thomson aged Seventy-eight.—Of the Behaviour of another sick Person who afterwards unexpectedly recovered.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Cotton Minister at Halifax to Mr. Prince Minister at Boston, dated Halifax, July 26th, 1743.—Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 33. ]

R. S. According to your desire, I send you the following account of the state of religion among us. I am under some disadvantage as to this, not having kept minutes by me, as some others have done; therefore my account must be more general than otherwise it might have been.

The town of Hallifax contains to the number of near seventy families, and has been a township about nine years: the people in general have been a sober sort of people; tavern-haunting, swearing, and such like vices have never prevailed among them to such a degree as in many other places.—But indifference and lukewarmness in religion have had too much the ascendant. In the Summer 1741, there were many rumours among us from distant parts respecting religion, some good, some bad, by which we were set upon a gaze, and knew not what to think: these reports were so blended together, that we were filled with concern what would be the event of things. In short, the reformation appeared like a dream to us, we could not realize it; it seemed as if some strange thing had happened. However, I did not fill my pulpit with the cry of disorder, confusion, trances, visions, exhorters, &c. but thought it more rational to suspend my judgment till I had opportunity of seeing for myself.

In August towards the latter end, we kept a day of fasting and prayer, to ask the influences of the Spirit, and to implore his gracious presence among us. In the beginning of November, the rev. Mr. Wheelock of Lebanon came to Bridgewater, which is bordering upon us, and there preached several sermons, which were set home with power on the souls of the hearers; many were pricked at the heart, some in the time of hearing, and some through after-recollection as they were going home, &c. Of which no doubt some of the ministers of Bridgewater will give you a particular account. I heard him preach three times

there, and several of my people, I think about forty or fifty, had the opportunity of hearing him once or twice.—For my part, I never saw such a solemn time in my life; King Jesus seemed to ride in triumph; concern appeared in almost every countenance; tears gush'd from many eyes; some were quite overcome with a sense of guilt, and all seemed to be alive in the worship of God: my doubts and scruples respecting the work vanished; and I was obliged by incontestible evidence to say, that this must needs be the finger of God. Not only myself, but almost all my people present, were fully satisfied with what they heard and saw; they were convinced that it was God's doing, and they brought home such a report as gave a wonderful turn to the course of things among us: the sentiments and thoughts of people in the town, seemed to be altered as it were at once: the evil reports soon lost ground. Some few of the hearers present (who were mostly communicants) returned home under strong convictions; some of whom declared it at first, and others of them kept it to themselves as long as they could: but after some time they could not help speaking too, and declaring their deplorable case. The discourse of these in a private way was very moving and affecting, and was I think one of the greatest means under God of spreading the concern through the town; though not exclusively of other instituted means; they all concurred in producing this astonishing effect. Religion was the discourse in every company, the concern was almost general, and that inquiry seemed to be in every ones mouth, "What shall I do to be saved?" About the middle of November the young people set up religious meetings with advice, in several parts of the town; there being no such meetings before this; and almost all of them both male and female attended them: and even little children of about nine, ten or twelve years of age set up a meeting of their own accord<sup>a</sup>. And all frolicking and carousing, and merry meetings were laid aside: foolish talking and jesting the young people could not endure; they desired to hear nothing but what was serious; they took more delight in going to a meeting than ever they did to a frolick. But this religious turn was not confined to these alone, though it appeared more in them at first; but persons of all ages have been affected in a greater or lesser degree, in the process of this work.

Friday, November 27. There was a private meeting at my house in the evening, at which time after prayers, &c. I read to them Mr. Edwards's *Narrative*. After the service was over, one that had been Mr. Wheelock's hearers cried out in great distress, which was the first instance of any crying out among us. This person when at Bridgewater was very much disgusted with a person's crying out under soul concern near her, and Mr. Wheelock's performances did not appear to her as they did to others; she had this thought while hearing him, as she declared in her distress, "Ah you are an hypocrite, and you will be disco-

<sup>a</sup> When I heard of this voluntary and unexpected meeting, I was under concern lest they by their mismanagement should open the mouths of people; but I was quickly better satisfied by the accounts of some

who overheard them; they behaved with a great deal of seriousness and regularity, and the manner of their performances was beyond what could be expected from such children.

vered within this twelve-month." But however she was not easy in her mind upon her return; she could not rest contented in the condition she was in; a concern seized her soul, which kept encreasing till this time: and now her sins stared her in the face; she trembled under a sense of guilt, particularly because of the sin of unbelief and the hardness of her heart; she said, "That she was the hypocrite, and that every body was better than she;" and she appeared under awful apprehensions lest she should be left to grieve the Spirit of God, and that he would depart from her, as he justly might. I and some others observed her narrowly, and discoursed with her during her distress; and it was evident to us that she could not help manifesting her trouble in the manner she did. After about an hour she was something more composed, though weak; she then sat in her chair and made a pertinent pathetical prayer; she had but little rest that night; the next day she appeared very melancholy, her trouble continuing though in a lesser degree. On the Sabbath she went to meeting with an eager desire of hearing; in the afternoon her distress returned upon her with a redoubled force; this thought pierced her soul, "How in that place she had dishonoured Christ by receiving the sacrament unworthily;" she was affected to such a degree as to overcome her bodily strength, and she cried out in the bitterness of her soul; and now and then she had power to utter herself. This scene was very affecting to the congregation; and some that were under great concern before, and were as full as they could hold, could not now help manifesting themselves, seeing one just in their circumstances, oppressed with a load of guilt like them. After we had waited some time, I desired the person first affected to endeavour to compose herself, so that she might join with us in the worship of God; she strove for it with all her power, till she became black in the face, as those that sat by her declared; but she could not help fetching some groans now and then, so that all the congregation could hear her. After this she had some discoveries of Christ, and was something more comfortable; but still full of doubts and fears; it was a considerable time before her evidences of receiving Christ appeared clear to her. Since this we have not had any considerable crying out under conviction in the public assembly during service-time; but some have manifested great distress after it has been over: some have cried out in their own houses when pondering on religious things; some in private meetings; and one young girl particularly of nine years of age when at play with her consorts out of doors, though no body had spoken to her of religious things that day; she fell down in great distress, and said, "it seemed as if hell lay before her, that she was ready to fall into it:" the wrath of God was dreadful to her. These persons all declare with one accord, that they could not possibly help it; yea, one of them, if not more, have before their turn came, faulted others for it, and said, "that they could help it if they would." I do not mention these things because I lay any stress upon bodily emotions, &c. It is the impression the soul is under, that I regard and am swayed by. But I think it necessary that these circumstances be related, in order to the giving a just account. If any call this confusion, I would to stop their mouths declare further, that the greater part that



have been under impressions at this day among us have been wrought upon in a silent way: but then those that have cried out, and those that have not cried out give the same account of themselves; and some of this latter sort, have declared, that they do not wonder at others being in such an agony and crying out in distress, while under conviction; for if their own concern had prevailed one degree farther, all the world could not have kept them from the like manifestations.

But what is it fills them with such horror and distress? Why, they are convinced of their dreadful state by nature; they see themselves perishing and undone; and nothing will satisfy them but an interest in Christ. They complain in such a manner as it is impossible it should be feigned; many of them seem to go beyond themselves, and speak in such a moving manner as they were never capable of before. Oh how do they cry out of their former mispence of time, their slighting of Sabbaths and sermons, their contempt of good men, their frolicking, their gaming, their tavern-haunting, their love to the world, their averseness to all that is good, and all the sins they have lived in! And how are they filled with wonder and amazement that God hath let them alone thus long, that he hath not before this sent them to hell! and how fearful are they that he will suddenly cut the thread of life asunder before the morning light, or that he will take his Holy Spirit from them, and seal them up to perdition. This I certainly know to be the case; and I solemnly declare further, that in the whole course of my ministry I never heard any under convictions speak so feelingly and sensibly as most have done in this present day; they indeed express the same things for substance that others have done formerly; but they seem to be impressed to a greater degree, and to have more clear discoveries of sin and hell, &c. than they. Some few that were before loose and scandalous in their lives have been under deep convictions; but the greater number that have been the subjects of this work are such as did not appear openly profane; several moral persons and professors have been dissettled from their foundation,

When the work came near us and began to prevail among us, I made it my business in many instances to trace back to the fountain-head the evil reports that flew about, where I had opportunity. Some of them I found to be wholly groundless; others were gross misrepresentations; the bad circumstances of a story were picked up and related, and the good all suppressed; and sometimes when one only was guilty, the whole body were charged: and when any particular person had really said or done amiss, and was soon brought to a sense of it and to a repentance for it, I found that the repentance did not fly an hundredth part so fast as the sin: people did not appear so zealous to tell of this. In short, every little indiscretion was aggrandized and rendered monstrous, and some things that were innocent were strangely perverted and distorted, and made to appear in dreadful colours. And when any have endeavoured to wipe off such aspersions, and to declare the truth from their own certain knowledge, people were shy of hearing it; they seemed loath to have the report contradicted; by their management it appeared that they had rather it should be true than false. I could say

a great deal here in order to set the disingenuity of men in a proper light, but I must not be too lengthy. Only I think it necessary to observe further, that those that have been most opposite to this reformation, have all along betrayed an utter aversion to examine things to the bottom; they have from the beginning avoided the company and conversation of such as have been under concern, or of such as are capable of solving their difficulties; yea, when urged over and over to go and discourse with the young converts, and that not only with one or two, but with many of them, and examine thoroughly into their case, they could not be prevailed with to do it, but still keep aloof: so that some that live in places where this reformation has been most prevalent, know as little of it as if they had lived scores of miles off. Is this a rational way of acting?

There were not many among us that received comfort before the Spring of the year: but then a considerable number did; they had as we have reason to hope soul-saving discoveries made to them; they had, as they declare, such a sense of Christ's ability, sufficiency, and readiness to help, as drew out their souls to him; they were made his willing people in this day of his power; they were enabled to close with him in all his offices, upon the warrant of the word, as far as we can judge; and the effect of this was love and joy in the Holy Ghost: and in about three months time there were forty-four added to the church<sup>a</sup>. Some few that have been under strong conviction we have reason to fear are fallen away, and become as bad or worse than ever: but we desire to bless God there are no more. And a few that we charitably hoped had received the Spirit of adoption, have given us too much ground to think, that they never went farther than common illumination, Heb. vi. 4. mistaking conviction for conversion. There is one notorious instance of this: but the much greater part continue steadfast to this day, and bring forth the fruits of holiness. As to opposition, there are a few families that have stood out all along; the greater part of whom never made any profession: but through the blessing of God, we have had as great peace in the town since this religious concern, as any time since my settlement. Ever since last Fall, the Spirit seems to be withdrawn with respect to his convincing influences; there being no new convictions among us that I know of; though some that were under concern before remain so still. And true Christians, the greater part, seem not so lively as they have been: I frequently hear complaints of darkness, unbelief, hidings, doubtings, &c. Some have been too much led into disputes, which tend to eat out the vitals of religion, and to draw away the heart from the main concern. But yet my people's love to God's house continues. May God yet again revive his work among us: may he go on conquering and to conquer, till he has subdued the land. Amen. Thus I have given you some imperfect account of the great things God has done for us: I desire an interest in your prayers both for me and my people, and rest Your friend and servant, JOHN COTTON.

P. S. I think it proper to add the following account, which I forgot

<sup>a</sup> The whole number that were added before the close of the year 1742, were sixty-two, and since this year came in, seven.

in its proper place; Mr. Thomas Thomson, aged seventy-eight years, died here the 26th of October last: he was the wealthiest man in the town; but, what is more to his honour, he was rich towards God: he had, as we have reason to think, a principle of good in him many years before his death. In his life he was eminently serviceable; it might be said of him as of old Jehoiada, "That he did good in Israel," 2 Chron. xxiv. 16. He was just and exact in all his dealings, and made conscience of all his ways: he was food to the hungry, a father to the poor, and an harbour even to the stranger. His last sickness was very painful and tormenting to him; but the distress of his soul in the beginning of his illness surmounted his bodily pains; God seemed to break him with breach upon breach; all his waves and billows passed over him. But he was pleased at last to appear for his relief, and to fill him with joy and peace in believing: and the two or three last days of his life, he seemed to be upheld only to speak forth the praises of God; he taking scarce any sustenance. After this happy turn, he spent his time wholly in discoursing of religious things; he would take an hour upon a stretch, and then would seem to faint and die away for some time; and as soon as he revived, he would return to some religious topic, and keep on discoursing till his bodily strength was gone; and this he kept doing by turns from Saturday to Monday evening: sometimes he would be blessing God for his goodness; sometimes giving advice to his children and relations, or to those that visited him; for great numbers resorted to his house, being drawn by the fame of what they heard: he had something to say to every one, some advice to give: he took me by the hand that evening he died, and spake to me in particular about half an hour, and he concluded with these words, "I advise you to go on, and to discharge your ministry with faithfulness, cheerfulness, love and obedience." He spake very favourably and honourably of the present times, though he thought some had gone too far; and he bewailed it, that while children and young people were boldly praising and glorifying God, he had come so far behind them, and that he was so bashful and silent in the cause of God, and that he had been almost afraid to shew his opinion. In short, he seemed to be in Heaven while he was upon earth; he had glorious foretastes of the bliss above; he departed with praises upon his lips, and with a glorious triumph: some of the last words that he spake were those of Paul, "Oh death where is thy sting," &c. This instance put some opposers to a stand; they could not but acknowledge that God was with him of a truth. I would here add a few words of another person, who was dangerously sick the last Summer; she had been under great spiritual distress for three months before her sickness; but after the disease seized her, the prospect of death encreased it; her trouble grew greater and greater; horror and amazement possessed her soul, and she could find no relief; she knew not which way to turn. At last God was pleased to dispel the gloom upon her breast, and to lift up the light of his countenance upon her: upon which she sent for me; I found that she was still apprehensive that her great change was near, and others were so too, but this daunted her not; she appeared perfectly calm and easy;

she said Christ was willing, and she was willing; she called upon others to praise God with her, and wondered how any mouth could be shut at such a time. Such things as these, methinks, are sufficient to convince any of the reality of this work: what can be more satisfying than to see persons, while in the agonies of death, triumphing and rejoicing and glorifying God; than to hear them calling upon others (who it may be are melted into tears) to join with them in this heavenly employment, and reproving them for their backwardness thereto? Surely nature can never carry persons to so high a pitch. This person afterwards unexpectedly recovered, and she is, I believe, an excellent Christian. J. C.

## SECTION XIV.

*On the twenty-third of November 1741, at Middleborough, East Precinct.—Some Beginnings the Summer before.—Impressions had been made by the occasional Preaching of Mr. Tennent, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Moorhead, Mr. Shaw.—But on November twenty-third the Awakening great.—The Lamps of many went out.—Heart afflicting Cries and Confessions.—A remarkable Instance in the Head of a Club to his Companions.—For about eighteen Months the Place like a Heaven on Earth.*

[ From Mr. Thatcher's Letters to Mr. Prince Minister at Boston, and Mr. Prince's own Accounts, Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 63, 64, 52, 65. ]

R. and D. S. The design of the *Christian History* seems agreeable to the ancient spirit of the truly godly: Psal. lxxviii 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. and tends to strengthen the hands that hang down, and the hearts that are fainting, on viewing the unsuccessfulness of the gospel on the hearts of men.—I wish my ability and leisure would allow me to contribute at all hereunto.—I dare not conceal what the Lord hath been doing for this people of the first Precinct in Middleborough.

It had been a long time of deadness; no stirrings of the Spirit attending the word in public, or private application; the prayerless were prayerless still; the drunkard and envious man went on frowardly in their way<sup>a</sup>: many inward reflections and searchings of heart after the cause hereof: thither I turned, and oft almost resolved, that I would speak no more in the name of the Lord: for some months before the rev. Mr. Tennent came by us, I had fixed the time of taking my farewell of that dear flock with whom I had been almost thirty-four years. Against his person and ministry, I found sensible prejudice, from the reports of him which had reached me: I rode six miles out of town to meet with him in his way from Plymouth to the rev. Mr. Campbell's parish. I desire to bless God for that sermon, which was from Luke xv. on the prodigal. I never saw more of the presence of God with any in prayer<sup>b</sup> and preaching, and never felt more of the power accompa-

<sup>a</sup> The author not living to finish or revise this letter, here and in some other places seem to be a word or two wanting.

<sup>b</sup> The author told Mr. Prince, "That tho'

he went with sensible prejudice; yet by that time Mr. Tennent had delivered three sentences in his first prayer, his prejudice vanished away."

nying the word on my heart. Every word made its own way: I felt the weight of it. This revived in me the ministry I sat under in my youth. Mr. Tennent preached that evening in my pulpit, from Rom. vii. 9. He complained that he never was so shut up but once; though I suppose none were sensible of it: this added greatly terror and discouragement to me; fearing the Lord had shut up his tender mercies from me and this people; yea, that God had said, "Pray not for this people." I laid my case freely open to Mr. Tennent, and my discouragements in the ministry: who seemed tenderly affected; yet on parting had such a word as this, "Oft-times 'tis darkest a little before day, the rising sun will bring light."—The assembly with us was small: no visible effect; yet from that day my people were more inclined to hear.

I tried them with lectures in publick and private; and encreased as I see their attention awakened, from one public lecture to two, besides one or two monthly meetings: yet no visible success. Yet in the Summer months following, there were four or five of the church awakened, who were before very blameless. There are many among us will bless God I believe eternally for the ministry of Mr. Daniel Rogers; Mr. Moorhead preached in our skirts; and some were awakened thereby. Some were awakened by an occasional sermon of Mr. Shaw. In the beginning of October following, on a Tuesday I proposed a day of prayer; and spake to my brother Shaw for his assistance. This was our errand to the throne of grace, to ask the outpouring of the Spirit on this dry fleece. That week some of my lately awakened brethren obtained a visit from the rev. Mr. Crocker: they appointed a lecture for him the Friday; which pleased me to hear of on my return from my journey. He preached next morning: one cried out: the little assembly was struck with awe and seriousness; which gave some hopes of a revival. He promises a visit on Monday; of this public notice was given the next day, the Sabbath. All that day my hearers seemed very attentive, and some meltings. The next day being the 23d day of November, 1741. Mr. Crocker came. We began about one: he preached from Rom. 8. 1. This he opened largely: giving the characters of them that were in Christ; and inferred the misery of those who found not the characters in themselves of their being in Christ; there was nothing but condemnation for them, shewing what that damnation was, &c. After sermon there was an exhortation delivered<sup>a</sup>: many now melted down. After the blessing, the people generally stayed; until some cried out with terror, which flew like lightning into every breast; I suppose none excepted. I have written accounts of seventy-six that day struck, and brought first to enquire what they should do to escape condemnation. This inquiry awakened many. There were a number of professors of religion that day whose lamps went out: they discovered there was no oil of true grace in them. There were four persons that this day being left alone in the several houses to which they belong, were I suppose savingly awakened that day, by the consideration, that they were left. After a stay with the distressed in public, many followed us home: those that we had not opportunity to ask openly the state of

<sup>a</sup> This was delivered by Mr. Thatcher, tho' he modestly forbore to mention himself.

their souls and the reason of their out-cry, repairing to us. They tell us they see now what they never did before; their original guilt and actual sins, and fear of the dreadful wrath of the Lord: this filled them with unutterable anguish. They seemed to be stepping into hell: this drew trembling, fear and cries from them. They complain of hard hearts, and blind eyes! That they could never see before! Especially unbelief! O how dreadful to give the God of truth the lye! They now complain they cannot believe, find their hearts full of enmity to God, to Christ, to his holiness, his word, and saints. Scores, this day, told me of their hatred of me above any one. But to hear the young people crying and wringing their hands, and bewailing their frolicking and dancing, their deriding public reproofs therefore, was affecting.——O how heavy now did their contempt and neglect of Christ appear to them, as the effect of these corrupt principles of pride, unbelief and enmity, and vicious practices of mirth and jollity. Their mouths are at once filled with arguments to justify God in their eternal damnation, and condemn those principles and practices they had been ruled by and led into; and this from scripture. This the peculiar work of the Spirit to convince of sin and unbelief.

Well, the next evening, we had another lecture. Tho' an excessive rain, yet many came, and the word was powerful. Thus the Lord began to hear, as soon as 'twas in our hearts to ask. From this time, there was an uncommon teachableness among my people: scarce one word of counsel seemed lost, or a sermon in vain. From this time, they must have four sermons in a week; two Tuesdays, two Thursdays: the word of the Lord was very precious in those days.——In a few days from that 23d of November, so greatly to be remembered, there appeared to be above two hundred awakened: and it was some days, and weeks, and months, before they were brought sensibly to close with Christ: most of them tarried long in the birth: and so far as I am capable to judge, gave as distinct and clear an account of their espousing to Jesus Christ; the means, his word of promise and time, as they could of any action of human life. This not all in the same manner under the preparatory work: but all come to the same espousing closing act; when they were brought out of darkness into marvellous light, when the prison doors were opened, their captive souls set free, when the Lord said unto them Live. Now they understood what it was to have the everlasting gates and doors of their souls set open, and the glorious King entering. How pleasantly affecting to hear them tell of their submission to God's righteousness, resigning to the hands of Justice, and how sweetly and speedily in a moment they found themselves inclosed in the everlasting arms of mercy! Who would not be encouraged to come to this submission? To hear them speak of the glories of the Redeemer and his infinite fulness; how oft would they break out, Oh! we are sure, from God's word and our own experience, there is enough for all, every one in the world! This awakes professors very moral and blameless in life, to inquire into their own standing: the most find they build on the sand, that they lived to themselves, rested in their duties, were meer hypocrites; and after a

while, they joyfully tell me; "I have found my feet on the rock; I never knew what it was to have my will subdued and heart changed, and Christ there, till now: and now I know I have the witness in myself, and the Spirit in the word witnesseth with my spirit: I am sure religion is real, no fable, no delusion! Christ is meat indeed, and drink indeed: I never knew what pleasure was before Christ gave it me; and what he hath given is better than all the world." Such an account, I suppose, there are more than two hundred can give. The work grew daily; the numbers were increased; near 170 the following year, joined to the church.

Thus far the rev. Mr. Thacher proceeded in his account for some months before he died. And as the revival of religion has been so very remarkable in his congregation; it is a thousand pities that he did not go on to finish it. It was so remarkable in his congregation; that we have been well informed by some pious persons there; that though one of the dearest places for religion in the land before, yet for about eighteen months after that sudden breaking forth on November 23. 1741, the place became, for extraordinary lively and continued praying, reading, singing, preaching, hearing and religious conferences, like a heaven on earth.

Instead of Mr. Thacher's remaining designed account; we now present some letters of his: which, tho' two were wrote before the revival, and they and some of the others hint at some things mentioned before; yet because they confirm the former accounts and breathe his pious spirit, we hope will not be unacceptable to the pious reader.

Middleborough, March 30. 1741.—R. S. and D. B. Yours of the 2d instant was thankfully received, with Mr. Tennent. We are thankful to God who sent him into this sleepy, secure and dead part of the vineyard. I had the privilege to hear him five sermons: at Lakenham, from the prodigal son; in my own pulpit from that lesson, "I was alive without the law once," &c. That evening he had twelve of his company lodged with us. I had the pleasure of his company to the rev. Mr. Perkins's: where I heard three sermons that day and in the evening: the first, the jailor; the second, Luke xiii. 24. the third, "All things are ready, come to the marriage." I was compelled by pain to leave him. Peter waited on him to Taunton: from whence he went to Berkly: since which, I have heard nothing. There were some few young ones in my family and neighbourhood under awakenings; especially, through God's goodness, among my children. His discourse in public, and personal in private was melting to them. Oh! let your prayers be, that they may all be effectually called, soundly and savingly converted. Oh brother and sister! I rejoice, I bless God with you and for you, for the pledges of covenant grace to your children.—My love, my dear love to— and cousin—and—. Let them stand fast in the Lord, watch and pray: they are but putting on the harness: and my dear little——too! Tell her that her cousin——is under awakenings: he leaves his play for his book, and his company for retirement. Oh brother and sister! If God giveth our children covenant-grace, it is our best portion. I bless God, I hope every one of my children and my two old negroe servants are under awakening! Oh! help by your

prayers, that they may not be like Felix or Agrippa's.—Oh! when Christ girds on his sword, it shall conquer. This our state within doors; wherein, if I have been freer into your bosoms than you were of yours; it is but to magnify the grace of God, and to excite glories to that grace. Our state without is sad; more dark than ever. It seems as though God is about to break up house with us. Heartily thank you for your kindness to our son—who came home under great and deep impressions, which seem deeper daily: may the issue be glory to rich grace. Thank you for every remembrance in your prayers. None can need them more; nor we never more than now. I am your affectionate, loving brother, PETER THACHER.

Middleborough, May 25. 1741.—R. and D. B. I desire to rejoice to hear that the Lord Christ is carrying on his own work with such a mighty arm in so many places: I do most earnestly request, you would make all your interest to engage the fervent prayers of all that have any interest in Heaven, for a poor unprofitable minister, and his secure and hardened people; that he may be instrumental to save himself and them that hear him, that there may be the outpouring of the Spirit of conversion on him and his dry fleece. O Sir! this is the greatest kindness you can do! Nothing hath hindered my resigning the pastoral office, but my being at a loss to fix on a farewell-sermon, that many times within these three months I have laboured to engage in. Our divisions swallow all that is good. Amids all my disconsolate trials, that yet are less than mine iniquities deserve; I have some comfortable hopes that God is beginning a good work on many of my children. Oh! who am I, and what is our father's house, that the Lord should speak good to our house for a great while to come! While my children will not be heirs to the wealth of the world, if he makes them heirs of the kingdom; Oh the praise! In this covenant is all my desire. I rejoice with you and sister and cousins: to each of whom I send endeared salutations. In every adversity I am your affectionate brother and servant, PETER THACHER.

These were Mr. Thacher's sorrowful letters before the revival: but how surprizing was the change in his next, as follows.

December 11. 1741.—D. B. I thought not to have wrote to you again till I had time to write a particular and large account of the wonderful work of God in both Middleborough precincts; especially in ours. Our frolicks are turned into prayers and praises! drinking matches at least wholly suspended! Many families that were Bethavens, are now Bethels! Many secure and hard-hearted sinners, brought to cry out of their sins and dangers! Tho' none in the time of publick worship, yet as soon as it is over. My public lectures twice a week; Tuesdays and Fridays. They are not satisfied with one sermon: fill my house after public service, for a further word: and blessed be God, I have not yet sent them away without one. I see not how a Jannes and Jambres can doubt of its being the finger of God: especially upon little children: some not above six or seven years old. One last night at the meeting-house door I believe would have fallen down in a swoon, if I had not caught it in my arms. One thing I must not



forget; I think almost all the Indians that attend our assemblies, are deeply wounded; and many I hope savingly and wonderfully wrought upon. Let me beg an interest in your fervent prayers, that I may be faithful and skilful to souls, and may be instrumental to save them, and not afterwards myself be a castaway. Your sincere and affectionate brother PETER THACHER.

December 21. 1741. I take this opportunity to give you a more particular account of the glorious work of the conviction and conversion of souls, the sovereign God is lately carrying on by the preaching of the word. I do it, Sir, that God may have the sole glory of his grace, to silence gainfayers, and encourage the hearts of those engaged in and pursuing this work. It hath been a time, &c. [he mentions what was said above of Mr. Tennent's preaching, Mr. Rogers', &c. and then goes on] Though the convictions of some were remarkable, they seemed to give no additional strength to the power of religion; because among those that had the form of godliness before. But hereby God was preparing me some sweet helpers; though the devil from this circumstance took occasion to reproach this work: so that from this time I may date the open strife between the houses of David and of Saul that yet subsists. The enmity and opposition to this work in all the parts of it, is with utmost art and industry propagated; supported with the most palpable lies, false insinuations, and injurious reports, and many other ways, to scatter the seeds of division among us; of which we were languishing by the deep wounds before.

To return, it was on a Tuesday, I bemoaned my sad case to the neighbouring ministers at a public lecture; proposed a fast the next week on the Wednesday; and had the ready promise of the company of divers of them. The Friday after God sent that dear youth Mr. Crocker. He preached two sermons: considerable meltings. Saturday morning preached another: after the exercise was over, one cried out bitterly; that affected many. Divers more were wounded on the Sabbath: the evening after which, my room was filled with distressed souls. Next day Mr. Crocker came again and preached: the assembly generally melted, but silent; 'till the blessing given, and we had got without doors, when there were many, I suppose I may say near one hundred cried out. We returned, and loudly invited them into the meeting house again, which they crowded into with loud screeches, wringing of hands, and floods of tears, that could not be altogether silenced to attend the farther prayers made with and counsels given to them. Many of these distressed were of the neighbouring parishes. As I was turning from the crowd, many whispered thus in my ears, "O my dear minister I never loved you before, but now I do," &c. My rooms that night were crowded. I preached to them; to which they gave silent and serious attention. But oh, after the service, what heart-affecting cries! one crying to another, "O I am going to hell! I have frolicked with you and sinned with you! O what dismal company shall we be one for another in hell! O the hours and nights we have spent in singing and dancing and frolicking mirth!" On every such word, they would a-new screech, cry, condemn, and warn each other: and I think

it went round the rooms; "O the cursed frolicks! They had never prayed in their lives! had not harkened to any counsels, but shunned their minister as a serpent, for fear of some counsel or reproof." Tuesday night I preached again, being the evening before the fast. A tedious storm it was: yet a considerable assembly. The fast-day, a crowded assembly: and many crying out after the exercises were over. Since which there have been ordinarily at every sermon more or less wounded, as appeared afterwards.

I will now observe, on whom chiefly this work hath taken hold, and how it operates. It hath in the first place, awakened many church members, where it first began. They were detected of their hypocrisy. One told me, "He did but delude me, when he offered himself to communion; he took more pleasure in a frolick, than at the Lord's table; rather be with singers and dancers and rude jesters than with serious persons." Another, "That notwithstanding his profession, he was glad to be diverted, as he often was, from secret and family devotion." Others convinced of secret wrongs they had done to the name and estate of others, of which they never were suspected. More than a score of these instances. And can this be from any other than the Holy Spirit of God? Others confessing their secret prejudices to their ministers; yet never suspected. Numbers brought to pray in their families, to instruct and catechise their children. The tavern clubs all divided. To give you a feeling instance. The last Monday was a general military muster of three companies. I was told that one of the heads of those clubs got a chamber full of his companions about him; and there with many tears, related the trouble he had endured for his sins with them in that very chamber; and then, as well as he could, painted out his terrors for those sins, begged and warned them to repent in time. That evening before seven o'clock they were generally divided in the several neighbourhoods into little praying assemblies. Can this be from any other than the Spirit of God? Those under this work are exceeding full of love one to another; even where old grudges were before. Religion, especially the nature, necessity and marks of conversion, is become the general subject of conversation. But few have appeared with such transports of joy, as in other places; but have attained to some comfortable hopes that they do not rest short of Christ. Those who have had such joys, tell me they arrive to it in this way; first awakened to see the many and horrible acts of sin through their lives; then led to a view of their original sin, the guiltiness and utter helplessness of their condition, of the sufficiency of Jesus Christ: they beheld him in his word, embrace and go out to the promise, and Christ in the promise; and this the foundation of their comfort: they feel the change in their wills. Coming from an evening lecture, I asked an Indian woman, "Well how is it with your soul?" "O Sir, (said she,) I am a sinful, impotent, odious, wretched creature; but when I can get to a promise, Christ helping me, I find comfort and rest." This is indeed a common answer I have from several Indians: one child of about nine years old, another about seven, besides some grown persons. The complaints of the awakened are various. Generally of heart-plagues. Some of spiritual ignorance. Some of one sin,

some of another. All of their pride and obstinacy of will, and enmity of heart to an holy God. Again their help they seek by the reading and hearing God's word: that it is now precious to them: they see it a rule, a perfect rule of faith and practice: they are greedy to hear it preached. I have public lectures every Tuesday and Friday: and from the meeting house, they follow me to my own, for another sermon: so that one sermon doth not satisfy them in a day, though often revolving, and from a feeble weak decayed old man too. To conclude, where the work is deep and effectual, it appears with fervent devotion in and to all the acts of social communion with God; praying, hearing, singing, holy conference, strict Sabbath-sanctification, a new turn of thought on spiritual and eternal things, and a new flame of affection to them and delight in them. I cannot descend into particulars; time is precious with me, and I cannot attend all in their desires.

Now if these instances, which might be multiplied, are judged of in a scriptural light; I think all the regenerate world, not biased and prepossessed, must judge this to bear the true characteristics of the genuine work of the Holy Spirit, and cannot, without blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, be imputed to an evil spirit. Oh that the despisers would believe Christ for his works sake: or doubtless if they do not, they must wonder and perish. The holy God is making great haste to encompass his elect: and when that is over, the door will be shut! Woe to them that shall be left! May the word of the Lord run more and more, and our Redeemer be more and more glorified! Dear Sir, help me with your prayers, that I may be found faithful, in every capacity, under every trial and temptation, that annoys and follows me, even until death. To the grace of our dear Lord I recommend you, and desire to be by you recommended, and am your unworthy yet loving brother,

PETER THACHER.

So deeply affected was the pious soul of Mr. Thacher with this wondrous grace of God; that on Lord's-day, Jan. 31. 1741-2, he desired, with the consent of his church, to keep a day of thanksgiving, Feb. 10. for this extraordinary pouring out of the Spirit of God in the two months preceeding: it being apprehended that within that time, there were, in a judgment of charity, near an hundred persons effectually convinced and converted; and others, both younger, middle-aged and elder, in a hopeful way: and considering also that this great grace of God was given the people upon keeping a day of prayer; it was an additional argument for them to make their answerable acknowledgments, in keeping a day of thanksgiving. Which they freely complied with. When the day came, there was such a great snow storm as hindered many living at a distance from coming. However a considerable number wading through the snow, repaired to Mr. Thacher's house and filled it, where they kept the day with great joy and praise: Mr. Thacher preaching from Luke xv. 24. And so joyful was the day to those who were present and so desirable to those who were hindered; as they could not be satisfied without appointing and keeping another in the meeting-house. For several years before the revival; Mr. Thacher considering the prevailing disposition of many of those who on

Lord's-day noons, in the interval of public worship, either tarried at the meeting place or repaired to the two or three nearest houses, to fall into vain or worldly conversation, which both profaned the holy Sabbath and had a tendency to efface all serious impressions from the minds of the people; he led the church to appoint some of the gravest men to oversee them in those intervals, prevent all vain discourse, and employ the time in reading, praying and singing: which was of considerable service; tho' then this method had rather only a restraining than a quickening influence on the people. But upon this revival, so many of the brethren had made so quick a progress in the experimental part of piety, and were so surprizingly excited; as they both prayed and read and sang with such unusual freedom, life and fervour, as was very engaging and affecting to others: far greater numbers chose to stay in the house at noons: and the gracious presence of Christ was remarkably with them, made them long more earnestly for the return of the preacher, and inclined them to receive him again with the greater joy.

On September 6. 1742, Mr. Thacher writes,—"God's work yet prevails among us: and blessed be God, there are yet many tokens for good in this Zion.—Pray, pray for your unworthy brother, that I may be sincere and faithful to the death," &c. We might give the reader extracts from others of his excellent letters; containing some remarkable instances of the grace of God; especially one of an Indian and another of a child. But we shall now only give the last that ever he wrote; which was to two of his children, just as he was going into his fatal illness: and wherein you will see his usual spirit, as follows:

Middleborough, April 9. 1744.—"My dear Children, am glad to hear of you by——, who I hope the Lord makes a blessing to you. May the Lord sanctify your frequent bodily infirmities to you; to wean you from the world; and engage you to such a walk after the Spirit as may evidence your being in Christ Jesus. This must be the Spirit's dwelling in you: if any have not this Spirit, he is none of Christ's: where this Spirit dwells, he sanctifies; there is liberty; there is prayer; there is a constant bent of soul to holiness; there is humility and abasement; there is a spiritual mind; there is a disposition to live and speak the praises of God. Take heed of grieving the Spirit; because he only can sanctify you, can seal you, can comfort you: you may grieve him by not hearkening to his word, nor loving and meditating on it. Take heed that you live together as heirs; yea, as heirs together of Heaven; so holily, temperately, blamelessly: constantly realizing the approach of death: get assurance where death will leave you: familiarize the thoughts of death; that you do not start at it when it comes, though suddenly. I should be glad to see you here. May the Lord have you always in his arms, and delight you with the consolations of his chosen." I subscribe your loving father, PETER THACHER.

## SECTION XV.

*On the twenty-fifth of November 1741, at Portsmouth in New-Hampshire.—A polite Sort of People.—Messrs. Whitefield's and Tennent's Preaching blessed to them.—November twenty-fifth, a Monthly Fast to seek divine Influences.—Different Exclamations, like what may be expected at the last Day.—A Circumstance that occasioned or heightened these.—The Concern of the Hearers did not always follow the most pathetic Discourses.—One who was prejudiced at speaking out, forced to do it himself.—Some Apostates, &c. but a considerable Number appear real Converts.—Reformation as to Cursing and Swearing.—Sabbath-Sanctification.—Family Worship.—Charity.—Restitution.—Psalms and Hymns, instead of carnal Mirth.—The Work revived again about a Year after.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Shurtleff Minister at Portsmouth, to Mr. Cooper Minister at Bolton, June 1st, 1743.—Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 48. ]

R. and D. S. The following brief and general account, such as it is, you may communicate to whom you please; and if you have not a more particular and compleat Narrative from some other hand, and think the making this public will be of the least service to the cause and kingdom of our dear Redeemer; don't let the reproach it may upon one account or other bring upon me, be any obstruction to it. You are doubtless in some measure acquainted with the character, which the people of this town have heretofore generally sustained. They have, I think, been remarked by strangers for their politeness in dress and behaviour; have been thought to go beyond most others in equal circumstances, if not to exceed themselves, in their sumptuous and elegant living, and things of a like nature: and while they have been justly in repute for their generous and hospitable disposition, and for many social virtues; diversions of various kinds have been much in fashion, and the vices that have been usual in sea-port and trading places, have been common and prevalent among us. We have, I trust, never been without a number of sincere and serious Christians: but even these wise virgins have slumbered and slept: and, as to the generality of professors, they have seemed for a great while to content themselves with an empty form, and there has been but little of the life and power of religion to be seen. Indeed the great earthquake in the year 1727, that put the whole country into such a surprize, was a means of awakening a great many here: and, as to some, there is reason to think the impressions have remained; but, as to the bigger part, it was not long before they evidently wore off, and before they fell into their former sleepy and secure state; and this has been generally the case till of late.

Mr. Whitefield's coming among us, and also Mr. Tennent's, was, I am persuaded, blessed of God; and their preaching made instrumental of putting a great many upon shaking off their heavy slumbers: and

how reproachfully soever any may speak of them, and their itinerancy; I must needs look upon their travelling this way as a favourable providence, and that for which we owe abundant thanksgivings to the God of all grace.

As there had been for some time a growing concern among us, as to things of a religious nature, and a remarkable work of God's grace going on in many parts of the land; the ministers of this, and some other of the neighbouring towns agreed upon observing a monthly fast, in our respective congregations, to seek for the like blessing. When the solemnity was attended in this town, which was on Wednesday November 25th, 1741; as soon as the afternoon service was ended, one cried out in a transport of joy, and others discovered a great deal of distress. The people did not care to disperse; insomuch that there was another sermon in the evening; and a great number of them, and some of the ministers with them staid till it was late in the place of public worship. The next day a sermon was again preached in public, and had an unusual efficacy upon the hearers. The day after we had two, or three exercises, and the congregation great part of it continued together till late at night. This Friday was the most remarkable day that was ever known among us. The whole congregation seemed deeply affected: and there was such a general out-cry in some from a distressing sight of their sins, and in others from a joyful sense of the love of Christ; that could not but put a great many in mind of the appearing of the Son of man, and of the different exclamations that shall be heard from the inhabitants of the world, when they shall see him coming in the clouds of heaven, in power, and great glory.

And here, upon my making mention of this solemn and awful event, I am led to relate a circumstance; which tho' but small and inconsiderable in itself, seemed to be over-ruled by God to serve great and good purposes; and upon this account may be worthy of notice. Late in the evening of the same day, before the body of the people had left the place of public worship; the chimney of an house that stood near to it happening to take fire and blaze out to an uncommon degree: upon the sudden appearance of the light breaking in at the several windows, there was a cry made, that Christ was coming to judgment: which being really believed by a great many, some that were not before so much affected as others, were put into the deepest distress, and great numbers had their convictions hereby strengthened and confirmed. I am not so unacquainted with the world as to be insensible with how much derision such a relation as this is likely to be entertained by a great many. But, I think this a thing little to be regarded: though I wish to God that such persons might be brought, for their own sakes, to think more of this great and terrible day of the Lord; and that they would consider, if the apprehension of its approach be so very startling to a carnal world, how vast would be their horror and amazement when it shall actually arrive. This would be of good use to check their disposition to ridicule, to restrain them from their vain and wicked jestings, and from a great many things which if indulged must needs add to their terror in that day. And however distasteful the relating such low occurren-

ces, may be to some now, I make no doubt but things of a like nature will afford an infinite satisfaction to the saints hereafter: that it will give them a vast, and inconceivable pleasure, when they get to Heaven, to see how some events that are seemingly insignificant have been made subservient to very great, and excellent designs: and how a bare imagination, and mistaken apprehension of things has been so far set home, and made such impressions upon a great many, as to be a means of their saving conversion to God.

As I was called abroad next day, it was surprizing to observe the seriousness that appeared in the face of almost every one I occasionally met with: and it seemed as if there was hardly a house in which there was not some poor wounded and distressed soul; and where there was not a greater or less degree of concern in all belonging to it, as to their spiritual and eternal state. It was very affecting to be called into one family after another, as I was going along the street, and entreated not to leave them till prayer had been solemnly offered up to God on their behalf. A divine power was then so plainly to be seen in what had come to pass among us, that there was hardly any that dared openly and expressly deny it. As for those who through their own prevailing corruptions, or the insinuations and persuasions of others soon grew into a distlike of it, and have since gone so far as to pronounce the whole of it a scene of enthusiasm, and to look upon all as a delusion; their very countenance and behaviour then plainly spoke the awful apprehensions they were under of its being from God. As we had preaching for some time upon every day; so we were greatly obliged to several of the neighbouring ministers, who readily granted us their assistance, till prevented by indisposition of body<sup>a</sup>, or till the state of their own flocks required them at home.

It was soon after this, having in a few lines acquainted you with our state, and requested you would take this opportunity to make us a visit; that you came to us, and that as I trust in the fulness of the gospel of Christ. As you were called to minister in public almost every evening during your near three weeks stay among us; you cannot but see reason to acknowledge to the glory of God's grace, that he was pleased to own and bless your ministry: that as some were pricked to the heart, many others were filled with peace and joy in believing. And as the people here have a grateful remembrance of your work of faith, and labour of love; I am well assured they have since been many of them making mention of you in their prayers, as well as giving thanks to God on your behalf. We continued in much the same state through the Winter, that we were in when you left us. Our assemblies were always thronged, and the number of communicants from time to time greatly increased.

Sometimes when a discourse was very pathetical in itself, and in the manner in which it was delivered, the congregation would be but little moved; and at other times when it was less so, there would be a considerable stir. And here, as there have been various reports spread a-

<sup>a</sup> a Mr. Blunt of New-Castle, whilst labouring with great diligence and zeal, was taken sick, and continued so for some time among us.

broad concerning the great stress that many have laid upon out-cries, and such like public appearances; I think it proper to declare that the people here have been instructed to the contrary: that they have been taught them from the beginning, that they ought always to avoid them, when it could be done without great inconvenience to themselves, and never needlessly obstruct the attention of others. That as persons might be effectually wrought upon by the word, without any thing of this nature; so they may be put into an uncommon degree of terror, and filled with a great deal of joy, under the hearing of it, and yet continue strangers to a real, and saving change. And lest any should be so horribly presumptuous, as to feign any thing of the one, or the other; they have been publicly and privately admonished of the daring wickedness of such a practice, and of the danger they would hereby be brought under of being suddenly made monuments of divine vengeance. But that such as have ever read the Acts of the Apostles, that have there seen the Apostle Peter's hearers so many of them, pricked at the heart, and heard them saying in the agony of their souls, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" and that have seen the Roman governor trembling in the manner that he did under the preaching of the Apostle Paul his prisoner; or that any who have read the well-attested accounts of this nature that are related by the credible author of the fulfilling of the scripture; or that have so much as seen a poor sinner deeply distressed under the burden of his guilt; should think it strange, and even a thing incredible, for any to be put under such a commotion of soul under the ministry of the word, as not to be able to forbear making a public discovery of it; has sometimes filled me with surprize. And yet I am sensible that some well-disposed persons have been stumbled at things of this kind. I know an instance of this nature, in one of our own church; a person of a good capacity, and of considerable reading and knowledge of divine things, who for some time entertained latent prejudices against the late religious commotions, more particularly on account of persons speaking out in public, and could not be persuaded but that they might easily avoid it, till experience taught him to the contrary. Upon the morning of a Sabbath, a day when the sacrament of the Lord's supper was to be administered; just at the close of his secret devotions, (as he afterwards told me) he had his sins discovered to him in such a manner as they never were before, and an uncommon darkness and horror fell upon him. In this sorrowful and distressed state, he went to the house of God. When the celebration of the sacrament came on, he had considerable reasonings in his mind concerning his tarrying, and at length concluded to stay, but could not prevail with himself to receive. As soon as the administration was over, he could no longer forbear speaking in the grief and bitterness of his soul, and breathed out his complaints to God in such a manner as drew tears from almost every person present; and has sometimes since been constrained to break out into some short expressions. He was under a great deal of concern for his soul while young, and put upon an early reformation of his life: He has deservedly had the character of being strictly just in his dealings, and has



been a constant and steady observer of the duties of divine worship, in his closet, in his family, and in public: but has been convinced that he has built too much upon these things, and never till of late had the corrupt fountain of his own heart sufficiently laid open to his view. And from what he has now seen of himself, he has declared to me, that tho' he has sometimes been in some measure affected with the unkind and cruel usage of the blessed Jesus, and not been without some sort of indignation against his opposers, persecutors, and murderers; that yet if he had lived in their day, and been of the same temper of mind that he was when this work first began among us, he is persuaded he should have approved of them, if not made one among them. We are not without instances of other professors who have been put off from their former foundation; and others who if their hearts were before right with God, have been greatly quickened, and made more fervent in spirit serving the Lord. But a great part of those that have been remarkably wrought upon, are such as before had very little if any thing of the form and appearance of religion: and among these the divine sovereignty has been very illustriously displayed. Some of those whom we trust are savingly brought home, are such as have wandered far from God. Some that have been very ignorant, and unthinking persons, and some very young. They many of them, upon their first being brought under conviction, manifested a deep sense of their original, as well as actual sins; complained sadly of the wickedness of their hearts, and bewailed their sin in rejecting and making light of a Saviour. There have been some instances of young persons that have spoke feelingly of these things, who have seemed to have had but little human instruction, and seldom to have been where such things have been the subjects of discourse. As was at first feared and expected, it must be confessed that so it has happened to some that were brought under a serious concern for their souls, that they have fallen off from their good beginnings, and are the same persons that they were before: and there are others who continuing under convictions, seem to have proceeded no further. But there is a considerable number who are exhibiting all the evidence that can be expected, of a real conversion to God.

As to the place in general; that there is an alteration in it for the better, must I think needs be owned by every unprejudiced observer. That there is not that profane cursing and swearing, which has formerly been usual, has been acknowledged by some who are far from being well affected to the present times. That the Sabbath is more strictly observed, is out of all manner of dispute. Family worship where it was neglected, in a variety of instances is now set up. Some that were manifestly of a narrow, selfish and worldly spirit, and seemed unwilling to part with any thing of what they possessed to any good and charitable use whatsoever; appear now to have their hearts much enlarged, and are ready to distribute of their substance, as the honour of God and the wants of their fellow-Christians have called for it. Many that have dealt dishonestly, have not only acknowledged the wrongs they have done, but made restitution for them. Where you might formerly have heard jovial, and it may be profane and obscene songs; you may

now hear Psalms and Hymns of praise sung to God, and to our Lord Jesus Christ.

I have told you, that we remained much in the same situation thro' the Winter after you left us, that we were in when you went from us: but during the course of the Spring, and so of the Summer 1742, and Autumn following, tho' some that had for a considerable time been under darkness, and distress, were brought into light and joy; there was but now and then one that was brought under any new concern. But through the Winter 1742-3. instances of this nature were something more frequent, and there seemed to be a general revival of that serious concern as to eternal things which had appeared for some time to decline. Tho' at present there does not seem to be altogether that life and fervor in religion as to some, that has appeared in times past: God is I trust pouring out a Spirit of supplication upon many of his people, which I hope may be a token of further good. Numbers meet together to supplicate the throne of grace upon the evening of every day in the week, but Saturday, when there is no public lecture. I have sometimes been at one, and sometimes at another, of their meetings; and from all that I have seen, and all that I can hear, they are carried on with a becoming solemnity and devotion. Thus I have given you some hints, and now I am confident that as you have been praising God on our behalf, so we have had, and still have a remembrance in your prayers, and earnestly desire the continuance of them. And may you, dear Sir, have more and more of the presence of God with you. May you be carried thro' all the reproaches and difficulties that your firm attachment to your dear Redeemer's kingdom and interest, may expose you to. May none of these things move you; and may you not count even your life dear to you, so that you finish your course with joy, and the ministry you have received, &c. I am your very affectionate brother, and fellow-servant in the gospel &c.

WILLIAM SHURTLEFF.

## SECTION XVI.

*About the 10th of December 1741, at New-London North Parish.—*

*Mr. Jewet their Minister had exchanged Pulpits with Mr. Griswold of Lyme.—The Peoples Hearts wonderfully united after this to Mr. Jewet, tho' before they were at the Point of separating from him.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Griswold to Mr. Prince Minister at Boston, April 9. 1744.—Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 67. ]

R. S. “ Upon the report of the remarkable concern among us April 1741<sup>a</sup>; the rev. Mr. David Jewet of the North Parish in New-London, in the beginning of May came here and preached two sermons to the good acceptance of my people. And as a return for his good will, toward the latter end of May I went and preached two sermons in his parish. Before I went, there was a seriousness on the minds of many there;

a See above Section xi.

though nothing of the visible appearance of a remarkable concern, like what had been among us. I observed that almost all his people came to meeting; though on a week day. And I observed a great seriousness and attention to the word preached, and many tears shed at the hearing of the word; though I did not hear of any saving effect of it on the hearts of any persons. But afterward I was told, there were some that received those impressions and concern at the hearing those sermons that stuck by them till they hopefully experienced a saving change.

The Summer and Fall following, there was a concern among the people; and as I have been told, about ten or twelve hopefully converted. About the latter end of July Mr. Davenport came there; and Mr. Jewet, as I was told, refused to give him an account of his experiences of the work of God's Spirit on his heart: whereupon Mr. Davenport publicly delivered as his opinion or at least his great fears that Mr. Jewet was unconverted. Upon this, there arose an uneasiness among those of his people that had (perhaps too) great an esteem of Mr. Davenport: and about the beginning of the next Winter, a number of his people seemed to be got almost at the point of separation from him. I being invited by some of my brethren in the ministry to visit them and preach to their people; about the latter end of November, I set out on a small journey to preach; and almost every day preached twice a day. At this time people were exceeding greedy to hear the word, flocked in great crowds where the word was preached. For near a fortnight I did not see much effect of my preaching that was remarkable for this day. Indeed some cried out under the sense of sin and divine wrath, and some were overcome with joy and the sense of the love of God; but the most of them had had these impressions on them before in hearing the word; unless one or two persons, as I heard afterward, that God was pleased to make use of my ministry as a means of their saving change. As I returned homeward on Saturday the thirteenth day after my going from home; I called to visit the rev. Mr. Jewet; and in discourse with him I found that he was desirous I should tarry and preach to his people, and he would go and preach for me. I consented; and we concluded he should preach not only to my people on the Lord's-day, but also a lecture about the middle of the day on Monday; and that I should preach for him not only on the Lord's-day, but on the Lord's-day evening and Monday and Monday evening; and on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday at some other parishes where I thought and partly knew I was desired to preach; and on Friday as I returned homeward, that I should preach for Mr. Jewet again in the afternoon and in the evening. I felt something of reluctancy to tarry another week from home, and in such painful service as riding from place to place and preaching twice a day, that is, once in the day and once in the evening: but I thought there was the hand of God in it; and it was not a thing of my own chusing; and composed myself to be as quiet as I could. But it seems God had some work for me the most unworthy of his servants to do that I did not know of. On the Lord's-day, which was about the 9th or 10th day of December 1741 (it is to be noted that in the parish the people live so scattered and remote that they have but one

sermon in the Winter in a day) there seemed to be considerable of concern, and the movings of the Spirit of God among the people; and about the close of the sermon there was one Negroe that had hopefully a saving discovery of Jesus Christ, and received consolation. I preached a lecture in the evening of the same day; and there seemed a very great pouring out of the Spirit; many were in great distress, crying out under a sense of sin and the wrath of God; and sundry that were hopefully converted before, seemed to be filled with the Spirit, and with earnest desire for the conversion of others, and a spirit of prayer for it. After sermon was ended, about two or three hours were spent with the distressed, in counselling of them, and praying with and for them. This evening about three or four persons received consolation, and were hopefully brought to receive Jesus Christ. On Monday I preached again at the meeting-house. Many were in distress, and one hopefully had a discovery of Jesus Christ, and received consolation. On Monday evening I preached again in the meeting-house: and the distress of the people was so great among them that tarried in the meeting-house the space between the public exercises, that I was obliged to speak to the people to compose and still them, or I could not have had opportunity to pray with or preach to them. Though there were out-cries in the time of public exercise, yet not so much as to interrupt the public worship. Within the space of about two or three minutes after the blessing was given, many souls were in great distress; and those that were converted before, much concerned for the good of souls; and about three or four hours were spent in counselling the distressed and praying with them.

Mr. Jewet this evening returned home; and if I mistake not came into the meeting-house in sermon time: and within a few minutes after sermon was ended and the blessing given, the Spirit of God came down on him in a wonderful manner; he seemed to be full of spirit and life from the Lord; and this evening he spent some hours in praying with, counselling and exhorting of his people: and now they that before seemed to be at the point of separation from him, had their hearts wonderfully united to him: (a happy providence) and ever since he has appeared very lively and fervent in the Spirit of the Lord and in his cause. This evening, about seven or eight had hopefully a true discovery of Jesus Christ, were converted, and received consolation. On Friday this week, as I returned I preached a lecture; and there seemed to be (if I do not forget) considerable of the movings of the Spirit. I had thought to preach a lecture this evening; but the distress was so great, that I thought God called rather to spend the time in prayer with and counselling of the distressed; and the evening was so spent. The number of them that hopefully experienced a saving change in Mr. Jewet's parish this week, either at the public meetings, or in the space between, was supposed to be about twenty persons. Let God have all the glory of it, if he hath made use of me the least of all saints and most unworthy of ministers, as an instrument of good to any souls."

GEORGE GRISWOLD.

## SECTION XVII.

*About the Beginning of the Year 1742, at Westerly and Charlestown in Rhode-Island Colony.—Mr. Park's Ministry for some time unsuccessful.—He preaches the Doctrines of Grace.—Is assisted by Mr. Tennent.—And Mr. Davenport.—And the People at Stonington.—And Mr. Eells Minister there.—Family Worship set up.—A Church gathered.—A Number of the Indians stirred up to seek after eternal Life.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Park Minister at Westerly, to the Publisher of the Christian History, August 1st, 1743, N<sup>o</sup> 26, 27.

Sir, According to your desire, I here communicate to you some general account of the Lord's visitation of this place.—And as it was the occasion of the first planting of a church in this place, it may serve to give light, and to set forth the glory of the Lord, to give some general account of God's providential dealings towards us from the beginning of my ministry.

In May 1733, I was sent by the commissioners for the Indian affairs, to preach the gospel to the Indians, and such of the English as would attend.—At my arrival I found a comfortable appearance of humanity and courtesy among the people: but a spirit of profaneness and irreligion awfully prevailing. My judgment concerning myself is, that I was a moral religious person, but extremely in the dark as to the way of salvation by Christ. I laboured in the work of the ministry with some diligence, and faithfulness in the discharge of my trust: endeavouring to reduce the people to order, and the practice of the duties of religion both moral and instituted; by proving both, and establishing them upon as firm a basis as possible, both from reason and scripture; and pressing them to practice by the strongest motives I could. And in that method I ministered among the people for several years; but all in vain: there appeared no impressions of religion and virtue upon their minds. But the more I laboured and contracted an acquaintance, the more I saw of their iniquity abounding: which was very discouraging; that I could by no means prevail upon them to be better, but that they rather grew worse. And God was graciously pleased not to suffer me to overlook myself; but, by his Spirit made application to me, and led me into the secret imagery of my own heart: and there I had as hard labour to repair the breaches which sin had made, as among others. And though I had been somewhat indoctrinated in gospel-truths, and had a work of conviction so far graciously carried on in me, yet something I had secretly imagining, that there was something in men to begin with, and that gospel-grace came to make perfect: but could not get to that pitch as to think myself ripe for grace, and with any confidence lay claim to it; because I found my works were no better before God. But it pleased God to come closer to me still, and bring all into a ruinous heap, till God was graciously pleased to give me to see his glory

in the face of Jesus Christ, and discover a new and living way to the Father, which is Jesus Christ.

The glory of a sovereign God shined bright in disposing the interests of mankind, as he had done both in the first and second Adam. I saw then, that the way to help forward the good of mankind, was not to go to repairing and mending, but to pull down as fast as I could, because there was no foundation at all: and according to the manifestation of the Spirit given me to profit withal, I laboured to shew forth the total ruin of the first Adam, and the compleat restoration in the second. My ministry then began to be more contemptible: that I was so much upon doctrines extremely abhorred by the people. They could bear legal preaching, though it was a ministration of condemnation; so long as they could keep any hope in themselves, Satan and a corrupt heart would carry men along pretty comfortably; by flattering them either that what was pressed upon them, was not a duty, or not to be done by them who were not fully persuaded in their own mind, however obligatory to such as were, or that in due time they would engage in the practice of their duty. But when they came to be told, that they could do nothing; that all they did or could do signified nothing toward their eternal salvation: but all the concerns of their salvation were taken wholly out of their hands, and put into the hands of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that they must come to him, and take that free grace that the gospel of the blessed God sets forth in Jesus Christ, or be damned to all eternity: this stirred up their indignation.

But I knew it was God's own scheme, and must be man's, if ever he attained to God or Godliness. And therefore, though in much weakness, unbelief and unfaithfulness, I was by the grace of God, enabled in a measure to contend for the faith, and assert the great doctrines of grace for some years. And the more I continued therein, the more God gave me to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, the more I saw the glory of God therein, and was enabled to speak with more boldness. Yet Satan and a corrupt heart deceived me, and got an advantage, and kept me from making full and particular application to souls, by declaring what their state, according to their profession and practice, was: but was ready to say, when it came to that, that I hoped better things, and things which accompanied salvation, tho' thus I spake; lest it should raise their prejudices, and they should wholly shut out the word. Such a fair shew Satan put on. But a good and gracious God, who leads his people through dark paths, would not suffer me to continue thus deceived; but taught me to bring his truth more close, and minister it for God, and according to his direction, and leave the event with him; and convinced me, that truth must be brought to every man's conscience, or the soul could never be made free. And therefore I now endeavoured to come to the conscience of every man, and bring the truth of God there. And this fretted them still more.

I had by my acquaintance with people, in some measure, recommended myself to their affections and esteem, so far as to be accounted an honest man, that meant well, but wild in my notions about religion:

that they did not wholly reject me, though they became apparently more estranged from me: but I was resolved, through grace, to go on boldly in the cause of God and truth, 'till I saw what the end would be. And it pleased God, in his providence, to bring Mr. Gilbert Tennent this way, both going and coming in his travel through New-England. Going he preached a sermon to a number of the people from Matth. xi. 28. And coming back, to a number more, from Gen. iii. 9. which last more especially roused up the people, and filled some with great wrath; and it raised the prejudices of people the more against me, for concurring in the same testimony; but all served to keep their consciences something more awake. Now my hearers became very slack about coming to meeting: seldom above ten, twenty, or thirty souls appeared at the public assembly; sometimes not so many; and if the weather was so as they could have any excuse, many times none at all. Yet conscience was stirring. And if these things were true, they must be wrong they knew. And though they fought against the truth, they could not overcome. And the Lord enabled me, as I had opportunity, more earnestly to maintain his truth, and give no place to opposers. 'Till sometime after God, in his providence, sent Mr. James Davenport over to New-England. He preached at Stonington adjacent to us. I went myself, and divers from this place to hear him. I had heard many strange things of him, and strange effects of his preaching. I went to meet him some way before he came to the meeting-house: and upon their coming in solemn procession, singing an hymn, the dread Majesty of God seemed to fill heaven and earth; and a solemnity appeared in the countenances of all. He preached a plain and awakening sermon, from John v. 40. I heard nothing extraordinary, but the wholesome truths of the gospel, and expected no extraordinary effect, when, to my surprise, there was a cry all over the meeting-house. I went about, and inquired of one and another the meaning of their out-cry: and when I came to understand the inward and secret spring thereof, viz. A deep conviction of sin; I could not but say, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." Several of our people were pricked to the heart; who heard him give another additional testimony to the truth, and saw the wonderful effects of it. And several attended his ministry longer there, and returned deeply wounded. And though the shining light seemed to darken me, as to my own experiences; yet the Lord strengthened me to plead for his truth, the witness of which I had in myself. There continued a shaking among many dry bones: and such then would generally come to hear me preach.

There continued much of the working of God's mighty power at Stonington. And many were hopefully brought out of darkness into God's marvellous light. And several of them were moved to testify and exhort others to fly for refuge to lay hold of the hope set before them. Upon first hearing of this, I disapproved of it in myself, and had diverse objections against it. But providentially a number of them came to hold a meeting at a remote part of Westerly: and one of my friends who I trust had been under the saving operations of God's Spirit informed me of his thoughts to go and hear them, and invite them

to his house and hold a meeting there. I consented provided he found them to his liking: and proposed myself to come and hear them. Accordingly on the 21st of January, 1741-2. having had a lecture the night before at a remote part of Westerly, a number of the new born children of God came to me: here they prayed and gave a word of exhortation: they appeared humble, and the power of God seemed to accompany them. I went with them to the place, where they had appointed to meet in the evening. I joined with them and began with prayer. They gave some declaration of the work of God, upon their hearts, in converting them to God, and exhorted the people to come to the Lord Jesus Christ. And I gave public testimony that this was the true grace of God which they set forth, and encouraged them to bear the testimony of Jesus among the people. Many were greatly enraged at them, and at me for countenancing them: but I thought the true grace of God must not be opposed, but encouraged where-ever God was bestowing it, and however he was sending it, So that none of these things moved me. I was with them the next day likewise: the power of God appeared accompanying them: and I was myself strengthened and lifted up by their means. Upon the 28th day of the month, having been to Stonington to visit and assist the rev. Mr. Fish, upon a lecture, I was accompanied home by a number of converts; and there being a considerable concourse of people, we went into the meeting-house. We prayed and several gave a word of exhortation: and there was some-what of the power of God visible among the people; some cried out under a sense of their sinful and undone condition. Upon the 29th of January, 1741-2. the rev. Mr. Eells of Stonington came and preached an awakening sermon from *Amos vi. 1.* After which I declared publicly, that if any had a word of exhortation to say, they were desired to say on. Several Christians gave a word of exhortation. God began then to work more powerfully: several were pricked at the heart: two hopefully received light and comfort that day: the way was opened to the Father in Christ Jesus. They had a meeting in the evening at such a distance that I could not attend it. The wonderful power of God was said to be visibly manifested: several were pricked at the heart, crying out, *wo is me*: and several broken hearts were healed. Upon the 31st, being Lord's-day, some brethren from Stonington returned to keep Sabbath with us. We had a meeting also in the evening. There was great opposition: but God shewed himself victorious; and several were wounded in spirit, and one Negro hopefully renewed. February 1st. and 2d, we had meetings. The Lord was present to kill and make alive. And in this time the number hopefully converted was fifteen souls. I continued frequent lectures, (besides Sabbath exercises) among English and Indians: had frequent help from ministers and exhorters. The Lord continuing to work salvation among us.

Before this day of God's power, there was not (as far as ever I learnt) one house of prayer in the place, in two large towns<sup>a</sup> containing some

<sup>a</sup> We suppose, that Westerly is lately divided into two towns; one named Charlestown, and the other retaining the name of

Westerly, and that Mr. Park's congregation consists of people belonging to Bath.



hundreds of Families, nor any that professed the faith of God's own operation, or the true doctrines of grace. Now when the Lord set up his sanctuary in the midst of us, those heads of families, who had been the happy subjects of his grace, immediately set up the worship of God in their houses; reading, praying and singing the praise of God in psalms, hymns and spiritual songs. They were brought surprizingly to know the doctrine of the grace of God; such as before had counted it foolishness: and their souls were thereby quickened towards God. They became earnestly engaged to come into covenant with the Lord and one another in the fellowship of the gospel. Accordingly upon the 29th of April, 1742. a number of them set apart a day of fasting and prayer, to implore the direction and blessing of God, in settling gospel-worship and ordinances among them. And upon the 5th of May, they were formed into a church state, by the assistance of a council of ministers and delegates from Stonington. And upon August the 13th 1742. through much opposition became an organized body: when by the providence of God, I was ordained to the pastoral office over them. May the Lord walk in the midst of this his golden candlestick, and hold his star in his right hand, feed and lead and lift us up for ever. The Lord has added daily to the church, such we hope as shall be saved. The number of professors first entering into the bonds and fellowship of the gospel, was fourteen souls, eight males and six females, all English: since which time have been joined to our communion twenty-two persons, besides two that have been recommended from other churches. Of those added six are Indians, and two Negroes. They all in some good measure appear hopefully to continue in the grace of God, and with purpose of heart to cleave to the Lord; approving themselves the true and faithful disciples of the Lord Jesus Christ, thro' manifold temptations pressing forward toward the mark, growing in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. None have run into scandalous living, or heterodoxy of opinion, to bring any reproach upon Christianity, (the Lord have the praise) but have manifested, under all temptations and tossings of the adversary, hopeful tokens of steadfastness of heart.

The Lord in the beginning of his visitation, was graciously pleased to shew some tokens for good towards the Indians, and singled out some of them for monuments of his free and sovereign grace. But the power of God began to be most remarkable among the body of them upon Feb. 6. 1742-3. when upon the Lord's day, a number of Christian Indians from Stonington came to visit the Indians here: I went in the evening after the public worship of God to meet them, and preach a lecture to them. The Lord gave me to plead with him that his kingdom might be seen coming with power among the Indians. The Lord I trust began to answer even in the time of prayer. After which we sung an hymn. The glory of the Lord was manifested more and more. The enlightned among them had a great sense of spiritual and eternal things: a Spirit of prayer and supplication was poured out upon them; and a Spirit of conviction upon the enemies of God. I attempted to preach from 2 Cor. vi. 2. but was unable to continue my

discourse by reason of the outcry. I therefore gave it up: And as I had opportunity offered a word of exhortation, as the Lord enabled me. I spent the evening until late with them.

The Indians continued together all night, and spent the most of the next day and night together: And it continued a wonderful time of God's power. And from that time the Indians were generally stirred up to seek after eternal life. They flocked more to the house and worship of God, than they were wont to do to their frolicks. They remain earnestly enquiring after God: and appear many of them hopefully to have found the Lord. And there are tokens for good that the Lord is preparing the way, and gathering numbers of them into the kingdom of his dear Son. Tho' the evidences of grace do not appear so clearly in many of them, as through grace it has done in some others; yet they manifest a sense of the darkness and wickedness of their former state, and a desire to live to God for time to come. They have forsaken their dances and drunken frolicks, appear sober and serious, very diligently attend the preaching of the word of God and prayer. And great encouragement appears that God is shedding forth among them more and more gospel-truth and grace. There was not above ten or twelve Indians that used to come to meeting at all; and they very negligently. There is now near an hundred that come very constantly, and attend very seriously, and I hope to profit. May the Lord carry on this work to perfection. I am, Sir, yours,

JOSEPH PARK.

We the subscribers having had our birth and education in Westerly in Rhode-Island Colony, and having had acquaintance with the state of this place before, and through grace since the Lord's visitation of it in his mighty power; and having heard and considered the [above] narrative, do give our attestation to the truth thereof, according to the best of our knowledge and judgment. Stephen Badcock, Joseph Penleton, Ezekiel Gavil, junr. William Penleton.

## SECTION XVIII.

*On the last Sabbath of January 1742, at Gloucester (first Precinct) in the County of Essex.—Impressions before by the Earthquake.—By the Account of the Work at Northampton, &c.—A Day of Fasting and Prayer for the Gift of the Holy Ghost.—A Religious Society of Negroes.—Scores savingly wrought upon.—Legalists or Self-Righteous convicted.—Mourners comforted.—One Itinerant Preacher.—Several settled Ministers preached occasionally whose Labours the Lord was pleased to bless.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. White Minister at Gloucester, to Mr. Prince Minister at Boston, March 1744, — Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 58. ]

R. S. Being moved to give some account of the work of God among us, take it as follows. Gloucester (commonly called Cape-Ann) was small in it's beginning, yet of late has greatly increased. When I the subscriber was settled in the ministry here, more than forty-one years ago,

there was but one congregation; and about threescore and eight members. And the materials of three churches have been dismissed from us, in order to be incorporated and settled in gospel-order: to the last, which is now the fourth church in this town, were dismissed from us upwards of fourscore members. And there now remain about two hundred and sixty.

I have not ordinarily fished for souls with a net, but with an angling-rod. God the Holy Ghost has been pleased in a more gentle and undiscernable way to work faith in the hearts of our people; and they came in one after another, not in troops, or clusters: except at two seasons, viz. after the earthquake, and about two years ago. Our people by the earthquakes were (as their neighbours) greatly affrighted; especially the more rude, ignorant and wicked among us. But about a month after the first shocks, when their terrifying frights were over; it pleased God by his Spirit to work kindly in a way of conviction, and I trust of conversion. And there was a great harvest of souls gathered in to Christ in a way of open profession; and if we may judge by their after-conversation, most of them were sincere: which brought to mind what is written, 1 Kings xix. 11, 12. "And he said, go forth and stand upon the mount before the Lord: and behold the Lord passed by, and a great strong wind rent the mountains; but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind, an earthquake; but the Lord was not in the earthquake: and after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire, a still small voice." And this voice, this still small voice was heard by many: and the powerful voice of the Holy Ghost was effectual for the saving conversion of scores of souls, according to the judgment of rational charity.

Upon what I heard of God's marvellous works of grace at Northampton, and especially upon reading the surprizing and affecting account thereof, drawn up by their reverend pastor: I had at times sincere, sensible and fervent desires, that the God of all grace, would visit us with the like plentiful effusions of his holy, promised Spirit: and was wont in public addresses to the prayer-hearing God, to ask the gift of gifts, the Holy Spirit. Knowing that application-work in the conviction and conversion of sinners would be carried on among a gospelized people, more or less as the Spirit from on high should be in lesser or greater degrees, poured down upon them. And I looked upon it as a farther ground of encouragement to wait upon God, that he had so remarkably added to his promises under the Old and New Testament, his performance; as in Hampshire county. And at length I moved the church to set apart a day of fasting and prayer, to wait upon God for this blessing; viz. that the dews and showers of the Holy Ghost might fall upon us: and God did speedily and plentifully answer our prayers. Of this wonderful work of God I have given the public an account in an epistle prefixed to a sermon preached by the rev. Mr. Benjamin Bradstreet on this joyful occasion; to which I refer the reader. [The said account was as follows:] "There have been unhappy controversies carried on with too much of heat relating to the good work in this and the neighbouring provinces and colonies. Some ascribing the whole to

the devil. But how can we account for the reconciliation of persons for a long time at enmity, the reformation of profligate wretches, their deep humiliation, their illumination, and sound conversion, as the effect of Satan's operations? Surely 'tis a new work for Satan to wound, and heal the conscience, to fill the souls of men with love to God and Christ; and their mouths with praises to their faithful Creator, and dear Redeemer; and bring them to take inexpressible delight in the ways of God. Others on the contrary ascribing all the work done among us to God; some of which are so new, strange, violent, that 'tis hard to conceive they are the effect of the Holy Spirit's operations. I think we may allow some of them to be the natural effects of human frailty. And if some be allowed to be the effects of an enraged devil, I think it no unreasonable concession. We in the first parish in Gloucester were so desirous of this work, as to keep a day of fasting and prayer; to ask of God the blessing of blessings, the gift of the Holy Ghost: and invited the rest of the pastors of the town with the rev. Mr. Nathaniel Rogers to assist in the work of the day. And it was not long after, that we found the good effects of waiting upon God. Can any think it possible that when we go to our heavenly Father and ask a fish, that he will give a serpent? 'Tis strange, if immediately upon our asking the saving impressions of the Holy Ghost; God should take that opportunity to send, or permit the devil to come among us with his undoing delusions. But the first most visible and powerful effusion of the Spirit was on the last Sabbath in January, [1741-2.] and especially as I was preaching in the afternoon and in the evening in two religious societies in the harbour; many were impressed both with distress and with joy, above measure. And on Monday morning in the school of Mr. Moses Parsons; a man disposed zealously to serve the best interests of all he has to do with: and being hired by a number of gentlemen, to train up their children in religious exercises, and in singing as well as other useful knowledge; the Spirit of God came so powerfully upon the school, that they could not attend the ordinary school exercises. But with their joyful master (with whom I had left the care of my flock while I went a journey, which I was necessitated to take) and a multitude of spectators, they prayed to, and praised God by singing spiritual hymns. And in the evening Mr. Parsons preached a lecture in the meeting-house; and in the close of the exercise, the Spirit fell upon a great part of the congregation to the amazement of many: and people had such an appetite to the word preached, that Mr. Parsons called in the help of the other ministers of the town; and on Tuesday evening the rev. Mr. Jaques (a faithful and successful preacher) preached: and on Wednesday evening the rev. Mr. Bradstreet preached the sermon now put into your hands. Several of the hearers desired a copy of it for the press. And several evening sermons were preached after this. And the good fruits of this visit are very apparent; no less than twenty-one had their experiences read the last Sabbath day." [Thus far the printed account.]

Now I shall proceed to relate as briefly as I can the effects. As they were all amazed, saying in their hearts, and one to another, what meaneth this? My eyes never saw such transactions; my ears never heard

such expressions: and thus it was when the Holy Spirit was poured down, Acts ii. 2. "And suddenly there came a sound from Heaven, as of a rushing wind, and it filled the house where they were sitting." And thus it was with us. But the impression was at first principally on the one side of the meeting-house. And there was poured down a Spirit of prayer upon young and old, especially the younger sort. And children of five, six, seven years, and upward, would pray to admiration. And in our parish, there have since been formed no less than nine distinct societies, of young and old, male and female, bound and free, (for one of them is a society of Negroes, who in their meetings behave very seriously and decently. They have been greatly impressed. One of them gave a very satisfying account of his experiences, and was taken into church-fellowship: most of them entered into covenant, and were baptized themselves, and also their issue) who meet several of them twice in a week, to pray and sing, as well as to read books of piety, and the rest once a week. And the younger say their catechism to the head of the meeting. And several sermons have been preached unto them.

But another effect is a Spirit of grace. The work of conversion has been carried on in an uncommon manner. But as to the degree and duration of terrors, there has been a vast variety. Some have been impressed with deep terrors, and have continued for several months under them. They have been greatly distressed, and near to distraction. They have had such discoveries of the greatness of their guilt, and of God's anger, of the badness of their hearts, as to make them cry out. They have had discoveries of their ignorance and unbelief, of their hardness of heart, and enmity against God. They have seen not only an utter inability to believe, but an aversion to believe. And when it was God's time to comfort and heal their wounded hearts and spirits, their joys rose proportionably to their depression, and their lifting-up was in proportion to their dejection. And many a time have they been so full of spiritual joys, as to sink and faint under the weight of them. Others have been but a short time under a law-work, and then there have succeeded joys, under the sense that their sins are pardoned. But of this sort, their religious impressions, I fear, have too soon wore off. And many moved towards church-fellowship, and joined to the church: but some have sadly apostatized, and are become as vile, yea, more vile than before. We find that strong but short terrors, succeeded with ravishing joys, are no certain evidence of saving conversion.

There has been an apparent reformation. Diversions, though lawful and innocent, have been almost wholly laid aside, and the singing of Dr. Watts's Hymns is the chief recreation of Christians when they convene. There are no separations among us. Little has been said about New Lights, (which I look upon as a term of reproach, as of old the term Puritan was) and as little about Opposers; the mentioning of which is irritating, and tends to widen the breach; and foment divisions, contentions and separations. As to visions we had enough of them, until such time as in a lecture-sermon I declared my sentiments concerning them; and so far as I can understand, there has never been one since. Our congregation has been disturbed and interrupted by out-

cries, but I laboured to suppress them. I would add; that as I believe there have been scores savingly wrought upon, who were strangers before that happy day, so much as to the form of godliness: so some professors who rested in the form, and were but legalists or self-righteous, have seen that they built upon a sandy foundation; and were greatly distressed under the conviction; and by an earnest application unto Christ for wisdom and righteousness, have had a further discovery of Jesus Christ; and have been encouraged to venture upon him for the complete salvation of their souls; and have had their hearts filled with joy in believing. So also, there have been scores of persons who had truly closed with Christ in time past; but have walked in darkness, by means of the withdraw of the Spirit, the weakness of their graces, and prevalency of their corruptions; and have been for a long time as in a wilderness: these have been anointed as with fresh oil; their hearts have been made glad, enlarged, quickened, and comforted by renewed and continued supplies of grace, have been enabled with enlarged hearts to run the ways of God's commandments. One thing more I see cause to add; that although properly speaking, we have had but one itinerant preacher with us: yet several eminently able and zealous servants of the Lord, settled ministers, have occasionally preached to our congregation; and have been greatly assisting in promoting this good work. God has blessed their labours among us. And it is my hearty desire, that the kingdom and interest of our Lord may be promoted, and converts multiplied, although by other hands. Thus I have made an impartial relation of what God has done amongst us, in the methods of his grace: and to him be the glory in the church by Christ Jesus throughout all ages, world without end, Amen. Yours, &c.

JOHN WHITE.

## SECTION XIX.

*In February 1742 at Plymouth—Former Endeavours not blest with Success.—A Concern begins gradually to appear under the preaching of some Stranger Ministers, and of their own Minister Mr. Leonard's.—The Subjects he preached on.—But the Concern greatest of all in February 1742, when Mr. Grosvel came.—Strangers surprized at the Reformation in the Place.—A distinct Society.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Leonard, Minister at Plymouth to Mr. Prince Minister at Boston, November 23d, 1744.—Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 92. ]

R. S. It pleased God to cast my lot (who am the least of all saints) in the first church and town in the country above twenty years ago. Religion was then under a great decay, most people seemed to be taken up principally about the world and the lusts of this life; tho' there appeared some serious Christians among us that had the things of God at heart<sup>a</sup>, who greatly bewailed the growth of impiety, profaneness, sab-

a There is great cause of gratitude to God, that in this place, in the days of its greatest degeneracy and lukewarmness in religion, God reserves to himself a remnant piously disposed, and of the same spirit with

our religious ancestors, who followed God into this waste and howling wilderness, and were the first settlers of this town and of this land.

bath-breaking, gaming, tavern-haunting, intemperance, and other evils, which threatened to bear down all that is good and sacred before them. We were sensible of an awful degeneracy, and kept days of fasting and prayer year after year, that God would pour out his Spirit upon us; especially on the rising generation: at these times we invited the ministers of the county to join with us, who readily gave their assistance. The authority of this town endeavoured to put a stop to the growing intemperance, by clearing the taverns at nine o'clock in the evening, and punishing loose and disorderly persons that frequented them. But all the methods used one way and other, proved of little effect. Iniquity prevailed, and we were in danger of losing the very form of Godliness.

Mr. Whitefield coming into the land, and the news we presently had of his preaching and conversation at Boston and elsewhere, roused us a little, and we sent to him to come and preach to us. We expected him in October 1740, but were disappointed. In March following, Mr. Tennent came hither and preached eight sermons to general acceptance, which by the blessing of God greatly awakened this people, and many have dated such religious impressions from that time; as we have reason to believe issued in a real conversion to God. After him, several ministers of the county and others visited us, and preached with us; and we often spent whole days in prayer, singing and preaching, and had frequently three exercises in them. I often preached three times on the Lord's-day myself, and sometimes three or four times in the week besides. Altho' before this through bodily indisposition, and heaviness of spirit, I was not able to carry on the usual stated exercises, and my people had for some years provided me an assistant.

The subjects chiefly insisted on were these following, viz. The sin and apostacy of mankind in Adam; the blindness of the natural man in the things of God; the enmity of the carnal mind; the evil of sin; the desert of it, and the utter inability of the fallen creature to relieve itself: the sovereignty of God; his righteousness, holiness, truth, power, eternity, also his grace and mercy in Christ Jesus: the way of redemption by Christ; justification, thro' his imputed righteousness, received by faith; this faith the gift of God, and a living principle that worketh by love; legal and evangelical repentance: the nature and necessity of regeneration; and that without holiness no man can see God. All persons were put upon examining themselves, warned against trusting in their own righteousness, and resting in the form of Godliness, without the power, &c. These things, together with pathetical invitations to sinners to come and embrace the Lord Jesus Christ, as offered in the gospel, made a wonderful impression on the minds of all sorts of people at the first. And men, women, and children were much awakened, and the outward face of things began exceedingly to alter.

In February 1741-2, the rev. Mr. Grosvel came hither, and continued in the town about a fortnight, preaching sometimes in this, and sometimes in the other parish. At this time, I think, I may say as the Apostle does to the Thessalonians: "The gospel came unto us, not in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much af-

urance<sup>a</sup>. And we received the word, not as the word of man, but as it is in truth, the word of God, which wrought effectually in them that believed<sup>b</sup>.” Hundreds of souls were at one time in the meeting-house, Saturday February 13th, crying out in the utmost concern, “What they should do to be saved!” And many others rejoicing in the Lord, in the sweet sense of his redeeming love and grace in Christ Jesus, as they declared. This day, and at some other times, conversions were so open and public, that we seemed to see souls dead in trespasses and sins, revive and stand up monuments of divine grace, (I don’t mean that we had an intuition of their hearts, and knew infallibly the state of their souls, which is God’s prerogative) but the appearance of conversion from one state to the other, and the alteration in the frame and temper of their minds, which they discovered in words and behaviour was admirable. This day appeared to me in the time of it, and hath done so ever since, a day of great grace, for which my soul giveth thanks to God. After this for some months together you should scarcely see any body at the taverns, unless they were strangers, travellers, or some come there upon necessary business. Persons of all denominations, except a few, gave themselves to reading the word of God, to meditation, prayer, conference, and other religious exercises, and refrained from their customary vices. And many that lived at a distance, (being acquainted with this town in its former state coming hither) beheld us now with admiration, saying, “Surely the fear of God is in this place.”

As this present life is a state of imperfection; so there were some circumstances that attended this work, which, if they had not been, might have prevented some prejudice and offence against it. A violent opposition presently arose, and prevailed so far, that a number of this congregation went out from us into a distinct society, and nine of the brethren asked a dismission from us to embody into a church by themselves. We readily granted their request, and they have lately had a minister set over them. My prayer for him and them is, “That God would pour out his Spirit abundantly upon them, greatly enrich them with heavenly blessings, and fill them with all the fulness of God.”

As for the subjects of this work; it hath been here as in other places. Some that were a while under awakenings, at length got rid of them, and are now returned as the dog to his vomit. Some that we thought at first savingly changed, have since given reason to fear that they deceived themselves as well as others. But the far greater part of them that were added to the church behave with such meekness, humility, sobriety, and other Christian virtues; that I must say of them, as David did of the godly of his day, “They are the excellent of the earth.”

I have not been particular, either in describing the work with us, or in giving examples of conversion; which I should have done, were it not that the work with us is the same in substance, which is so often described in these papers. And the conversions with us (those we think genuine) agreeing with the accounts from other places. But thus much I thought necessary to say, lest I should be guilty of criminal silence,



being called to praise God for his wonderful works and his loving-kindness towards us. My soul mourns in secret for them that oppose or make a derision of the glorious work begun in the land. As for myself, I desire for ever to adore the great Jehovah, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for the share he hath granted me, of his mere mercy, in the grace shed abroad by the Holy Spirit, in these days upon the churches. I earnestly desire the prayers of all Christians, that God would strengthen me in soul and body, and make me stedfast, unmoveable, and enable me to abound in the work of the Lord. Of myself I am nothing but weakness, sin and rebellion against God, but through free and undeserved grace, the Lord Jesus is wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption to me. The Lord is my strength and my shield, my heart trusted in him, and I am helped; therefore my heart greatly rejoiceth, and with my song will I praise him. I am so confirmed in it that this work is of God, that in my most calm and sedate seasons my prayer is, not only that God would lead me and guide me in his way, but enable me to endure all manner of ill usage in the world, rather than give up this cause, which I am fully persuaded is his, to whom be glory and praise for ever and ever. Amen. From your friend and servant in the Lord,

NATHANAEL LEONARD.

## SECTION XX.

*About the same Time (viz. Spring 1742.) at Somers in the County of Hampshire in the Massachusetts.—Restitution.—Reconciliation.—Various Impressions.—A remarkable Instance of a Child nine Years of Age.—Christians among them greatly quickened.—They are almost in every respect a reformed People.—A Day of Thanksgiving.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Allis Minister at Somers, to Mr. Cooper Minister at Boston, May 22d, 1742.—Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 51, 52. ]

R. and D. S. From the small acquaintance I have had with yourself, and knowing how much your heart is set upon the advancement of the interest of Christ, and his kingdom in the world; I persuade myself it will be grateful to you to hear of the flourishing of religion in any part of the Land. God hath been in a most wonderful manner pouring out of his Spirit upon many towns in this county; but I think none have shared so plentifully (I don't speak by way of boasting, but acknowledge the sovereign grace of God) of the power, the grace, and mercy of God, convincing of sin, of righteousness, and judgment, and of being brought to the embracement of the Lord Jesus Christ upon the terms of the gospel, as this people hath. To God be all the glory! all the praise belongs to him! There is such an evident and apparent alteration in the lives, conversation and tempers of men, that I am sure nothing but the almighty power and grace of God could effect. It fills me with tears of surprising joy to see that love to the house of God and his worship, that seeming pleasure and satisfaction there is in attending upon all religious duties, even in those that in times past seemed to live unmindful of God and

his worship. Some who seldom came to the public worship of God on the Lord's-day do now constantly and devoutly attend thereupon: not only on the Lord's-day, but on the week day. The house of God is very much filled; where a public lecture hath been preached once a fortnight for some time; and for some months past almost constantly once a week. And there is not only a devout attendance by those persons that seemed to be almost without a form of religion; but those persons are constantly meeting together once or twice a week on the evening, to seek God by prayer. There is but one night in the week as I am informed, but what elderly or middle-aged or young people or children meet together in different parts of the town in companies, to pray to God and sing praises to him. And, what is very remarkable, children that could not be persuaded through fear without difficulty to step out of the door in a dark evening, will now go alone two and some three miles thro' a thick wood, to join together in prayer, reading, and singing psalms: the dark night is no hindrance to them, nor the badness of the weather. Those youths that delighted themselves in frolicking and mischief, have wholly left it off; and say, they take more pleasure and satisfaction in serving God, than ever they did in the ways of sin and Satan. Yea, those things that were pleasing to them, are now as the gall of asps and wormwood. Some heads of families, as far as I can learn, that never prayed in their families, are now constant therein morning and evening. Some that have wronged others in their names and estates, have freely and voluntarily confessed their faults and made satisfaction. I know of many such instances. Quarrels and contentions between neighbour and neighbour which have subsisted for many years, and no means could effect a reconciliation, are now at an end: and there is seemingly an hearty love and affection to each other. Those persons who were somewhat addicted to swearing and very much to vain frothy expressions, have wholly left them off, and have a favour of religion in all their discourses.

It would take up a great deal of time, if I should attempt to let you know the various impressions that are made on the minds of professors, whereby such a change is wrought. To instance in a few particulars. Some have a great sense of the majesty of God, which fills them with fear and trembling; and a sense of their own nothingness, which makes them to cry out, I am a worm and no man. Some have a sense of the holiness of God, and for a long time cannot be brought to think that ever God will admit such sinful and unholy creatures into the heavenly world when they die. Some have a sense of the power of God, and his ability to save sinners. Some have a sense of the beauty, of the excellency and love of Christ, which draws forth their whole souls to him. Some have a sense of the evil and vile nature of sin. To some, particular sins are so set home to their consciences, as that they are in dreadful distress and anguish of spirit day and night for some weeks together, before they find ease for their burthened souls. Some have a sense of the evil of sin in general, and particular sins not set home to their consciences remarkably. Others, particular sins fill with great anguish and distress. Such an one I was sent for to converse with. It

was a child about nine years of age, which seemed to me to be in as great anguish and distress by reason of some particular sins, as if it had actual flames of fire seized on it. There were several children in the room and negroes: unto whom it addressed itself, particularly warning them of these and those sins for which she said she must burn in hell: it addressed herself to the negroes, saying "Do not go to hell with me, I would go alone, I do not desire Indians and negroes should be as miserable as I shall be by and by." I advised her to lift up her heart to God in prayer for mercy: and accordingly she did, and made use of this expression in the most lively manner; "Good Lord let me see all my sins; but do not let me see them all at once; let me see them, as I can bear them: if thou lettest me see them all at once, I shall immediately go to hell." Some other instances there have been among us of children and youth; whose anguish and distress for sin hath been so great, that I can no ways describe it to you, to convey a true and lively idea thereof. And some who have been in great distress, have had in due time proportionable joy and comfort: and others again not. God hath infinite ways almost, if I may so express it, of beginning and carrying on his own work in the hearts of the children of men. There have been some among us of all ages and sexes that have shared in the boundless riches of God's grace: middle-aged persons, elderly; and one of seventy-six years of age hath been as I am in charity bound to think, a subject of the amazing power and grace of God. Christians have been wonderfully filled, enlivened and quickened by the Spirit of God. But the rising generation hath in a more general and remarkable manner shared in the out-pouring of the Spirit of God.

I have given you a short but imperfect account of the wonderful things God hath done and is doing among us. But you would think (I may safely say) that the one half had not been told you, if you knew the circumstances of this people in times past, and what they are now. We are almost in every respect a reformed people. To God be all the praise and glory. I would intreat your prayers at the throne of grace, both for me and this people; that we may have still the tokens of the divine presence, and that we may live up to the peculiar and distinguishing mercies of God manifested toward a sinful and back-sliding people. From your unworthy servant and fellow-labourer in the gospel ministry, SAMUEL ALLIS.

N.B. Some months ago, we set a-part a day of public thanksgiving to God, for the revival of religion, and the remarkable out-pouring of his Spirit. And I think there were evident tokens of God's owning us and accepting of our sacrifices.

## SECTION XXI.

*Extracts of Attestations to the above remarkable Revival in New-England, &c.*—I. *By sixty-eight Ministers at the Meeting in Boston, July 7th, 1743.*—II. *By twelve in Connecticut Colony, Norwich, June 23d, 1743.*—III. *By six in the County of York, Scarborough, June 23d, 1743.*—IV. *By seven in the County of Hampshire, June 30th, 1743.*—V. *By eleven in the County of Fairfield, Woodbury, October 5th, 1743.*—VI. *The Names of twenty Ministers who gave their single [two of them their joint] Attestations.*—VII. *Extract of a Letter from Mr. Gilbert Tennent containing Attestations from several Ministers; also some Account of the Revival in the Provinces of New-Jersey, New-York and Pennsylvania, dated August 24th, 1744.*—VIII. *Mr. William Tennent's short Account of some Places in these Provinces, dated October 11th, 1744.*—IX. *Some Account of the Perseverance of the Subjects of the above Revival who lived in and about Boston, in two Letters dated September 3d, 1751, and January 22d, 1752.*

I. *Extract of the Testimony and Advice of the Assembly of Ministers at Boston, July 7th, 1743.*

[ Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 20, 21. ]

On Friday May 27th, 1743, a number of ministers belonging both to Boston, and divers towns in the country, conferring together and judging that the honour and interest of Christ called them to make a general inquiry into the state of religion in this land, and with others to bear their testimony to the wondrous work of his power and grace in the late revival of religion among us; agreed to publish the following invitation in one of the news-papers. Accordingly, in the Boston Gazette of Tuesday May 31st, the said invitation appeared in the following terms—

*To the Publishers of the Boston Gazette.*—*Some of your Customers desire you to insert this in your next Paper.*

“ It is desired and proposed by a number of ministers both in town and country, that such of their brethren as are persuaded there has of late been a happy revival of religion, through an extraordinary divine influence, in many parts of this land, and are concerned for the honour and progress of this remarkable work of God, may have an interview at Boston, the day after the approaching commencement; to consider whether they are not called to give an open conjunct testimony to an event so surprizing and gracious; as well as against those errors in doctrine and disorders in practice, which through the permitted agency of Satan have attended it, and in any measure blemished its glory and hindered its advancement: and also to consult the most likely methods to be taken, to guard people against such delusions and mistakes as in such a season they are in danger of falling into, and that this blessed work may continue and flourish among us. But if any gentlemen who hear-

tily concur in the end and design of this proposal, may be hinder'd in providence from giving their presence at this designed interview; it is earnestly desired they would send their attestations, and communicate their thoughts seasonably in writing: though at the same time it is hoped, none will suffer small difficulties to prevent their attendance on an affair of such importance to the interest of Christ's kingdom, both here and in other parts of the world."

Agreeable to this invitation, a considerable number of ministers met at Boston on Thursday July 7th, in the forenoon: when the rev. Mr. White of Gloucester opened the assembly with prayer; they had some discourse; and then adjourned (in order to attend the public lecture) to half an hour past two in the afternoon. In the afternoon they met to the number of ninety, chose Dr. Colman moderator, Dr. Sewall assistant, and Mr. Prince and Mr. Hobby, scribes. But Dr. Colman excusing himself, Dr. Sewall acted as moderator. They then proceeded to read letters from twenty-eight who were absent, bearing their testimony to this remarkable work of God in the land. And after further inquiries, declarations, discourses and debates, a little after eight in the evening, was read, proposed and put, without any objection, the following vote, viz. "We pastors of churches in the provinces of the Massachusetts-Bay and New-Hampshire in New-England, met at Boston this 7th day of July 1743, being perswaded there has of late been a happy revival of religion, through a remarkable divine influence in many parts of this land, and apprehending it our duty to give an open conjunct testimony, to the glory of God, to an event so surprizing and gracious, as well as against those errors in doctrine, and disorders in practice which through human frailties and corruptions and the permitted agency of Satan have attended it, and in any measure blemished its glory and hinder'd its advancement; came to the following resolution, that a committee be chosen to consider the premisses and make a report to morrow morning at nine of the clock." Voted in the affirmative generally. And chose the rev. Dr. Sewall, Messrs. Wigglesworth, Prince, Adams, Cooper, Nathaniel Rogers, Leonard and Hobby, to be said committee. The rev. Mr. Moody prayed. And they adjourned to meet to morrow morning at nine of the clock. Friday morning about ten, they met again, to the number of about seventy. Dr. Sewall prayed: and then presented the committee's report: first we read the whole throughout: then began again, and read the introduction: then read and severally considered the following paragraphs: and after divers amendments, proceeded to subscribe. Voted, "That Messrs. Prince, Cooper and Gee, be a committee to take care of publishing the subscribed testimony and advice, together with suitable extracts from the letters communicated to us." Rev. Mr. Baxter returned thanks and prayed. And about three in the afternoon we dissolve.

A true account according to the Minutes. THOMAS PRINCE, Scribe.

*The Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of Pastors of Churches in New-England, at a Meeting in Boston July 7th, 1743. occasioned by the late happy Revival of Religion in many Parts of the Land. To which are added, Attestations contained in Letters from a Number of their Brethren who were providentially hindered from giving their Presence.*

“ If it is the duty of every one, capable of observation and reflection, to take a constant religious notice of what occurs in the daily course of common providence; how much more is it expected that those events in the divine oeconomy, wherein there is a signal display of the power, grace and mercy of God in behalf of the church, should be observed with sacred wonder, pleasure and gratitude?—Nor should the people of God content themselves with a silent notice, but publish with the voice of thanksgiving, and tell of all his wondrous works.—More particularly, when Christ is pleased to come into his church in a plentiful effusion of his Holy Spirit, by whose powerful influences the ministration of the word is attended with uncommon success, salvation-work carried on in an eminent manner, and his kingdom, which is within men, and consists in righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, is notably advanced.—This is an event which above all others invites the notice, and bespeaks the praises of the Lord’s people, and should be declared abroad for a memorial of the divine grace;—as it tends to confirm the divinity of a despised gospel, and manifests the work of the Holy Spirit in the application of redemption, which too many are ready to reproach; as it may have a happy effect, by the divine blessing, for the revival of religion in other places, and the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ in the world;—and as it tends to enliven the prayers, strengthen the faith, and raise the hopes, of such as are waiting for the kingdom of God, and the coming on of the glory of the latter days.—But if it is justly expected of all who profess themselves the disciples of Christ, that they should openly acknowledge and rejoice in a work of this nature, wherein the honour of their divine master is so much concerned; how much more is it to be looked for from those who are employed in the ministry of the Lord Jesus, and so stand in a special relation to him, as servants of his household, and officers in his kingdom?—These stand as watchmen upon the walls of Jerusalem; and it is their business not only to give the alarm of war when the enemy is approaching, but to sound the trumpet of praise when the King of Zion cometh, in a meek triumph, having salvation.—For these and other reasons, we, whose names are hereunto annexed, pastors of churches in New-England, met together in Boston, July 7th 1743, think it our indispensable duty, (without judging or censuring such of our brethren as cannot at present see things in the same light with us) in this open and conjunct manner to declare, to the glory of sovereign grace, our full persuasion, either from what we have seen ourselves, or received upon credible testimony, that there has been a happy and remarkable revival of religion in many parts of this land, through an uncommon di-

vine influence; after a long time of great decay and deadness, and a sensible and very awful withdraw of the Holy Spirit from his sanctuary among us. Though the work of grace wrought on the hearts of men by the word and Spirit of God, and which has been more or less carried on in the church from the beginning, is always the same for substance, and agrees, at one time and another, in one place or person and another, as to the main strokes and lineaments of it, yet the present work appears to be remarkable and extraordinary—On account of the numbers wrought upon.—We never before saw so many brought under soul-concern, and with distress making the inquiry, “What must we do to be saved?” And these persons of all characters and ages.—With regard to the suddenness and quick progress of it—Many persons and places were surprized with the gracious visit together, or near about the same time; and the heavenly influence diffused itself far and wide like the light of the morning.—Also in respect of the degree of operation, both in a way of terror and in a way of consolation; attended in many with unusual bodily effects.—Not that all who are accounted the subjects of the present work, have had these extraordinary degrees of previous distress and subsequent joy. But many, and we suppose the greater number, have been wrought on in a more gentle and silent way, and without any other appearances than are common and usual at other times, when persons have been awakened to a solemn concern about salvation, and have been thought to have passed out of a state of nature into a state of grace. As to those whose inward concern has occasioned extraordinary outward distresses, the most of them when we came to converse with them, were able to give, what appeared to us, a rational account of what so affected their minds; viz. a quick sense of their guilt, misery and danger; and they would often mention the passages in the sermons they heard, or particular texts of scripture, which were set home upon them with such a powerful impression.—And as to such whose joys have carried them into transports and extasies, they in like manner have accounted for them, from a lively sense of the danger they hoped they were freed from, and the happiness they were now possessed of; such clear views of divine and heavenly things, and particularly of the excellencies and loveliness of Jesus Christ, and such sweet tastes of redeeming love as they never had before.—The instances were very few in which we had reason to think these affections were produced by visionary or sensible representations, or by any other images than such as the scripture itself presents unto us.

And here we think it not amiss to declare, that in dealing with these persons we have been careful to inform them, that the nature of conversion does not consist in these passionate feelings; and to warn them not to look upon their state as safe, because they have passed out of deep distress into high joys, unless they experience a renovation of nature, followed with a change of life, and a course of vital holiness.—Nor have we gone into such an opinion of the bodily effects with which this work has been attended in some of its subjects, as to judge them any signs that persons who have been so affected, were then under a saving work of the Spirit of God. No; we never so much as called these bo-

dily seizures, convictions; or spake of them as the immediate work of the Holy Spirit. Yet we do not think them inconsistent with a work of God upon the soul at that very time; but judge that those inward impressions which come from the Spirit of God, those terrors and consolations of which he is the author, may, according to the natural frame and constitution which some persons are of, occasion such bodily effects. —And therefore that those extraordinary outward symptoms, are not an argument that the work is delusive, or from the influence and agency of the evil spirit.

With respect to numbers of those who have been under the impressions of the present day, we must declare there is good ground to conclude they are become real Christians; the account they give of their conviction and consolation agreeing with the standard of the holy scriptures, corresponding with the experiences of the saints, and evidenced by the external fruits of holiness in their lives: so that they appear to those who have the nearest access to them, as so many epistles of Christ, written, not with ink, but by the Spirit of the living God, attesting to the genuineness of the present operation, and representing the excellency of it. Indeed many who appeared to be under convictions, and were much altered in their external behaviour, when this work began, and while it was most flourishing, have lost their impressions, and are relapsed into their former manner of life: yet of those who were judged hopefully converted, and made a public profession of religion, there have been fewer instances of scandal and apostacy than might be expected. —So that, as far as we are able to form a judgment, the face of religion is lately changed much for the better in many of our towns and congregations; and together with a reformation observable in divers instances, there appears to be more experimental Godliness, and lively Christianity, than the most of us can remember we have ever seen before. —

Thus we have freely declared our thoughts as to the work of God so remarkably revived in many parts of this land. —And now, we desire to bow the knee in thanksgiving to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that our eyes have seen, and our ears heard such things. —And while these are our sentiments, we must necessarily be grieved at any accounts sent abroad, representing this work as all enthusiasm, delusion and disorder. —Indeed it is not to be denied that in some places many irregularities and extravagancies have been permitted to accompany it, which we would deeply lament and bewail before God, and look upon ourselves obliged, for the honour of the Holy Spirit, and of his blessed operations on the souls of men, to bear a public and faithful testimony against; though at the same time it is to be acknowledged with much thankfulness, that in other places, where the work has greatly flourished, there have been few if any of these disorders and excesses. —But who can wonder, if at such a time as this Satan should intermingle himself, to hinder and blemish a work so directly contrary to the interests of his own kingdom? —Or, if while so much good seed is sowing, the enemy should be busy to sow tares? —We would therefore, in the bowels of Jesus, beseech such as have been partakers of this



work, or are zealous to promote it, that they be not ignorant of Satan's devices; that they watch and pray against errors and misconduct of every kind, lest they blemish and hinder that which they desire to honour and advance.—Particularly, that they do not make secret impulses on their minds, without a due regard to the written word, the rule of their duty: a very dangerous mistake which we apprehend some in these times have gone into—That laymen do not invade the ministerial office, and under a pretence of exhorting set up preaching; which is very contrary to gospel order, and tends to introduce errors and confusion into the church.—That ministers do not invade the province of others, and in ordinary cases preach in another's parish; without his knowledge, and against his consent: nor encourage raw and indiscreet young candidates, in rushing into particular places, and preaching publicly or privately, as some have done to the no small disrepute and damage of the work in places where it once promised to flourish. Though at the same time we would have ministers shew their regard to the spiritual welfare of their people, by suffering them to partake of the gifts and graces of able, sound and zealous preachers of the word, as God in his providence may give opportunity therefor: being persuaded God has in this day remarkably blessed the labours of some of his servants who have travelled in preaching the gospel of Christ.—That people beware of entertaining prejudices against their own pastors, and do not run into unscriptural separations.—That they do not indulge a disputatious spirit, which has been attended with mischievous effects; nor discover a spirit of censoriousness, uncharitableness, and rash judging the state of others: than which scarce any thing has more blemished the work of God amongst us.—And while we would meekly exhort both ministers and Christians, so far as is consistent with truth and holiness, to follow the things that make for peace; we would most earnestly warn all sorts of persons not to despise these out-pourings of the Spirit, lest a holy God be provoked to withhold them, and instead thereof to pour out upon this people the vials of his wrath, in temporal judgments and spiritual plagues; and would call upon every one to improve this remarkable season of grace, and put in for a share of the heavenly blessings so liberally dispensed.—

Finally, we exhort the children of God to continue instant in prayer, that he, with whom is the residue of the Spirit, would grant us fresh, more plentiful and extensive effusions, that so this wilderness, in all the parts of it, may become a fruitful field:—That the present appearances may be an earnest of the glorious things promised to the church in the latter days; when she shall shine with the glory of the Lord arisen upon her, so as to dazzle the eyes of beholders, confound and put to shame all her enemies, rejoice the hearts of her solicitous and now saddened friends, and have a strong influence and resplendency throughout the earth.—Amen! Even so come Lord Jesus; come quickly!

After solemn repeated prayer, free inquiry and debate, and serious deliberation, the above testimony and advice is signed by the following pastors of churches:

## I. In the Province of the MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

## County of SUFFOLK.

\* Benjamin Colman.

Joseph Sewall, To the substance,  
scope and end.

Thomas Prince, To the substance.

John Webb.

William Cooper.

Thomas Foxcroft.

\* Samuel Checkley.

Joshua Gee.

\* Andrew Elliot.

John Moorhead. [These ten in  
Boston.]

James Bayley of Weymouth.

\* John Fowle of Hingham.

Thomas Balch of Dedham.

Henry Messinger of Wrentham.

Elias Haven of Wrentham.

James Allin of Brookline.

\* Joseph Baxter of Medfield.

\* Ezra Carpenter of Hull.

## County of ESSEX.

James Diman of Salem, To the  
substance, scope and end.

Samuel Wigglesworth of Ipswich.

Nathanael Rogers of Ipswich.

\* Simon Bradstreet of Marblehead.

John Chipman of Beverly, To the  
substance, scope and end.

Jedidiah Jewet of Rowley.

James Chandler of Rowley.

Samuel Bacheller of Haverhill.

John White of Gloucester.

John Emerson of Topsfield, To  
the scope and substance.

John Warren of Wenham.

Ames Cheever of Manchester.

## County of MIDDLESEX.

\* Hull Abbot of Charlestown.

\* Thomas Prentice of Charlestown.

## II. In the Province of NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

Ward Cotton of Hampton.

Joseph Adams of Newington.

James Pike of Summerworth.

## III. In the Colony of RHODE-ISLAND.

Josiah Cotton of Providence, To the general scope and tendency.

N. B. They to whose names \*'s are affixed, signed the testimony  
and advice with an exception in the following terms. "We concur

Daniel Bliss of Concord.

William Hobby of Reading.

John Cotton of Newton.

Joseph Emerson of Malden, To  
the scope and substance.

\* Ebenezer Turell of Medford.

Daniel Emerson of Dunstable.

Phineas Hemmingway of Town-  
shend.

## County of WORCESTER.

\* Joseph Dorr of Mendon.

\* Ebenezer Parkman of Westbo-  
rough.David Goddard of Leicester, To  
the substance.

Solomon Prentice of Grafton.

John Seccomb of Harvard.

Nathan Webb of Uxbridge.

## County of PLYMOUTH.

Nathanael Leonard of Plymouth.

Jonathan Ellis of Plymouth.

\* Nathanael Eells of Scituate.

Samuel Veazie of Duxborough.

Samuel Hill of Marchfield.

John Porter of Bridgewater.

Othniel Campbell of Plympton.

\* Benjamin Bass of Hanover.

\* Thaddeus Maccarty of Kingston.

John Cotton of Hallifax.

## County of BARNSTABLE.

Francis Worster of Sandwich.

## County of BRISTOL.

Josiah Crocker of Taunton.

Habijah Weld of Attleborough,

To the substance, scope and end.

Samuel Tobey of Berkley.

## County of YORK.

Samuel Moody of York.

Samuel Chandler of York.

Thomas Smith of Falmouth.

with the testimony for the substance of it, excepting that article of itinerancy, or ministers and others, intruding into other ministers parishes without their consent, which great disorder we apprehend not sufficiently testified against, therein."

N. B. By reason of distance, the ministers of Connecticut-Colony, and of the county of Hampshire in the Massachusetts-Province could not conveniently attend the interview.

[ Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 25. ]

We are informed by Mr. Prince one of the scribes of the said assembly, " That very few of the ministers present in the [above] assembly complained of errors or disorders in the congregations they belonged to: that several declared they had had none from the beginning: but, in the extraordinary revival of religion among their people, the work had been carried on with great seriousness and regularity: that others declared, that where there had been some disorders and mistakes at first in some, through the great numbers suddenly and mightily awakened, the great distress of some in their convictions, the great joy of others upon their laying hold on Christ and finding a wondrous change within them, the frailties of some, and the surprize of all; yet in a little while they saw and owned their mistakes, came into a more settled way of thinking, speaking and behaving, and the disorders ceased; declaring also that both errors and disorders had been greatly magnified and multiplied above what they really were in the congregations they belonged to: and that as far as they could learn the greatest errors and disorders were in those places where the ministers opposed the work, and thereby lost much of their respect and influence. To this may be added, that whereas several of the rev. pastors present in the said assembly subscribed the testimony and advice, as to the substance, others to the substance, scope and end; and others without restriction: this seemed chiefly to arise from this particular passage in the said advice, viz. " That ministers do not invade the province of others, and in ordinary cases preach in another's parish without his knowledge and against his consent." In which particular article some of the pastors thought that ministers and others preaching in other ministers parishes was not sufficiently testified against. Other pastors feared that this article was in danger of being construed and perverted to the great infringement of Christian and human liberty of conscience. And other pastors apprehended that this article was sufficiently guarded by this limitation to ordinary cases: leaving it to the serious conscience both of ministers and others to judge when the cases are ordinary or not ordinary.

## II. *Attestations of twelve Ministers in Connecticut Colony, Norwich,* *June 23d, 1743.*

[ Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 25. ]

We the subscribers, ministers of the gospel, in (and in the neighbourhood of) this town, being occasionally met here, have just had a sight of a paragraph in the weekly post-boy of the 30th of May last,

wherein it is proposed by a number of ministers, that such of their brethren as are persuaded there has been of late a happy revival of religion in many parts of the land, might have an interview at Boston the day after the commencement approaching, and desiring that those who may be hinder'd in providence, from giving their presence at the designed interview, would send their attestations and communicate their thoughts seasonably in writing. Since we are not like to be at the proposed interview, we take this opportunity to signify to you that, for our own parts we are abundantly satisfied that there has of late, for about three years past, been a great and wonderful revival of religion in the several places to which we minister, and in divers others which we are acquainted with; wherein, through the mighty power and grace of God, great numbers of persons of all sorts, but especially young people, have been greatly awakened, deeply convinced of sin; and many, as far as we can judge upon careful observation and examination, truly humbled at the foot of a sovereign and righteous God, and savingly brought to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ for everlasting life: and have since lived so as to give credit and confirmation to their pretensions; and do now adorn their profession in an humble and holy life and Christian conversation; walking in the fear and love of God, and bringing forth fruits meet for repentance, in the exercises of the graces and virtues of the Christian life.

Although many who have made a profession of Christianity and conversion have run into imprudent things, and discovered much spiritual pride, by rash censorious judgments, hasty separations from their ministers and brethren, and some have embraced wrong notions and principles in religion; (though there has been little of that in the places where we live) yet we know of great numbers who have been happily preserved from such falls and failings, and who carry themselves like the meek and humble disciples of the blessed Jesus; and some who have been led astray through the subtilty of Satan, have, by grace, been recovered and in a great measure convinced of those follies and mistakes, and humbled for the pride and naughtiness of their hearts. And all of a bad tendency and nature that we have seen does not give us any reason to think that there has not been a great and glorious work of divine grace carried on among us, and a great reformation and revival of religion; for which we desire to praise and adore the sovereign mercy of God.

Our time is now short, and we cannot pretend to give a particular account of the work of God among our people, or of the bad things which have been the concomitants of this blessed work; yet thus much we thought ourselves obliged to say to the praise of divine grace, and the glory of him who is the author of all good. We are your brethren, &c.

Joseph Meacham of Coventry.

Benjamin Lord of Norwich.

Hezekiah Lord of Preston.

Solomon Williams of Lebanon.

Daniel Kirtland of Norwich.

Jabez Wight of Norwich.

John Owen of Groton.

Samuel Moseley of Windham.

Jonathan Parsons of Lyme.

Eleazer Wheelock of Lebanon.

Benjamin Pomroy of Hebron.

David Jewet of New-London.

III. *Extract of the Attestation of six Ministers of the Eastern Association in the County of York, Scarborough, June 23d, 1743.*

[ Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 22. ]

We the subscribers, pastors of the Eastern association, taking into serious consideration the state of religion in our several charges, and throughout the land at this day, look on ourselves bound in the most express manner to declare ourselves with respect thereto. And in as much as it incontestibly appears to us from what we have seen among ourselves and in other places, that by an extraordinary divine influence, there hath been an happy revival of religion in our land; we dare not but publicly speak out our grateful sense thereof to the honour of the free and sovereign grace of God. But whereas at the same time there have been great complaints of prevailing errors in doctrine and disorders in practice, such as, asserting, that secret impulses on the minds of persons without due regard to the written word of God may be depended on as the rule of their conduct; that assurance is of the essence of saving faith; and, that sanctification is no evidence of justification: all which we judge are contrary to the pure doctrines of the gospel: and as to disorders in practice; such as, persons assuming to themselves the prerogative of God to look into and judge the hearts of others, censuring and condemning their brethren, and especially their ministers, as blind and unconverted, &c. and upon these pretended grounds making an actual separation from their respective pastors, though they openly disavow the above mentioned-errors, and are regular in their lives: all which errors and disorders being of pernicious consequence, as tending to obscure the glorious work of God, bring it into disrepute and obstruct the progress of it, we would in like manner bear our joint and solemn testimony against. And though we are fully persuaded the human mind under the operations of the divine Spirit, may be overborn with joy and terror; yet the transports and agitations that have appeared in some places from the ungoverned passions of people, and the excess of joy and sorrow, we judge to be no certain indication of the special presence or work of the Spirit of God. But at the same time we lament the impious spirit of such as from hence take occasion to reproach the work of the divine Spirit in the hearts of the children of God.

Benjamin Allen of Falmouth.	Nicholas Loring of North-Yar-
Wm. Thompson of Scarborough.	mouth.
Samuel Jefferds of Wells.	Moses Morrill of Biddeford.
John Hovey of Arundel.	

At an association meeting, Scarborough June 23d, 1743. Voted, "That the above declaration be delivered to the rev. Mr. Smith to be by him communicated at discretion to the ministers who are to meet at Boston the day after the approaching commencement, as the sentiments of the association with relation to the present religious appearances in the country." BENJAMIN ALLEN, Moderator.

IV. *Extract of the Attestation of seven Ministers in the County of Hampshire, June 30th, 1743.*

[ Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 23. ]

Whereas an advertisement hath lately been published, &c.—We whose names are subscribed to this, living at a great distance, and our circumstances not well allowing us to go so great a journey at the time proposed, would hereby signify; that according to what understanding we have of the nature of Christianity, and the observation we have had opportunity to make, we judge that there has been within the last two years and an half, a blessed out-pouring of the Spirit of God in this county, in awakening and converting sinners, and in enlightning, quickening and building up saints in faith, holiness and comfort; which has been attended in great numbers with an abiding alteration and reformation of disposition and behaviour. And particularly we would hereby declare to the glory of God's grace, that we judge that there has been a happy revival of religion in the congregations that have been committed to our pastoral care, and that there are many in them that, by abiding manifestations of a serious, religious and humble spirit, and a conscientious care and watchfulness in their behaviour towards God and man, give all grounds of charity towards them, as having been sincere in the profession they have made. And however there has been, especially in some places, a mixture of enthusiasm and false religion, and some have run into great errors in their conduct, and some have fallen away, and there is a declension in others that is to be lamented; yet we think the effect has been such, and still continues to be such, as leaves no room reasonably to doubt of God's having been wonderfully in the midst of us, and such as has laid us under great obligations for ever to admire and extol the riches of his grace in doing such great things for us.—

Begging of him that he would be with you in your meeting, and guide you in your thoughts and conclusions with respect to these things, and direct you to that which may be for his glory and the prosperity of Zion, and desiring your prayers to God for us, and the flocks committed to our care, we remain, &c.

Stephen Williams of Springfield.  
Peter Reynolds, of Enfield.  
Jonathan Edwards of Northampton.

Samuel Allis of Somers.  
John Woodbridge of Hadley.  
David Parsons, jun. of Hadley.  
Edward Billing of Cold-Spring.

V. *Attestation of eleven Ministers in the County of Fairfield in Connecticut Colony, Woodbury, October 5th, 1743.*

[ Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 21. ]

*To the Publisher of the Christian History.*

Sir, As some of us, the associated ministers of the Eastern district of the county of Fairfield in Connecticut, have, with sensible pleasure, read the joint testimony of so large a number of our rev. brethren, to the

glorious work of the blessed Spirit of grace and truth, in the late wonderful revival of real religion in the land; so all of us would now jointly, though briefly, declare that we look upon ourselves, and all the ministers and people of God throughout the land, laid under infinite obligations for ever to admire and adore rich, free and sovereign grace, so amazingly displayed in visiting a professing people, in a day of such general security, indolence and formality; causing so great an awakening of all sorts of persons, convincing so many of sin, righteousness and judgment, and bringing such numbers, of different ages, hopefully to close-savingly with the dear Jesus, on the self-denying terms of the gospel, so as that it hath far exceeded even any hopes and expectations of ours, as well as any thing of this nature, we ever saw in our day. We cannot but be sensibly touched with sorrow to see, that there are many, who (not duly distinguishing betwixt this blessed work, and some evils that have attended it, by the misconduct both of some of the instruments and subjects) stumble and are in hazard of falling: as well as to find reason to fear, that in some places the work itself is opposed. But it most of all affects our souls with grief, to find, that God has so awfully withdrawn the influences of his Holy Spirit from the means of grace. O that God in his infinite mercy would remove the present dreadful spiritual judgments, that in infinite justice are fallen upon us an ungrateful and gainsaying people; that in the midst of wrath he would remember mercy, and yet return in loving-kindness and tender mercy, and give us a latter harvest more plentiful than the former; would go on to accomplish the glorious things spoken of the city of our God, until he make Jerusalem the joy of the whole earth! To conclude, we cannot omit giving in our public testimony, from our own happy experience and observation, that the frequent interchange of ministerial labours has been remarkably owned and blessed of God to the hopeful awakening of many souls; and could heartily wish that ministerial communion, and an hearty reception as well as joyful improvement of each other's ministerial gifts and occasional labours, might still be encouraged and maintained amongst gospel-ministers throughout the land, as that which would give an hopeful prospect of the Lord's return, and so of the revival of religion from its present sad declining state.

Anthony Stoddard of Woodbury.    Elisha Kent of Philippi, in the province of New-York.  
 Samuel Cook of Stratfield.    Benajah Case of New-Fairfield.  
 John Graham of Woodbury.    Joseph Bellamy of Woodbury.  
 Hezekiah Gold of Stratford.    David Judson of Newtown.  
 Jedidiah Mills of Ripton.    Reuben Judd of Woodbury.  
 Ebenezer White of Danbury.

VI. *The Names of twenty Ministers who gave their single [two of them their joint] Attestations.*

[ Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26. ]

John Rogers, sen. of Ipswich.    William Shurtleff of Portsmouth.  
 Jeremiah Wise of Berwick.    Jonathan Russel of Barnstable.  
 Peter Thatcher of Middleborough.    John Rogers, jun. of Kittery.

Tim. Woodbridge of Hatfield.	} Ivory Hovey of Rochester.
Chester Williams of Hadley.	} Nathaniel Appleton of Cambridge.
Daniel Putnam of Reading.	Jonathan Parker of Plimpton.
Oliver Peabody of Natick.	David M'Gregore of Londonderry.
John Tucke of Gosport.	John Blunt of New-Castle.
David Hall of Sutton.	Benjamin Ruggles of Middlebo-
Benjamin Bradstreet of Gloucester.	rough.
John Wales of Raynham.	

[For the Attestations themselves, see *Prince's Christian History*, in the Numbers above referred to.—I conclude this Article with the following Extract of a Letter from Mr. Allin, minister at Brookline (one of the subscribers to the Testimony at Boston, mentioned Art. I. of this Section) to Mr. Cooper minister at Boston, wrote the day after the meeting of the assembly.]

[ Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 50. ]

R. and D. S. "Mr. Balch has been pleased to come thus far out of his way, to bring me the glad-tidings of your united testimony to the work of God. I am not able to express the joy with which I received the news; and consequent upon it, I was not able to come to town to-day, being very much indisposed by the head-ach, &c. But, Sir, I was thoughtful of you, the committee I mean; and now thank the Lord, that my secret supplications are so suddenly and fully answered. I did not give in, as some did, a verbal testimony yesterday to the effusions of the Divine Spirit in a work of conviction and grace among us: I thought my being present was sufficient; and then my natural temper ever restrains me from speaking upon such occasions before those much wiser and better than myself; but I have since wished I had, to the glory of free and sovereign grace, made a short declaration in the following manner; That there has been a very distinguishing and remarkable work of God going on in the land, I have been so much a witness to in many towns where I have occasionally been within these two years; that I think I am as firm in the belief of it, as that there is a sun in the heavens, or of my own existence. For what but the God that formed it, can so impress the mind with a sense of sin, and its destructive consequents, as to cause the greatest sorrow of heart, and streams of penitential tears to flow from the eyes? What can create in the soul earnest, restless, and vehement desires after the love, grace, and fellowship of Christ, but that God, that first formed the spirit of man within him, and can turn the heart as a river of water? Who but the God of grace can make the drunkard temperate, and the prodigal son a sober serious man, &c? Which things have been common in other places to my frequent observation: nor are we destitute of some signal instances of free and sovereign grace among us here. There have been scores of persons under awakenings; yea, I have sometimes thought there has not been a single person of my congregation, but has been under more or less concern about the important matters of another world, and what he should do to be saved: though these impressions, I fear, are worn off in many, but in others I have no reason to doubt but they



have been carried on to a sound and saving conversion. Additions to the church have been considerable for numbers, of such as I hope thro' grace shall be saved, and chiefly of younger persons, and one of but eleven years of age, and another in the eleventh and last hour of life, being above seventy; three of a liberal education; two of them since hopeful young preachers. In some few the terrors have been so great, that they have cried out in distress; in others the liberal communications of divine light and joy have had the like effect. One of our young converts died the last Fall in a very glorious and triumphant manner; the only one that has died among us since the blessed work began. I was called to visit her about ten the evening before she died; and finding her very low in spirit as well as body, I tarried all the night, sometimes discoursing, and sometimes praying with her: but she received no comfort. In the morning after prayer, she turned her face to the wall, and lay still for a little time; and then broke out, and said, "Now I am ready to die! now I am ready to die!" I immediately stepped to her, and said, "Child, have you found Christ? Oh yes, said she, I have found him, I have found him!" I asked her, "If she was now assured of the love of Christ to her?" She answered, "I am sure, I am sure! Now I can leave parents, and friends, and all for Christ! Come Lord Jesus!—Oh sweet Jesus! Oh the anthems of joy!—Oh sweet, sweet, sweet!" and other expressions of the like nature: in which happy frame she continued about two or three hours, and then breathed out her soul into the bosom of Jesus her beloved. These things are the Lord's doings, and loudly call for our admiration and praise.

VII. *Extract of a Letter from Mr. Gilbert Tennent to Mr. Prince at Boston, containing Attestations from several Ministers; also some Account of the Revival in the Provinces of New-Jersey, New-York, and Pennsylvania, dated Philadelphia, August 24th, 1744.*

[ *Christian History*, N<sup>o</sup> 88, 89, 90. ]

R. and D. B. I sympathize with you in lamenting the loss of so valuable a relative as pious Mr. Thatcher of Middleborough; who seemed to have as much at heart the interests of vital religion as any I have ever met with, and whose distinguished exemplary seriousness in religion was adorned with uncommon attainments in humility. The removal of such a faithful and affectionate watchman is a public loss, which both deserves and demands our sincere but submissive sorrows. I am glad that it pleased the sovereign God to make my poor labours of any service among you; I desire ever to bless his holy name for that undeserved mercy. I am thankful for the *Christian History*, and well pleased with the design and management of that work; I hope it will be a mean in God's hand of conveying with honour to posterity a memorial of the late blessed revival of religion, which has been so virulently opposed, and unjustly aspersed by many. As to my drawing up any particular account of memorable things that have been this way of a religious nature, my neglect of taking notes thereof in the proper time, together with the brokenness of my memory, and many

incumbrances forbid the attempt. I shall therefore in the room thereof send you a prefatory attestation, which I drew up and prefixed to the second edition of Mr. Dickinson's *Display of Special Grace &c.* which was signed by several ministers this way, [part of which follows]

"We whose names are underwritten, with pleasure embrace the present occasion, to give a joint and public testimony to the reality and truth of the late revival of religion in this land; which is called generally and justly the work of God. If any should inquire what we mean by the work of God, we think the judicious author of the following dialogue has given a plain and pertinent answer to this inquiry, which we declare our high approbation of. A work of conviction and conversion spread not long since in many places of these provinces, with such power and progress, as even silenced for a time the most malignant opposers: they were then either afraid or ashamed openly to contradict such astonishing displays of the divine almightiness, in alarming multitudes of secure sinners out of their fatal stupor, and exciting in them the utmost solicitude about the everlasting concerns of their souls; many of whom gave us a rational and scriptural account of their distresses, and afterwards of their deliverance from it, agreeable to the method of the gospel of Christ. Their comforts as well as sorrows appeared by all the evidences we can have of such things to be agreeable to scripture and reason. It affects us to think, how poor souls flocked to the dear Immanuel, the blessed Lord Jesus, as doves to their windows: what multitudes in our religious assemblies, trembled like the jailor, under the apprehensions of God's dreadful vengeance: and how many melted into the softest contrition, or were transported into joy and praise, while they beheld the amiable glories of redeeming grace and love! And these sensations have been followed in many by a gospel conversation. What passionate affections have in many been excited to the King of saints! What tender concern have they expressed for the honour of God's name, and the good of his kingdom? What bowels of pity have they had over the perishing souls of others, and what tenderness and circumspection has appeared in the course of their behaviour! In short, we are fully persuaded that we have had all that evidence of the reality of a work of God among us which can be reasonably expected in the present state of things, since miracles have ceased. What if there were some things exceptionable in the conduct of some of the instruments and subjects of this work? Is this so strange an incident in a state of imperfection, as to give us ground of surprize or prejudice against the whole work? But here we must observe, that diverse false reports have been invented and spread industriously both by word and writing, in order to blacken the characters of several ministers whom God has been pleased of his pure goodness to honour with success; and other charges against their conduct have been invidiously aggravated beyond their proper foundation and set in a false light, and some of the subjects of this work have been doubtless treated in the same manner.

It is shocking to think that any should dare to oppose a work atten-

ded with such commanding evidence as has been among us! We would beseech all such to consider solemnly the following paragraph of Mr. Robe minister in Kilsyth in Scotland, in his preface to his narrative, viz. "I seriously beg of any who are prejudiced against this dispensation of God's extraordinary grace, and look upon it as a delusion; that they will shew themselves so charitable and good, as to direct me and other ministers, what we shall answer distressed persons of all ages, who come to us crying bitterly that they are lost and undone, because of unbelief and other sins, what shall we do to be saved? And as a young girl about twelve, who had been in distress for some time, called for me to a separate place in a house where I was, and asked me with great sedateness, what shall I do to get Christ? Shall we tell them, they are not Christless and unconverted, when we evidently see many to be such! Shall we tell them that their fears of the wrath of God is all but delusion, and that it is no such dreadful thing as they need to be much afraid of it! Shall we tell persons lamenting their cursing and swearing, Sabbath-breaking and other immoralities, that it is the devil that makes them now see these evils to be offensive to God and destructive to their souls! Shall we tell them, who under the greatest uneasiness, inquire at us, what they shall do to get an interest and faith in Jesus Christ, that Satan is deluding them when they have or shew any concern this way! In fine, shall we pray, and recommend it to them to pray (to God) to deliver them from such delusions! It would be devilish to treat the Lord's sighing and groaning prisoners at this rate; and yet such treatment is a natural consequence of reckoning this the work of the Devil and a delusion."

We think that our brother, Mr. Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabethtown in New-Jersey, who is the author of the following Dialogues, has, with much judgment and solid reasoning therein, baffled the common cavils of opposers against the work of God, and answered the objections of the scrupulous."

Philadelphia, Gilbert Tennent, William Tennent, Samuel Blair,  
June 1st, 1743. Richard Treat, Samuel Finley, John Blair.

I may add that both our presbyteries, viz. of New-Brunswick and New-Castle, have, in their late declaration of May 26th, 1743, printed at Philadelphia, manifested their cordial concurrence with the protestation of the presbytery of New-York, in which are these words, viz. "We protest against all those passages in any of the pamphlets which have been published in these parts, which seem to reflect upon the work of Divine power and grace which has been carried on in so wonderful a manner in many of our congregations; and declare to all the world, that we look upon it to be the indispensable duty of all our ministers to encourage that glorious work with their most faithful and diligent endeavours."

This protest was signed May the 29th, 1742, by the following members of the Presbytery of New-York, viz.

Jonathan Dickinson, Ebenezer Pemberton, Daniel Elmore, Silas Leonard, John Pierfon, Simon Horton, Azariah Horton, Ministers.

Nathanael Hazard, Timothy Whitehead, David Whitehead, Elders.

I trust I may say to the glory of God's grace, that it pleased the most high God to let me see considerable success in the places where I laboured stately many years before I came hither.

*New-Brunswick in the Province of New-Jersey, and Staten-Island  
in the Province of New-York.*

The labours of Mr. Frelinghousa, a Dutch minister, were much blessed to the people of New-Brunswick and places adjacent, especially about the time of his coming among them, which was about twenty-four years ago. When I came there, which was about seven years after, I had the pleasure of seeing much of the fruits of his ministry: divers of his hearers with whom I had opportunity of conversing, appeared to be converted persons, by their soundness in principle, Christian experience, and pious practice: and these persons declared that his ministrations were the means thereof. This, together with a kind letter which he sent me respecting the necessity of dividing the word aright, and giving to every man his portion in due season, through the divine blessing, excited me to greater earnestness in ministerial labours. I began to be very much distressed about my want of success; for I knew not for half a year or more after I came to New-Brunswick, that any one was converted by my labours, although several persons were at times affected transiently.

It pleased God to afflict me about that time with sickness, by which I had affecting views of eternity. I was then exceedingly grieved that I had done so little for God, and was very desirous to leave one half year more if it was his will, that I might stand upon the stage of the world as it were, and plead more faithfully for his cause, and take more earnest pains for the conversion of souls. The secure state of the world appeared to me in a very affecting light; and one thing among others pressed me sore; viz. that I had spent much time in conversing about trifles, which might have been spent in examining people's states towards God, and persuading them to turn unto him: I therefore prayed to God that he would be pleased to give me one half year more, and I was determined to endeavour to promote his kingdom with all my might at all adventures. The petition God was pleased to grant manifold, and to enable me to keep my resolution in some measure.

After I was raised up to health, I examined many about the grounds of their hope of salvation, which I found in most to be nothing but as the sand: with such I was enabled to deal faithfully and earnestly, in warning them of their danger, and urging them to seek converting grace. By this method many were awakened out of their security; and of those divers were to all appearance effectually converted: and some that I spoke plainly to were prejudiced. And here I would have it observed, that as soon as an effectual door was opened, I found many adversaries, and my character was covered with unjust reproaches, which through divine goodness did not discourage me in my work. I did then preach much upon original sin, repentance, the nature and necessity of conversion in a close examinatory and distinguishing way; labouring in the mean time to sound the trumpet of God's judgments, and alarm the secure by the terrors of the Lord, as well as to affect

them with other topicks of persuasion; which method was sealed by the holy Spirit in the conviction and conversion of a considerable number of persons, at various times, and in different places, in that part of the country; as appeared by their acquaintance with experimental religion, and good conversation.——I may further observe, that frequently at sacramental seasons in New-Brunswick, there have been signal displays of the divine power and presence: divers have been convinced of sin by the sermons then preached, some converted, and many much affected with the love of God in Jesus Christ. O the sweet meetings that I have often seen on such occasions among many! New-Brunswick did then look like a field the Lord had blessed: it was like a little Jerusalem, to which the scattered tribes with eager haste repaired at sacramental solemnities; and there they fed on the fatness of God's house, and drank of the rivers of his pleasures. But alas! the scene is now altered.——While I lived in the place aforesaid, I do not remember that there was any great ingathering of souls at any one time; but thro' mercy there were pretty frequently gleanings of a few here and there, which in the whole were a considerable number. But having never taken a written account of them, I cannot offer any precise conjecture at their number. But at Staten-island one of the places where I stately laboured, there was, about fifteen or sixteen years ago, a more general concern about the affairs of salvation, which hopefully issued in the conversion of a pretty many. Once in the time of a sermon upon Amos vi. i. (before which the people were generally secure,) the Spirit of God was suddenly poured down upon the assembly; the people were generally affected about the state of their souls; and some to that degree, that they fell upon their knees in the time of the sermon<sup>a</sup>, in order to pray to God for pardoning mercy: many went weeping home from that sermon; and then the general inquiry was, What shall I do to be saved?——I may farther observe that some-few of those that I trust were converted in the places aforesaid long since, were compelled to cry out in the public assembly, both under the impressions of terror and love.——During the late revival of religion, New-Brunswick felt some drops of the spreading rain, but no general shower.

*Philadelphia and other places in the Province of PENNSYLVANIA.*

As to the city of Philadelphia, where now by the providence of God I labour stately, many have been hopefully converted here, during the late display of God's grace in this land. Mr. Whitefield was the instrument that God was pleased to improve principally, in the awakening and conversion of sinners here: yet the labours of others have been also attended with some success. This town by all that I can learn, was in a deep security generally, before Mr. Whitefield came among them; but his preaching was so blessed, that a great number were brought under a religious concern about the salvation of their souls;

a June 1st, 1754, Mr. G. Tennent, (who was in Scotland this Summer, as agent for the trustees of the college of New-Jersey, along with Mr. Davies) when I read this part of the letter to him, said the description

was rather too low, for that the people generally fell upon their knees, and that it was one of the most affecting sights he ever saw.

multitudes were enquiring the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, weeping as they went. Some years since, there were so many under soul-sickness in this place, that my feet were pained with walking from place to place to see them; and there was then such an eagerness to hear religious discourse, that when they saw me going to a house they would flock to it; and under what was spoken, they were sometimes generally and to all appearance deeply affected: and thus it was in more public assemblies; there were sometimes general meltings. And altho' several persons have lost their religious impressions, and returned with the dog to his vomit, and some others have fallen into erroneous sentiments; yet God has preserved many from those evils, who give a rational and scriptural account of their conversion, and crown the same by their practice. Neither is it strange that some should be carried away here, by the fair speeches and cunning craftiness of those that lie in wait to deceive; seeing that the greater part of this place have never had the benefit of a strict religious education, and therefore were never well fixed in the thorough knowledge of a consistent system of principles. None that I know of in this town, who were well acquainted with the doctrines of religion in their connection, and established in them, have been turned aside. The last Sabbath of May last, I gave the sacrament of the Lord's supper the first time that ever it was dispensed to the society to which I belong, (considered as a society:) the number of communicants was above one hundred and forty. These persons I examined about their gracious state, as well as doctrinal knowledge; and upon trial, almost all of them gave a scriptural and satisfactory account of the grounds of their hope. Now the chief part of these, according to their own account, have been brought to Christ during the late revival of religion.—And there are divers other persons in this city, who, in a judgment of scriptural charity, have got saving benefit during the late marvellous manifestation of God's grace, who do not join in communion with us.—Tho' there is in many a considerable decay as to their liveliness and affectionateness in religion; yet through divine goodness they grow more humble and merciful, and it is evident by their conversation that the general bent of their hearts is for God.—Since I have come here, my labours seem to be chiefly serviceable to instruct and establish in the great truths of religion, and to comfort pious people: there have been but a few instances of conviction and conversion of late in this town that I know of.

In some places of this province some years ago, particularly in Nottingham, Fogs-Manor, Whitecreek, Nishamine, and elsewhere, there have been such general lamentations in the time of preaching, that the speaker's voice has been almost drowned with the cries of the distressed, even after they have been entreated again and again to restrain themselves; yea and sometimes when the speaker discoursed in a gospel-strain, divers persons in some places in this province have fallen down to the ground, in the time of sermon, as tho' they were stabbed with a sword: and what tho' some have lost their impressions, and relapsed into their sordid impieties; this is no more than what the scriptures inform us did happen in the apostolick times: yet it is well known that

many of them (so far as we are capable of judging by mens speech and practice) have been brought to a sound conversion.

I think it needless here to offer a reply to the cavils of opposers, which are as numerous as invidious and impertinent: but this I must say, that mine eyes and ears have seen and heard so much of the appearances and fruits of the late revival of religion, that I must reject religion altogether, and turn infidel, if I should dispute and oppose the same. May it please the gracious God to pardon those unhappy men, who have set themselves in opposition to the work of the most high God, and painted it in black and odious colours, and let them see their sin and danger before it be too late.

Dear Sir, I did not think, when I began to write, to offer any more than our prefatory attestation; but being urged to mention something of what I had seen and heard, and finding a pleasure in the subject, I have added (with the strictest regard to truth and soberness) these few hasty hints concerning some matters of fact which I know to be true; and shall leave to your own discretion to do with them as you shall see meet. Yours, &c. GILBERT TENNENT<sup>a</sup>.

VIII. *Mr. William Tennent's short Account as to several Places in the Provinces of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, in his Letter to Mr. Prince at Boston, October 11th, 1744.*

[ Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 91. ]

About four weeks since, at the invitation of the people, and desire of our presbytery I gathered a church, and celebrated the Lord's Supper at a new erected congregation in the towns of Maidenhead and Hopewell, about thirty miles North-westerly from hence. In examining such as offered themselves to the holy ordinance, as to their Christian experience, I was agreeably surprized to find so many on whom (in the judgment of charity) the blessed Spirit had wrought a saving change, in this late glorious day of grace. Their account of the Lord's dealing with them was scriptural, free from enthusiasm. It was soul-refreshing to behold the beautiful variety, and yet sweet harmony, that was in their relations: especially, because all their exercises which they spoke of, directly tended to abase themselves, and exalt the Lord; to break them off from the corrupt root of Adam, and ingraft them into the ever glorious Stem of Jesse. God's method of working with them, to bring them to himself, was much the same as in this place: only that some of them, when under conviction, were so violently exercised, as that they cried out publicly; which circumstance some there have endeavoured to abuse, to the disparagement of the whole work. The person that the Lord saw cause chiefly to use in this work, as his messenger to the people, was his truly faithful servant Mr. John Rowland, who for his painful labours and plain dealing was counted by many as an enemy, and treated as such; so that at length he was forced to remove into Pennsylvania.

a June 3d, 1754, Mr. G. Tennent says, that the subjects of the revival in the places mentioned in this letter, so far as he knows, do generally persevere.

May the Lord forgive them for Christ's sake. The sacramental season was blessed to the refreshing of the Lord's dear people there, as well as to others of them who came from other places. So that some who had been much distressed with doubts about their state, received soul-satisfying sealings of God's everlasting love: others were supported and quickened, so that they returned home rejoicing and glorifying God.

*New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania.*

I can freely declare that I have seen God's Spirit accompanying his preached word in many places belonging to these three provinces, of New-York, New-Jersey and Pennsylvania; by which precious souls have been subdued to himself: which I apprehend is only an earnest of much greater blessings to his church: for he has said, that he will make "the knowledge of himself to cover the earth as the waters do the sea." Zion shall yet "look forth (out of all the clouds of contempt cast on her) as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners." I doubt not but "the light of the gospel-sun shall yet increase as the light of seven days;" for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. Even so come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Yours, &c.

WM. TENNENT.

[N.B. The account of Mr. Rowland's success in Amwell, &c. is to be found in Sect. I. of this chapter, taken from his letter to Mr. Prince, minister at Boston, printed at Philadelphia 1745, which Letter contains also the following short account of his success in Pennsylvania.]

"In the year 174--., I came and lived in Charlestown in Chester county, in Pennsylvania, and have continued, according to the order of the presbytery, preaching among them and the people of New-Providence. But as my ministry has been chiefly succeeded at New-Providence, since I came into these parts, I shall only speak of what I have observed of the work of God in this town.

The people of New-Providence, before I came into these parts to preach, were but an ignorant sort of people, unacquainted with religion, both as to principles and practice; though they would pretend some to be of one denomination, and some of another, yet a vain name was all. Looseness prevailed much in the place; and there was not one to speak to another in a suitable way and manner, neither of the vileness, deformity, and unprofitableness of the ways of sin, nor of the glory, and excellency, and profitableness of the ways of God. I knew not if any of them observed family-prayer, or asked a blessing on their food. This was the case among them, as they told me themselves at several times; and I inquired of them again, when I began to write this account.

The conviction and conversion of the people of New-Providence, was within about two months of one another: it was the time of my travelling among them into these places, that the Lord chose to bless for their ingathering to Jesus Christ; and since I have laboured stately among them, it has been as much my endeavour to build up those, who were called into the fellowship of God, as to convince sinners of their misery; and to this end my labours were blessed again among them throughout the year 174--.. As to their conviction and conversion unto



God, I may say that they are capable to give a scriptural account of them. I forbear to speak of many extraordinary appearances; such as some scores crying out at one instant, falling down and fainting.

These people are still encreasing, blessed be the Lord; they are labouring to walk in communion with God, and with one another; and for this end they meet, by way of society, in the meeting-house two or three hours at a time in praise and prayer; and they find this an excellent mean to prepare them for the holy Sabbath. They are careful to maintain the worship of God in their families, and to use all agreeable means to encrease their knowledge in the things of God.

I chuse to speak no more, though I may truly say, that what I have spoke of the glorious work of God, both in this place and in the towns of Amwell, Hopewell, and Maidenhead, is but a very little to what I might have said." J. R.

IX. *Some Account of the Perseverance of the Subjects of the above Revival, who lived in and about Boston.*

[ From two Manuscript Letters from A — W — in Boston, to a Minister in Glasgow. ]

Boston, September 5th, 1751.—R. and D. S. "I have communicated your request to Mr. Hobby, and others, for their attestations of the continuance of those who were the subjects of the work, who assure me, they can and will do it, and forward it to you. I can give testimony of great numbers who fell under my own observation, men of vile principles, of very loose morals, that in that day were remarkably wrought upon, and now are very exemplary Christians, and have lived so for many years past. Some particulars I shall send by another opportunity, if it please God to grant it." Yours, &c. A. W.

Boston, January 22d, 1752.—R. and D. S. "I promised to answer that part of your letter desiring testimonies of the perseverance of such as were awakened in the remarkable day of God's grace in this land.—Some ministers have promised me to give you an account thereof, and as far as my testimony will go; I will mention a few of the instances who fell within my own observation.

The first I shall begin with is a man who always lived a very vicious life, as hard drinking, profane cursing and swearing, &c. He seldom attended on public worship, and when at meeting on the Lord's-day, he endeavoured to set himself to sleep away the time; and if, when awake, the minister said any thing that touched his conscience it generally set him in a rage at him. This was his course of life till by the preaching of Messrs. Whitefield and Tennent he was brought to serious consideration of his ways, thrown into great concern, under strong convictions of conscience for his wicked life. The blessed Spirit never left him till it effectually did the work; and manifested the love of God to his soul, as he apprehends; and he has ever since brought forth fruit unto holiness, and lives to this day a most pious and devout life, broke off from his old companions (who very frequently scoff at him) and converses only with the people of God.—He lives about five miles down our

river on a farm; and every year invites to his house a minister who preaches, and some Christian friends, and entertains them generously—I have been there several times. The last year Mr. Moorehead preached there.

The next I shall mention is more remarkable. He had lived a moral life for the sake of reputation among men, but had no fear of God; for he hardly believed there was one, and for many years used his utmost endeavours to bring his acquaintance to be atheists. When about ten years ago (there being a remarkable stir, and many awakened, and it is hoped converted) he heard many give account of the manner of God's working on their hearts, he ridiculed them and the work. In this time he was riding by a meeting-house where people were at worship; he had a mind to go in, but then he relucted, and agitated for some time; but, at last, went in with this resolution he would not be overcome; but it pleased the Lord, soon to touch his heart, and he felt a strange emotion of spirit, such as he had bantered and ridiculed; broke out of the assembly, and endeavoured to get rid of his concern; mounted his horse and was resolved he would ride it away. But his concern increased, and was so powerful even on his body, that he was forced to alight off his horse. Then he prostrated himself on the ground; and cried for mercy to God whom he lived in defiance of. With help he got home to his own house, and when he related what was the matter with him, it astonished all who beheld him. He laid aside all thoughts of worldly business, and continued in a despairing condition for some months, crying out for mercy, till it pleased God to let in some gleam of light, which advanced till it came to a hopeful conversion; and now he speaks of the wonderful goodness of God to so vile a wretch as him, and lives an exemplary holy life, declaring his experiences to all who will attend thereto. When he gave me the account, it was with many tears of joy, and greatly affected my heart.

Now I will give you a relation of one in my own family, a Negroe man whom I had about ten years; a stupid ignorant creature; no pains were wanting to learn him to read, but all ineffectual; he seemed to have very little sense of religion, although much pains were taken. When Mr. Whitefield was first here, our dear friend Mr. William Cooper sent to me to send him my chaise and servant to carry him and Mr. Whitefield to Cambridge. Accordingly I complied.—Mr. Whitefield preached at the college on those words, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." When they returned in the evening, he (the servant) repeated a considerable part of the sermon to the other servants in the kitchen, some part of which I over-heard as I sat in my own room, and indeed it was a very pleasing surprize. This sermon took such hold of him to bring him under strong convictions of his sinful miserable state by nature, as well as practice, that he grew very thoughtful about his soul, earnestly seeking an interest in the Lord Jesus Christ, which we have abundant reason to hope he obtained. Mr. Whitefield thought so, and Mr. Cooper also, for he frequently conversed with them about divine things. In some months Mr. Cooper admitted him to the Lord's table, and said to me of him,

that he never had from any person in his life a more rational and scriptural account of conversion than from him. And he evidenced it by a sober life, and fidelity as a servant, which continued during life, which was about ten years; then he was seized with a consumption and died; he lingered some months—A few days before he departed, on being inquired of as to his willingness to leave the world, he said in a rapture he was willing to go, that he might be with his Saviour, who had made him many a sweet visit for whole nights together, by the manifestation of his love to his soul, &c. So Ethiopia stretched forth her hands.—There are many like instances of that nation.—One man I know who had lived a very profligate life, frequently attended on Mr. Whitefield's preaching with no other view but to take part of sentences, go to the tavern and repeat them to make nonsense, falsehood, &c. But it pleased a sovereign God, to strike him home under one sermon that brought him down to the dust; he lost his strength in the meeting-house that he could not walk, but was carried home; and it worked well, even to saving good to his soul.—Has been ever since an exemplary Christian, often expressing the distinguishing mercy of God towards him so vile a sinner.

I will now pass from the open profane to some more civilized and moral in their behaviour; and first, I will mention a number of ministers, more than twenty, who all declared that Mr. Whitefield's ministry was so set home upon them, that they look on him as their spiritual father. One of them has said to me, he believed he should soon have arrived to deism; but God had mercy in store for him. He went once to hear Mr. Whitefield preach with no other design than to pick a hole in his coat; but God picked a hole in his heart, which was afterwards healed by the blood of Christ. He lives as a Christian, and preaches in the most lively manner the great doctrines of the gospel, viz. original sin, free justification by Christ alone, election, &c. things that he formerly despised and meddled not with, and is very successful. Talking with him lately, he said (on my inquiring how the awakened and as he hoped the converted, held out) that but one person in his congregation that he esteemed savingly wrought upon had fallen back: and he had a goodly number of them persevered.

I know four sisters, moral, gay, polite persons, who indulged themselves in what they called innocent diversions of life, thought abstaining from gross sins, and being courteous, affable, and doing no-body any harm was all that was required. This they did, and thought they were swimming away to Heaven in a life of pleasure. But God in infinite mercy convinced them of their folly and danger, and shewed them religion was quite another thing. They can now talk of divine things in an experimental manner. One of them in the time of their awakening was addressed by a young gentleman for marriage; she refused to let him proceed, saying she would first make sure she was married to the Lord Jesus Christ; and there is the highest ground to believe she is so.

I will close with one as remarkable as any, and mention the name; she was grand-daughter to that Mackintosh taken in the rebellion against king George the first, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

That gentleman's son came into this country to marry his uncle's daughter, by whom he had this and another. Father and mother died when they were young. She married a young gentleman of a good family, and having a plentiful estate (her income was about five hundred pounds sterling per annum) bred in the best manner among us; she appeared morally virtuous and discreet, though indulged in dancing, &c. little or no thought of any sort of religion; being caressed in all gay company. She was going one day to pay a ceremonious visit, and in her way thither she passed by Mr. Prince's meeting-house, where she saw great numbers of people flocking in; she asked of some of them what the occasion was; they told there was a lecture there; she stood still and paused a while, having some curiosity to go in and see what such folks did there, but relucted and was off and on, but at last went in, which was before the worship began; but in some little time Mr. Bur (now president of New-Jersey's college) mounted the desk. When she saw him she despised his looks being small of stature, and withed herself out of the meeting-house, thinking such a person could not say any thing worth such crowding after; but she thought it would be indecent to go out, and so tarried; but she soon found that which she never felt before; the Spirit of God accompanied the word in a most powerful manner, and she brought to think of taking care of her soul, and how she should obtain an interest in the Lord Jesus Christ. Soon after this Mr. Whitefield arrived here; him she followed in public and private, and by his preaching and frequent conversing, I believe she obtained a good measure of knowledge and grace.—She soon was sick of her gay company and their way of living; got acquainted with the vitally pious; in this way she continued four or five years, when it pleased God to lay her on a bed of sickness for some months; with which her life ended. She had been frequently at my house with Mr. Whitefield, so I had great opportunity to hear her talk. She was naturally of a modest meek disposition, and when it came to be sweetened with grace, she was very amiable. She was soon ripe for Heaven at little more than twenty years old. The day before she died, she sent a servant to me and desired I would come and see her, I cheerfully embraced the opportunity and went immediately. When I got to the house, I was immediately carried into her chamber, where I found her just ready to leave the world, with her loins girt, and her lamp trimmed, waiting for the Bridegroom. As soon as she cast her eyes upon me, she reached out her hand, which I took hold of; she grasped it, and, with a faint voice, said, I sent for you to thank you for all your acts of friendship, and the notice taken of me at your house, and take leave; I am going, I am going to leave a vain world; I have had clear views of a better. Oh now I want some advice and direction from my dear soul-friend Mr. Whitefield.—But then stopped and said, "Why should I do so? he is gone about his Lord and Master's work, and it will be but a little time, and we shall meet, where we shall be eternally employed in singing praises for redeeming love and grace, and never part more," &c. &c. There were present some young persons of her relations and friends, to whom she gave excellent ad-

vice to have done with the gaieties and pleasures of the world, and withed they could have such a view of them as she then had: think only of taking care of your souls: look upon me, a poor helpless object, and think it may soon be your turn to be in the same condition; and added, "I never found satisfaction in worldly pleasures; but in religion I have had the highest delight." This, and such-like, was all her talk. She desired I would pray, "That it would please the Lord to be with her in her last moments, that she might hold out speaking for his cause, and manifest his love to her soul, and take her to himself."—So we parted. The next day she took her flight (I doubt not) to the regions of glory.—Although she had not the benefit of Mr. Whitefield, she had of Mr. Prince, who for more than a month visited her every day, prayed and conversed with her. She would not be contented without him. He speaks highly of her grace\*.

Now, Sir, I will close with saying, 'tis a great pleasure to be recollecting the wonderful work of God in those times; but I also would lament the small appearance of such things at this present day; but prayer is duty, and another such time may come.—Those instances which I have mentioned are all fallen within my own knowledge, and I have kept close to strict truth, and could mention scores more of as remarkable instances. May God have the praise! Yours, &c. A. W.

a [Here he adds] I cannot conclude, without mentioning a very remarkable occurrence in her life, though a short one, viz soon after her father and mother deceased, there came from Scotland a man who called himself — Shaw Mackintosh; said he was uncle to this young gentlewoman, and a sister she had; immediately got acquaintance with and caressed them highly; assured them he made his voyage to New-England purely to take care of them; for there was great danger of being made a prey of, being wholly destitute of friends, and having no relations. He continued here sometime, endeavouring to insinuate himself into their affections by soft and tender words and carriage. He proposed to them, that he would carry them to Scotland among their relations, where there would be care taken of their education, &c. but they could not be prevailed with, saying they chused to stay among people they had been brought up with, who were very kind to them. Finding that would not do, he contrived this stratagem to force them away.—He made an entertainment for them at his lodging one Saturday evening, the most quiet in the week always with us; and, after supper, he would wait on them to their lodging, which was near the water-side: but, before they reached quite home, some ruffians he had provided took each of these children into their arms, run down to the water-

side, threw them into a boat, and carried them about nine miles down the river, put them on board a ship he, their uncle, said he was going in, and told them he had provided all things necessary for them.—The ship was to come to sail that night; but, as providence ordered it, the wind came about contrary. After they got on board, a storm ensued, the children distressed almost to death.—But, being missed from their lodgings late at night, a servant was sent to their uncle's lodgings to fetch them home, but was informed they had been gone from hence some hours: so stir was made, and inquiry after them; and some people dwelling near where the boat lay, informed, that in the evening they heard children's voices crying as if in great distress, and the uncle not to be found neither; it was suspected he had conveyed them away.—The governor was applied to, who granted warrants to search every ship, and the next morning they were found, as above, and brought up to town; the uncle also, who was committed to prison for sometime, but never had his deserved punishment.—But they were released, and he went off without his prizes.—There was reason to fear, from many circumstances heard afterwards, the design was to make away with them, and then the father's relations would have been heirs to their estate, which is more than a thousand pounds Sterling per annum.

## SECTION XXII.

*In 1743, the same Work spreads to Virginia.—The uncommon Manner in which it began.—Mr. Robinson's preaching greatly blest.—And Mr. Blair's.—And Mr. Roan's.—Opposition.—The Synod of New-York applied to.—Mr. Tennent and Mr. Finley come.—Then Mr. W. Tennent, and Mr. Sam. Blair.—The Lord's Supper given.—Mr. Davies is sent to them in 1747.—Next Year he has seven meeting-houses to officiate in.—Three of them in Hanover, the other four in the Counties of Henrico, Caroline, Louisa, and Gloucester. Three Hundred Communicants.—A Number of Negroes.—Their artless Simplicity, and passionate Aspirations after Christ.—Strange History of Isaac Oliver deaf and dumb from his Birth.—Itinerant Preaching blest where settled Pastors wanting.—Several awakened in Lunenburg and Amelia under the Ministry of Mr. Robinson.—An Awakening in Augusta under the Ministry of Messrs. Dean and Byram.—And in Frederick County.—And in Maryland.—And in Kent County and Queen Anne's, under the Ministry of Mr. Robinson.—But especially in Somerset County in Maryland.*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Davies, Minister at Hanover in Virginia, to Mr. Bellamy of Bethlehem in New-England, dated June 28th, 1751. ]

R. and D. S. If the publication of a narrative of the rise, progress, and present situation of religion in Virginia, may not only gratify good people, but (as you give me reason to hope) animate their prayers for us, and also encourage preachers to come into these parts, I should charge myself with a criminal neglect if I refused to publish the marvellous work of the Lord among us.—I hope I may observe without the umbrage of calumny what is but too evident to serious people of all denominations among us, that religion has been, and in most parts of the colony still is, in a very low state. A surprizing negligence in attending public worship, and an equally surprizing levity and unconcernedness in those that attend. Family religion a rarity, and a solemn concern about eternal things a greater. Vices of various kinds triumphant, and even a form of godliness not common.—But universal fame makes it needless for me to enlarge on this disagreeable subject.—Before the revival in 1743 there were a few who were awakened, as they have told me, either by their own serious reflections, suggested and enforced by divine energy, or on reading some authors of the last century, particularly Bolton, Baxter, Flavel, Bunyan.—There was one Mr. Samuel Morris, who had for some time been very anxious about his own salvation, who after obtaining blessed relief in Christ became zealous for the salvation of his neighbours, and very earnest to use means to awaken them. This was the tendency of his conversation; and he also read to them such authors as had been most useful to himself, particularly Luther on the Galatians, and his table discourses, and several pieces of honest Bunyan's. By these means some of his neighbours were

made more thoughtful about their souls; but the concern was not very extensive. I have prevailed on my good friend just now named, who was the principal private instrument of promoting the late work, and therefore well acquainted with it, to write me a narrative of its rise and progress, and this, together with what he and others have told me, I shall present to you, without any material alterations.—“ In the year 1740 Mr. Whitefield had preached at Williamsburg at the invitation of Mr. Blair our late commissary. But we being sixty miles distant from Williamsburg he left the colony before we had an opportunity of hearing him. But in the year 43 a young gentleman from Scotland had got a book of his sermons preached in Glasgow, and taken from his mouth in short hand, which after I had read with great benefit, I invited my neighbours to come and hear it; and the plainness and fervency of these discourses being attended with the power of the Lord, many were convinced of their undone condition, and constrained to seek deliverance with the greatest solicitude. A considerable number met to hear these sermons every Sabbath, and frequently on week days. The concern of some was so passionate and violent, that they could not avoid crying out, weeping bitterly, &c. And that, when such indications of religious concern were so strange and ridiculous, that they could not be occasioned by example or sympathy, and the affectation of them would be so unprofitable an instance of hypocrisy, that none could be tempted to it. My dwelling-house at length was too small to contain the people, whereupon we determined to build a meeting-house, merely for reading. And having never been used to social extempore prayer, none of us durst attempt it.—By this single mean severals were awakened, and their conduct ever since is a proof of the continuance and happy issue of their impressions. When the report was spread abroad, I was invited to several places to read these sermons, at a considerable distance, and by this means the concern was propagated.—About this time, our absenting ourselves from the established church, contrary, as was alledged, to the laws of the land, was taken notice of, and we were called upon by the court to assign our reasons for it, and to declare what denomination we were of. As we knew but little of any denomination of dissenters, except Quakers, we were at a loss what name to assume. At length recollecting that Luther was a noted reformer, and that his books had been of special service to us, we declared ourselves Lutherans; and thus we continued till providence sent us the rev. Mr. William Robinson. This Mr. Robinson was a zealous, laborious minister of Christ, who by the permission of the presbytery took a journey through the new settlements in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North-Carolina. He founded a congregation at Lunenburg. In Amelia also, a county somewhat nearer us than the former, his labours were extensively blessed; and while he was there, some of our people sent him an invitation to come and preach at our reading-house. Being satisfied about the soundness of his principles, and being informed that the method of his preaching was awakening, we were very eager to hear him. On the 6th of July 43 he preached his first sermon to us from Luke xiii. 3. and continued with us preaching

four days successively. The congregation was large the first day, and vastly increased the three ensuing. 'Tis hard for the liveliest imagination to form an image of the condition of the assembly on these glorious days of the Son of man. Such of us as had been hungry for the word before, were lost in an agreeable surprize and astonishment, and some could not refrain from publicly declaring their transport: we were overwhelmed with the thoughts of the unexpected goodness of God, in allowing us to hear the gospel preached in a manner that surpassed our hopes. Many that came through curiosity were pricked to the heart, and but few in the numerous assemblies on these four days, appeared unaffected. They returned alarmed with apprehensions of their dangerous condition, convinced of their former entire ignorance of religion, and anxiously enquiring what they should do to be saved. And there is reason to believe there was as much good done by these four sermons, as by all the sermons preached in these parts before or since.—Before Mr. Robinson left us, he successfully endeavoured to correct some of our mistakes, and to bring us to carry on the worship of God more regularly at our meetings. After this we met to read good sermons, and began and concluded with prayer and singing of psalms, which till then we had omitted.—The blessing of God remarkably attended these more private means, and it was really astonishing to observe the solemn impressions begun or continued in many by hearing good discourses read. I had repeated invitations to come to many places round, some of them thirty or forty miles distant, to read. Considerable numbers attended with eager attention and awful solemnity, and severals were in a judgment of charity turned to God, and thereupon erected meeting-houses, and chose readers among themselves, by which the work was more extensively carried on.—Soon after Mr. Robinson left us, the rev. Mr. John Blair paid us a visit; and truly he came to us in the fulness of the gospel of Christ. Former impressions were ripened and new ones made on many hearts. One night in particular a whole house-full of people was quite overcome with the power of the word, particularly of one pungent sentence, and they could hardly sit or stand, or keep their passions under any proper restraints. So general was the concern during his stay with us, and so ignorant were we of the danger of apostacy, that we pleased ourselves with the thoughts of more being brought to Christ at that time, than now appears to have been, though there is still the greatest reason to hope that severals bound themselves to the Lord in an everlasting covenant, never to be forgotten.—Some time after this, the rev. Mr. Roan was sent us by the presbytery of Newcastle. He continued with us longer than any of the former, and the happy effects of his ministrations are still apparent. He was instrumental in beginning and promoting the religious concern in several places where there was little appearance of it before. This, together with his speaking pretty freely about the degeneracy of the clergy in this colony, gave a general alarm, and some measures were concerted to suppress us. To incense the indignation of the government the more, a perfidious wretch deposed he heard Mr. Roan utter blasphemous expressions in his sermon. An indictment



was thereupon drawn up against Mr. Roan (though by that time he had departed the colony) and some who had invited him to preach at their houses were cited to appear before the general court, and two of them were fined. While my cause was upon trial, I had reason to rejoice that the throne of grace is accessible in all places, and that helpless creatures can send up their desires unseen, in the midst of a croud. Six witnesses were cited to prove the indictment against Mr. Roan, but their depositions were in his favour; and the witness who accused him of blasphemy, when he heard of the arrival of Messrs. Tennent and Finley, he fled, and has not returned since; so that the indictment was dropped. But I had reason to fear being banished the colony, and all circumstances seemed to threaten the extirpation of religion among the dissenters in these parts.—In these difficulties, having no person of a public character to appear in our favour, we were determined to acquaint the synod of New-York with our case. Accordingly four of us went to the synod, May 1745, when the Lord favoured us with success. The synod drew up an address to our governor, the honourable Sir William Gooch, and sent it with Messrs. Tennent and Finley, who were received by the governor with respect, and had liberty granted them to preach among us. By this means the dreadful cloud was scattered for a while, and our languid hopes revived. They continued with us about a week, and though the deluge of passion in which we were at first overwhelmed, was by this time somewhat abated, yet much good was done by their ministry. The people of God were refreshed, and several careless sinners were awakened. Some that had trusted before in their moral conduct, and religious duties, were convinced of the depravity of their nature, and the necessity of regeneration, though indeed there were but few unregenerate persons among us at that time, that could claim so regular a character, the most part indulging themselves in criminal liberties, and being remiss in the duties of religion, which, alas! is too commonly the case still in such parts of the colony as the late revival did not extend to.—After they left us, we continued vacant for a considerable time, and kept up our meetings for reading and prayer in several places, and the Lord favoured us with his presence. I was again repeatedly presented and fined in court for absenting myself from church, and keeping up unlawful meetings, as they were called; “but the Bush flourished in the flames.”——The next that were appointed to supply us, were the rev. Messrs. William Tennent and Samuel Blair. They administered the Lord’s supper among us; and we have reason ever to remember it as a most glorious day of the Son of Man. The assembly was large, and the novelty of the manner of the administration did peculiarly engage their attention. It appeared as one of the days of Heaven to some of us; and we could hardly help wishing we could, with Joshua, have delayed the revolutions of the heavens to prolong it. After Messrs. Tennent and Blair were gone, Mr. Whitefield came and preached four or five days, which was the happy means of giving us farther encouragement, and engaging others to the Lord, especially among the church people, who received the gospel more readily from him than from ministers of the Presbyterian de-

nomination. After his departure, we were destitute of a minister, and followed our usual method of reading and prayer at our meetings, till the rev. Mr. Davies, our present pastor, was sent us by the presbytery to supply us a few weeks in the Spring 1747, when our discouragements from the government were renewed and multiplied: for, upon a Lord's-day a proclamation was set up at our meeting-house, strictly requiring all magistrates to suppress and prohibit, as far as they lawfully could, all itinerant preachers, &c. which occasioned us to forbear reading that day, till we had time to deliberate and consult what was expedient to do; but how joyfully were we surprized before the next Sabbath, when we unexpectedly heard that Mr. Davies was come to preach so long among us, and especially that he had qualified himself according to law, and obtained the licensing of four meeting-houses among us, which had never been done before. Thus man's extremity is the Lord's opportunity. For this seasonable interposition of Divine providence, we desire to offer our grateful praises, and we importune the friends of Zion to concur with us."—(Thus far Mr. Morris' Narrative. Then the rev. Mr. Davies proceeds to give account of the state of their affairs since he came among them in April 1747.)—Upon my arrival, I petitioned the general court to grant me a license to officiate in and about Hanover, at four meeting-houses, which, after some delay, was granted, upon my qualifying according to the act of toleration.—I preached frequently in Hanover, and some of the adjacent counties; and though the fervour of the late work was considerably abated, and my labours were not blessed with success equal to those of my brethren, yet I have reason to hope they were of service in several instances.—The importunities they used with me to settle with them were invincible; and, upon my departure, they sent a call for me to the presbytery.—After I returned from Virginia, I spent near a year under melancholy and consumptive languishments, expecting death; in the Spring 1748, I began slowly to recover, though I then looked upon it only as the intermission of a disorder that would finally prove mortal. But upon the arrival of a messenger from Hanover, I put my life in my hand, and determined to accept of their call, hoping I might live to prepare the way for some more useful successor, and willing to expire under the fatigues of duty, rather than in voluntary negligence.—The Hon. Sir William Gooch, our late governour, always discovered a ready disposition to allow us all claimable privileges, and the greatest aversion to persecuting measures; but, considering the shocking reports spread abroad concerning us by officious malignants, it was no great wonder the council discovered a considerable reluctance to tolerate us. Had it not been for this, I persuade myself they would have shewn themselves the guardians of our legal privileges, as well as generous patriots to their country, which is the character generally given them.—In October 1748, besides the four meeting-houses already mentioned, the people petitioned for the licensing of three more, which with great difficulty was obtained. Among these seven, I have hitherto divided my time. Three of them ly in Hanover county, the other four in the counties of Henrico, Carolina, Louisa, and Goochland. The nearest are twelve or fifteen

miles distant from each other, and the extremes about forty. My congregation is very much dispersed, and notwithstanding the number of the meeting-houses, some live twenty, some thirty, and a few forty miles from the nearest. Were they all compactly situate in one country, they would be sufficient to form three distinct congregations.—Many of the church people also attend when there is sermon at any of these houses. This I looked upon at first as mere curiosity after novelty, but as it continues, and in some places seems to increase, I cannot but look upon it as a happy token of their being at length thoroughly engaged. And I have the greater reason to hope so now, as experience has confirmed my former hopes. Fifty or sixty families having thus been happily entangled in the net of the gospel by their own curiosity, or some such motive.—There are about three hundred communicants in my congregation, of whom the greatest number are, in the judgment of rational charity, real Christians. Besides some, who, thro' excessive scrupulousness, do not seek admission to the Lord's table.—There is also a number of Negroes. Sometimes I see an hundred and more among my hearers. (Psal. lxxviii. 31.) I have baptized about forty of them within these three years, upon such a profession of faith as I then judged credible. Some of them, I fear, have apostatized; but others, I trust, will persevere to the end. I have had as satisfying evidences of the sincere piety of severals of them, as ever I had from any person in my life, and their artless simplicity, their passionate aspirations after Christ, their incessant endeavours to know and do the will of God, have charmed me. But, alas! while my charge is so extensive, I cannot take sufficient pains with them for their instruction, which often oppresses my heart.—There have been instances of unhappy apostasy among us; but, blest be God, not many in proportion to the number brought under concern.—At present there are a few under promising impressions; but, in general, a lamentable security prevails. Oh for a little reviving in our bondage!—I might have given you a particular account of the conversion of some persons here, as indeed there are some uncommon instances of it, but I shall only observe in general, that abstracting from particular circumstances, the work of conversion has been carried on in such steps as are described by experimental divines, as Allein, Shepherd, Stoddard, Flavel, &c. And nothing confirms me more in the truth of their opinions concerning experimental piety, than this agreement and uniformity as to the substance, in the exercises of those that can make the fairest claim to saving grace.—There is one Isaac Oliver here, whose history, could I write it intelligibly to you, would be very entertaining. He has been deaf and dumb from his birth, and yet I have the utmost reason to believe he is truly gracious, and also acquainted with most of the doctrines, and many of the historical facts of the Bible. I have seen him represent the crucifixion of Christ in such significant signs, that I could not but understand them. Those that live in the house with him can hold conversation with him very readily. There is so much of the devout ardour of his soul discovered at times, as is really affecting, and I have seen him converse in signs about the love and sufferings of Christ, till he has been

transported into earnestness, and dissolved in tears. The above Mr. Morris, with whom he lives, has told me, that eight years ago he appeared remarkably changed, and ever since is very conscientious in the whole of his behaviour; generally delights to attend both public and family-worship, though he cannot hear a word; and is observed sometimes to retire to secret prayer, though he signifies that he is praying with his heart, when about his business, or in company, which is peculiarly practicable to him, as in all places he enjoys retirement.—I could relate several peculiarities about him; but as they are unintelligible to myself, or might seem incredible to those that are unacquainted with him, I omit them. So much, however, I know of him, that I cannot but look upon him as a miraculous monument of Almighty grace, that can perform its purposes on men, notwithstanding the greatest natural or moral impediments; and I submit it to the judgment of others, whether a person so incapable of external instructions, could be brought to know the mysteries of the kingdom of Heaven any other way than by immediate revelation. Besides the people here, several of my brethren, who have been here, particularly Messrs. Samuel Blair and John Roan can attest this relation.—I forgot to inform you, in its proper place, that the rev. Mr. Davenport was sent by the synod to Hanover last Summer, and continued here about two months. And, blest be God, did not labour in vain. Some were brought under concern, and many of the Lord's people much revived, who can never forget the instrument of it.—Thus, dear Sir, I have given you a brief account of what I am persuaded you will readily own to be the work of the Lord. We claim no infallibility, but we must not fall into Scepticism. If we could form no judgment of such a work, why should we pretend to promote the conversion of men, if we cannot have any satisfying knowledge of it, when it appears? Indeed the evidence of its Divinity here is so irresistible, that it has extorted an acknowledgment from some, from whom it could hardly be expected.—Were you, Sir, a narrow bigot, you would, no doubt, rejoice to hear that there are now some hundreds of dissenters in a place, where, a few years ago, there were not ten; but I assure myself of your congratulations on a nobler account, because a considerable number of perishing sinners are gained to the blessed Redeemer, with whom, though you never see them here, you may spend a blissful eternity.—After all, poor Virginia demands your compassion, for religion at present is but like the cloud which Elijah's servant saw. Oh that it may spread and cover the land!

As to other counties where dissenters are settled.—There are two congregations, one in Albemarle, and one in Augusta county, belonging to the synod of Philadelphia, that have ministers settled among them: but those that have put themselves under the care of Newcastle presbytery (which are vastly more numerous) notwithstanding their repeated endeavours, are still destitute of ministers. There are as many of them as would form five distinct congregations, three at least in Augusta, one in Frederica, and one at least in Lunenburg and Amelia. Notwithstanding the supplies our presbytery have sent them, some of them, particularly Lunenburg, have been above a year together with-

out one sermon. I hope one of them may soon be provided by a pious young man, Mr. Todd, sent by New-Brunswick presbytery, but I have no prospect as to the rest; for I can now count up at least six or seven vacant congregations in Pennsylvania, and two or three in Maryland, besides the five mentioned in the frontier counties of Virginia, and a part of my own congregation, which I would willingly declare vacant, had they opportunity of obtaining another minister. And there are but twelve members in Newcastle presbytery, and two or three candidates that are preingaged to vacancies in Pennsylvania. We have indeed of late licensed several pious youths, but our vacancies increase almost as fast as our ministers, by the settlement of new places, or the breaking out of religious concern in places where there was little before; and some of our most useful members are lately called home by death; such as Messrs. Robinson and Dean, and now Mr. Samuel Blair. May the Lord induce faithful ministers from New-England, or where-ever they might be spared, to come and help us!—While these congregations have been destitute of settled pastors, itinerant preaching among them, has, by the blessing of God, been very useful. Mr. Robinson underwent great hardships in North-Carolina without much success, by reason of the fewness and savage ignorance of the inhabitants; but the case is now happily altered. A new congregation, I think upon Pee-dee river, sent a petition lately to our presbytery for a minister.— Besides this, I hear of several other places in North-Carolina, that are ripening very fast for the gospel. “O that the Lord would send forth faithful labourers into his harvest!”—Mr. Robinson was the instrument of awakening severals in Lunenburg and Amelia, with whom I lately spent a fortnight, at their earnest desire; and there is a prospect of doing much service, were they furnished with a faithful minister.—I met with most encouragement in a part of Amelia county, where very few had heard any of my brethren. The assemblies were large even on week-days, and sometimes there appeared much solemnity and affection among them. There appears great probability of success, if they had a faithful minister. It was really afflicting to me that the necessity of my own congregation constrained me to leave them so soon.—In Augusta there is a great number of solid lively Christians. There was a pretty general awakening there some years ago under the ministry of Messrs. Dean and Byram. I believe three ministers might live very comfortably among them.—In Frederick county there has also been (as I am informed by my brethren who have been there) a considerable awakening some years ago, which has had a blessed issue in many, and the congregation have been seeking a minister these several years.—In Maryland also, there has been a considerable revival (shall I call it?) or first plantation of religion, in Baltimore county, where I am informed Mr. Whittlesey is like to settle.—In Kent county and Queen Anne’s, a number of careless sinners have been awakened and hopefully brought to Christ. The work was begun and chiefly carried on by the instrumentality of that favoured man Mr. Robinson, whose success, whenever I reflect upon it, astonishes me. Oh! he did much in a little time, and who would not chuse such an expeditious pilgrimage through

this world? There is in these places a considerable congregation, and they have made repeated essays to obtain a settled minister.—There was a great stir about religion in Buckingham, a place on the sea-shore, about four years ago, which has since spread and issued in a hopeful conversion in several instances. They also want a minister.—But the most glorious display of Divine grace in Maryland has been in and about Somerset county. It began, I think, in 1745, by the ministry of Mr. Robinson, and was afterwards carried on by several ministers that preached transiently there. I was there about two months, when the work was at its height, and I never saw such a deep and spreading concern: the assemblies were numerous, though in the extremity of a cold Winter, and unwearied in attending the word; and frequently there were very few among them that did not give some plain indications of distress or joy. Oh! these were the happiest days that ever my eyes saw. Since that, the harvest seems over there, though considerable gleanings, I hear, are still gathered.—They have of late got Mr. Henry for their minister, a young man, who, I trust, will be an extensive blessing to that part of the colony.—I shall prize it, dear Sir, as a great blessing, if you and others of the Lord's servants and people in distant parts, favour us with your prayers.—And shall be glad to correspond with them. Our acquaintance with the various parts of the church qualifies us to adapt our prayers to their state.—May your Divine Master bless you and succeed your ministrations, and pour out his Spirit on the land where you reside. I am, &c<sup>a</sup>.

a May 22d, 1754, Mr. G. Tennent and Mr. Davies being at Edinburgh, as agents for the trustees of the college of New-Jersey (an institution that promises well, if the Lord vouchsafe it his blessing, for the success of the gospel) Mr. Davies informs, that one Mr. Brown is lately ordained in Augusta county, where there were sundry congregations vacant ever since their first settlement; that he has the care of two meetings, and as he is a youth of piety, prudence, and zeal, there is reason to expect that his labours will be of extensive service in that wilderness, not only in his own more peculiar charge, but in the neighbouring places that have no minister of their own.—Also, that Mr. John Wright, who supplies Mr. Davies' charge in his absence, has wrote, that since he

has officiated in his place, there are considerable appearances of success in Caroline and Henrica, where Mr. Davies was apprehensive he laboured much in vain.—When Mr. Davies left Virginia in August last, there was a hopeful appearance of a greater spread of a religious concern amongst the Negroes.—A few weeks before he left home, he baptized in one day fifteen Negroes after they had been catechised for some months, and given credible evidences of their sincerely embracing the gospel.—He also says, that Isaac Oliver, the dumb man mentioned in his letter above, has behaved as one would expect from such promising beginnings, his conduct being such as becomes the profession of the gospel.

## C H A P. VI.

In Scotland 1742, &amp;c.

## S E C T I O N I.

*Of the Work at Cambuslang.*—*Care to detect Impostors.*—*Things previous to the Work, viz. Preaching on Regeneration: A Weekly Lecture: Meeting of the Societies for Prayer.*—Feb. 18th, 1742, *About fifty Persons brought under great Concern.*—*Numbers resort to the Place.*—*In a few Weeks the Number of the Awakened above three hundred.*—*The good Fruits, such as Reformation, Remorse, Forgiveness, Restitution, Family-worship, Love to the Scriptures, &c.*—*The Subjects of this Work of different Ages and Characters.*—*Attestations by Ministers, Preachers and others.*

[ From the Narrative printed at Glasgow 1742. ]

*Attestation to the Facts in the following Narrative, by Mr. McCulloch Minister at Cambuslang, May 8th, 1742.*

I Have perused the following short narrative, and can attest the facts contained in it; partly from personal knowledge, partly from the most credible informations: but think it a loss, that it is not more full. I have seen a larger paper compiled by different hands; which besides the facts related in this, contains several useful reasonings, tending to prove, that the favourable judgment formed by many, and even by some, who through want of due information, hesitated at first, about this work, is supported by all that kind of evidence, that things of this nature are capable of, in such a space of time. And consequently, that there is good ground to hope, that by the divine blessing, the confirmation arising from perseverance, will be daily encreasing, as hitherto it has been, &c. &c. WILLIAM McCULLOCH.

*A Narrative of the extraordinary Work at Cambuslang, in a Letter to a Friend, May 8th, 1742.*

Sir, As the report of the good work at Cambuslang, which has for several weeks engaged the attention of numbers in this city and country in the neighbourhood, is now spread over a great part of the nation; it is no wonder that one who lives at the distance you do, should be curious to have a true relation of it: and as I would be glad of any opportunity to serve you, it is very agreeable to me, to think I can gratify you in this matter; especially in what concerns the people in that parish, and some other parishes near it; having had opportunity to converse fully with the minister of Cambuslang, and with many of the people there, who are under this spiritual exercise, and also with some

other ministers, who have severals in their parishes that appear to be under the same happy impressions.

There is one thing in the entry I must apprise you of, viz. that I am to confine myself to a simple narration of facts, as the evidences on which the opinion of many concerning the present happy change that is wrought on that people, is founded: without entering into any reasoning, but leaving it to yourself to draw proper conclusions from the facts, after comparing them with scripture rules and instances.

I must also acquaint you, as it was natural to expect, when, on a singular occasion of this sort, great numbers of people from adjacent towns and country, came flocking to a place that became so remarkable: that in such a promiscuous multitude some counterfeits would readily happen; it was the early care of ministers who interested themselves most in that matter, to enter into a strict examination of those who appeared to be under a more than ordinary concern, so as to obtain satisfaction to themselves, whether the work was solid; being justly apprehensive, that the powers of darkness would not fail to employ their devices, to bring contempt on what might tend so much to the honour of the gospel. In those watchful endeavours it must be owned, that some impostors were found to have mixed with the sincere; but there is reason to bless God, that, so far as yet appears, they have been very few; and as these have been severely rebuked, so the most awful warnings have been given, against all such insincere pretensions, which warnings, there is ground to believe, have had very good effects.

Now, Sir, to give the short history of this matter. The minister of that parish, in his ordinary course of sermons, for near a twelvemonth before this work began, had been preaching on these subjects which tend most directly to explain the nature, and prove the necessity of regeneration, according to the different lights in which that important matter is represented in holy scripture: and for some months before the late remarkable events, a more than ordinary concern about religion appeared among that people; one good evidence of which was, that about the end of January last, a petition was given in to the minister, subscribed by about ninety heads of families, desiring a weekly lecture should be set up; which was readily granted, and the day fixed on Thursday, as the most convenient for the temporal interests of the parish. On Monday the 15th of February 1742, there was a general meeting, at the minister's house, of the particular societies for prayer, which had subsisted in the parish for several years before. On Tuesday there was another meeting for prayer there, the occasion of which was a concert with several serious Christians elsewhere, about solemn prayer, relating to the public interests of the gospel; in which concert only a small number of people in Cambuslang were engaged at first, but others getting notice of it desired to join, and were admitted: the people who met for prayer these two days, apprehended that they had been so well employed, and found so much leisure for it, that they had a third meeting on Wednesday: but on all these three days they returned timeously in the evening to their own houses, so far is it from being true that they rushed from



some of these meetings to the church and continued immured there for some days and nights, as was reported.

Before Thursday, February 18th, they had week-days sermons only on Thursdays according to the above-mentioned desire of the parish; and before that day, though several particular persons came to the minister, from time to time, under deep concern about their salvation, yet there came no great numbers together. But on that day after sermon a considerable number of people, reckoned by some present about fifty, came together to the minister's house, under convictions and alarming apprehensions about the state of their souls, and desiring to speak with him. From this unexpected number, coming in an evening, in so great distress, and the necessity of the minister's exhorting them in general, and conversing with many of them separately, you will easily perceive that he behoved to spend that night with them, as he did most part of two or three more since this work began, which is now about twelve weeks.

After this, numbers daily resorted to that place, some to hear the word, some to converse with people who were under this remarkable concern, and others with different views: and the desires and exigencies of those were such that the minister found himself obliged, without any previous intimation, to provide them daily sermon, a few days excepted, and after sermon usually to spend some time with them in exhortations, prayers and singing of psalms, being especially encouraged thereto by the extraordinary success with which God was pleased, from time to time, to bless his own ordinances, in so much that, by the best information that could be had, the number of persons awakened to a deep concern about salvation, and against whom there are no known exceptions as yet, has amounted to above three hundred. And, through divine mercy, the work seems to be still making considerable progress every week, and more for some weeks of late than some times formerly. Of the number just now mentioned the far greater part have given already, both to ministers and other serious Christians, a good account of what they have felt in their convictions and humiliation for sin, of the way of their relief by faith in the mercy of God through Jesus Christ, and of the change they feel in the prevalent inclinations and dispositions of their hearts. As to their devotion and other parts of their practice, which is that which chiefly attracts the attention and regard of this country; there are comfortable accounts given of it, by those who have the best and most frequent opportunities of knowing their daily behaviour. The parish of Cambuslang being of so small extent, that most of the people live within a mile of the church, and some who have the best intelligence, being almost every day with the minister, he and they have abundant opportunities to know the practices of such of the people I am speaking of, as live within their bounds. And the account they give of it is, that they appear to be in a very hopeful way; and the like good accounts are given by several ministers and others, of such of those people as belong to other neighbouring parishes.

Among the particular good fruits, already appearing, both in Cambuslang and elsewhere, the following instances seem very encouraging;

a visible reformation of the lives of persons who were formerly notorious sinners; particularly, the laying aside of cursing and swearing, and drinking to excess, among these who were addicted to that practice: remorse for acts of injustice, and for violation of relative duties confessed to the persons wronged, joined with new endeavours after a conscientious discharge of such duties: restitution which has more than once been distinctly and particularly inculcated in public, since this work began; forgiving of injuries; all desirable evidences of fervent love to one another, to all men, and even to those who speak evil of them; and among those people both in Cambuslang and other parishes, more affectionate expressions of regard than ever to their own ministers, and to the ordinances dispensed by them; the keeping up divine worship in families, where it was neglected very often by some and entirely by others; the erecting of new societies for prayer, both of old and young, partly within the parish, where no less than twelve such societies are newly begun, and partly elsewhere, among persons who have been awakened on this occasion: and, together with all these things, ardent love to the holy scriptures, vehement thirsting after the public ordinances, earnest desires to get private instructions in their duty from ministers and others, with commendable docility and tractableness in receiving such instructions.—This thirst after knowledge is particularly remarkable in those who were more ignorant; several who cannot read, and some of them old persons, being so desirous to be better acquainted with the word of God that they are resolved to learn to read, and some of the younger sort actually putting themselves to school.—I would farther add, that these good impressions have been made on persons of very different characters and ages; on some of the most abandoned as well as the more sober: on young as well as old; on the illiterate as well as the more knowing; on persons of a slower as well as those of a quicker and more sprightly genius; and, which seems to deserve special attention, on persons who were addicted to scoffing at sacred things, and at this work in particular at the beginning of it.

The sum of the facts, I have represented to you is, that this work has been begun, and carried on under the influence of the great and substantial doctrines of Christianity, pressing jointly, the necessity of repentance towards God, of faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and of holiness in all manner of conversation; that it came after such preparatives as an extensive concern about religion gradually increasing; together with extraordinary fervent prayer in large meetings, particularly relating to the success of the gospel; that great and successful pains have been taken, to discover and discountenance hypocritical pretences, and to warn people against what might have the least appearance of enthusiasm, or delusion: that the account given by a very large number of people of their inward exercises, and attainments, seems to agree with the scripture standard; and are bringing forth in practice, fruits meet for repentance, comprehending the several branches of piety, and of the most substantial morality, that can intitle men, to the regards of the friends of religion and virtue.

And now, Sir, I have given you a plain, and simple account of the most material facts, relating to this extraordinary work at Cambuslang, and these awakened there belonging to other parishes; together with the proper documents by which these facts are supported; in all which I have avoided disputing, and studied brevity. I leave it to you to judge, how far such facts make it evident, that this work is from God; when (to use the words of a pious divine treating of a subject of the same nature) <sup>a</sup> “He that was formerly a drunkard lives a sober life; when a vain, light and wanton person becomes grave and sedate; when the blasphemer becomes a praiser of God; when carnal joy is turned into heaviness, and that professedly on account of their soul’s condition; when the ignorant are filled with knowledge of divine things, and the tongue that was dumb in the things of God speaks the language of Canaan;”——When secure sinners——“have been roused with a witness about the state of their souls, Luke xi. 21, 22; these who were ignorant can speak skilfully about religious things; and even the graceless are increased in knowledge;——Swearers drop their oaths and speak reverently of God; vain persons who minded no religion, but frequented taverns and frolics, passing their time in filthiness, foolish talking and jesting, or singing paltry songs, do now frequent Christian societies (for prayer); seek Christian conversation and talk of soul-concerns, and chuse to express their mirth in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs; they who were too sprightly to be devout, and esteemed it an unmanly thing to shed tears for their souls state, have mourned as for an only son, and seemed to be in bitterness as for a first born, Zech. xii. 10.—And persons who came to mock at the lamentations of others, have been convinced, and by free grace profelyted to such ways as they formerly despised.” I am, &c.

It may be of use to readers, who live at a distance, in perusing the following attestations, to know, as to the situation of Cambuslang, that it lies about four miles from Glasgow; the several parishes, whose ministers, heritors and elders, sign most of the attestations, ly very near it, viz. the parishes of Kilbryde, Bothwell, Old Monkland and Barony. That Mr. Matthew Connell and Mr. William Hamilton live but about three miles from Cambuslang, and are the eldest ministers of the presbytery of Hamilton, in whose bounds that parish lies. That the two preachers who sign a joint attestation, and are young men of known probity, have frequently assisted Mr. M’Culloch of late; that Mr. Duncan resides in the parish, and Mr. Young has resided a considerable time in the Gorbals near Glasgow, where many of the awakened people dwell. Also that Mr. Willison and Mr. M’Kneight who live at a good distance from Cambuslang, spent some time there, inquiring into this work as their attestations bear.

<sup>a</sup> See Mr. Finley’s sermon, intituled *Christ Triumphant*, &c.

*Extracts of Attestations, to the Facts in the Narrative, relating to the Fruits of this Work.*—I. By Mr. Willison one of the Ministers of Dundee, dated Glasgow, April 15th, 1742.

R. D. B. Seeing some are desirous to have my thoughts of the work at Cambuslang, I am willing to own, that I have travelled a good way to enquire and get satisfaction about it. And having resided several days in Mr. McCulloch's house, I had occasion to converse with many who had been awakened and under convictions there; I found several in darkness and great distress about their souls condition, and with many tears bewailing their sins and original corruption, and especially the sin of unbelief, and slighting of precious Christ, and some who had been in this case for these several weeks past; yet I saw nothing in any tending to despair, but on the contrary their exercise pointed still at the great remedy, for oft they would be breaking out in hopeful expressions, such as, "Tho' he slay me I will trust in him."—Others I found in a most desirable frame, overcome with a sense of the wonderful love, and loveliness of Jesus Christ, even sick of love, and inviting all about them to help them to praise him.—I spoke also with many who had got relief from their soul-trouble, and in whom the gracious work of the Spirit of God appeared in the fruits and effects of it, according to my apprehension; such as their ingenuous confessing of their former evil ways, and professing a hatred of sin; very low and abasing thoughts of themselves; renouncing the vanities of the world, and all their own doings and righteousness, and relying wholly upon Christ for righteousness and strength; and expressing great love to Christ, to the Bible, to secret prayer, to the people of God, and to his image in whomsoever it was, without respect of persons, or parties; and also love to their enemies; and when they heard of some who called the work at C——g a delusion of the devil, they shewed no resentment against them, but wished their eyes might be opened, and earnestly wished they could bring all their enemies, and all the world to their dear Redeemer.—I conversed with some who had been very wicked, and scandalous, but now wonderfully changed: tho' some were very rude and boisterous before, they now had the mildness, and meekness of the lamb about them. When they spoke of their former ways they blushed, and wept, and said, none in all the country round were so vile as they, and earnestly desired to exalt free grace: and when I was cautioning them against new temptations and relapses, they shewed a sense of their own weakness, and were afraid on that account to come near their old companions, tho' they would fain had them also brought to Christ: they said, they would wish rather to die than go back to old sins, and if ever they should be left to any of them, they would incline to leave the country, because of the dishonour it would bring on the work of God, which they could not bear to see.—Tho' I conversed with a great number both men and women, old and young, I could observe nothing visionary or enthusiastic about them; for their discourses were solid, and experien-

ces scriptural; and all the comfort and relief they got from trouble, still came to them, by some promise or word of scripture cast into their minds, and it was pleasant to hear them mention the great variety of these words up and down the Bible. And some who could not read, told their words of consolation, not knowing well if they were in the Bible or not, and upon asking if they were Bible words or not, they greatly rejoiced to find they were.——I had heard much of this surprising work by letters, and from eye-witnesses before I came, but all that made slight impressions on me, when compared with what I was eye and ear-witness to myself.——Upon the whole, I look on the work at C——g, to be a most singular, and marvellous out-pouring of the Holy Spirit; and I pray it may be a happy forerunner of a general reviving of the work of God in this poor decayed church, and a blessed mean of union among all the lovers of our dear Jesus.——I am sorry I cannot stay to assist you further in this good work; my business, and circumstances oblige me to return homewards. May the Lord himself strengthen and encourage you in his work, and graciously carry on what he has begun, and take to him his great power, that he may reign gloriously thro' all the land. I remain with all sincerity, R. D. B. &c. JO. WILLISON.

II. *By Mr. Connell, Minister at Kilbryde, dated Kilbryde, 19. 1742.*

R. D. B. Many have asked my opinion of the work at Cambuslang which I freely gave (as now I write to you) that I looked upon it as a work of God's Spirit: when I compared the exercise of several persons that had been there, with the scripture accounts of conviction and conversion, I have been under a necessity to conclude that it is neither delusion nor imposture, as has been given out by those who are unacquainted with the dealings of God of that kind, or under the influence of party zeal.——Some I have seen crying out of the evil of sin and of their danger by it, sadly bewailing their guilt and misery, expressing a most earnest desire of an interest in Christ, which they said, they would value more than all the world, but bitterly complaining of want of love to him, want of faith in him, and undutiful carriage towards him through their past life; and if now it might be their attainment, for former coldness and deadness to have love to Christ; for unbelief faith in him; and for an undutiful behaviour towards him, a sincere and hearty embracing of him in the gospel offer; and living the rest of their time to the praise and glory of his name. this they would account their greatest happiness, and the remedy of all the evils in their case; and, for this effect, they begged the help of prayers.——Others I have seen who lamented their lost time and opportunities, and the vanity and folly of their youth, saying, many good sermons and prayers they had heard, but all had been lost to them, and had no good effect upon them, being wholly carried away with youthful vanities and follies; but added, now we are resolved in the strength of the grace of Christ (for, said they, of our selves we can do nothing) to improve time and opportuni-

ties better, to value sermons and prayers, to read the scriptures, to keep company with the fearers of God, and to shun fellowship with the wicked as much as possible, blessing God that he had not taken them away, before they saw the necessity of all these.—Others I have conversed with, who, like doves of the vallies, were mourning for their iniquities, principally because they did strike against God and wound their redeemer, using the expressions, Psal. li. 4. and Zech. xii. 10. But with good hope through the merits of Christ and mercy of God in him, that it would be well with them.—Others I have observed at one time much dejected and under a cloud, at another time possessed of a good measure of spiritual joy, as it happens with the best of saints.—Others I have heard cry, they had spent their money for that which is not bread, and their labour for that which did not satisfy, having given their time and strength to the world and the things of it, which now they resolved against, there being matters of greater moment, which they saw and were convinced, they should be mainly taken up about.—And to trouble you with no more (for I could write you a volume on this subject) a young woman, after having given me a distinct account of her distress and outgate, said, I have lived above twenty years in the world, and all that time the devil had possession of my heart, and I am sure he is a bad guest, but blessed be God, I hope he is now in a great measure dispossessed, and shall never, through the strength of Christ, recover that power over me that formerly he had. Mean time I observe to you, this person had all along been of a blameless life, and not chargeable with any scandal, but with tears regretted her careless way of going about secret duty, reading the scriptures and hearing sermons, or neglecting these altogether; but with much humility and seriousness, in the strength of divine grace, expressed her resolution, that she would do so no more.—Upon the whole, in most of all I have seen and conversed with, I observed, and have daily occasion to observe, the effects of Godly sorrow mentioned by the apostle, 2 Cor. vii. 11. &c.—Praying the pleasure of the Lord may more and more prosper in your hands, and begging the help of your prayers for me and this people, I am, &c.

MATTHEW CONNEL.

III. By *Mr. John Hamilton, Minister of Barony, dated Glasgow, April 26th, 1742.*

I understand it is expected from me, that I should declare my sentiments of the extraordinary work at Cambuslang; as a good many of my parishioners have lately been awakened there, to a great concern about their souls happiness.—As soon as I was informed of their condition, I made it my business, to wait on them, and found a good many persons under the deepest exercise of soul, crying out most bitterly, of their lost and miserable estate, by reason of sin; of their unbelief, in despising Christ, and the offers of the gospel; of the hardness of their heart and their former gross carelessness and indifferency about religion: and tho' some of them said, they had regularly attended

the preaching of the gospel, yet they acknowledged with much regret, their misimprovement of it; how many sweet sermons they had heard without any benefit, and they came to a church with no design to be instructed, but only, as they said, to see, and be seen.—I have heard them expressing a great deal of sorrow for these things, and seemingly, in the most serious and sincere manner; and not so much, as some of them have told me, from the fear of punishment, to which they had thereby exposed themselves, as from a sense of the dishonour they had done to God, and the blessed Redeemer; and frequently aggravated their sins, from this consideration, that they had been the betrayers, and murderers of the Lord of glory.—And tho' I have seen some of them under extreme affliction and distress, I could never observe the least disorder in their judgments: but their complaints were always suitable to their condition. Neither have I observed any of them carried away with despairing thoughts of the mercy of God: but all of them learned to be seeking relief, in the method the gospel proposes; and expressed the warmest desires after an interest in Christ, to obtain which they said they would cheerfully lay down their lives, and part with every thing, that was dear to them in the world.—I have at several different times conversed with many of these persons, and have received no small satisfaction from such conversations. When speaking of prayer, they have told me, how much that duty had been neglected by them, and in what a cold lifeless manner it was performed; from which therefore, they neither did nor could reap any satisfaction: but now they said, it was an exercise, in which they found much sweetness and comfort.—Their love to the holy scripture all of them express in the most lively and moving manner, frequently calling it a precious and invaluable treasure; greatly surprized how they could possibly slight it so much in time past, and declaring they now saw many things in it, highly useful and comfortable to them which they never imagined had been there.—They express a great deal of love to, and desire after the public ordinances; when I have asked some of them, if they had such affection as the psalmist speaks of in the beginning of cxxii Psalm, when it was said to him let us go up to the house of the Lord, they have told me, that tho' it was quite otherwise with them before, yet now they found a vast pleasure in attending the church, and public worship of God, and a great unwillingness in them to withdraw from it, when the service was over.—They are likewise exceedingly desirous of more private instruction in their duty, and take all opportunities of waiting on those, that can be of use to them, and such of them as are near at hand, do frequently come to my house, and receive my advice and assistance; and I never saw persons more docile than they are. I must own indeed that when I first conversed with them I found some of them pretty ignorant of the principles of religion: but this was what they seemed deeply grieved and afflicted for, and much condemned their former sloth and negligence; and since that time, have been making use of the proper means of knowledge, and I think I can say, with no contemptible success, considering the short time they have had.—Some of them seem to discover devout breathings of soul

after God, and the blessed Redeemer, and resolutions thro' grace, to depend upon him in the worst of circumstances, often making use of these words of Job xiii. 15. "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." I have been much surprized to see how readily, nay even judiciously, some of them who had been formerly ignorant and unconverted, have spoke of the most important points of practical religion, and with what facility they have adduced passages of scripture very suitable to what they were speaking about. — There is another branch of Christian duty, that I do think they are likewise studying a conformity to; and that is love to mankind. I have heard them often wishing, and desiring that all men might be brought to Christ, and the knowledge of the truth; and particularly expressing a great regard for all that are the Lord's people. So far as I have yet access to know them, they seem to be of a meek and quiet spirit, and willing to forgive; telling me they desire to with well, and to pray even for the happiness of those who had been injurious to them. — More might be said upon this subject, but I chuse rather to be sparing, till time make a clearer discovery of them. — The persons I have conversed with, were of different characters: some of them had all along been pretty sober and regular in their lives, and duly enough attended the ordinances of the gospel, others of them were very careless this way, and addicted to many sins: but even those who were more blameless in their lives, have declared, that their hearts till now were never touched with any thing they heard from the word of God; that they had never lived under the influence of religion, and were grossly unconcerned about their salvation. — These now are the appearances, I observe among some of my people, who were awakened to a concern about their souls at Cambullang; which do strongly incline me to think that it is the work of God. JOHN HAMILTON.

*IV. By Mr. William Hamilton Minister at Bothwell, May 7th, 1741.*

R. and D. B. I have seen the attestation by Mr. Matthew Connell in Kilbryde, as also that by Mr. John Hamilton in Barony of Glasgow. As I have no new thing to add, so I heartily join in the same sentiments with my above-named brethren, as to the reality of that extraordinary work at Cambullang, being in very deed a gracious work of the Spirit of God, designed, I firmly believe, for the saving conviction and conversion of many perishing souls, not only in that parish, but in the neighbourhood. May the Lord, in his infinite mercy, shed abroad the influences of his saving grace through all the corners of the land. — There are a good number of my people, mostly young people, who have been awakened at Cambullang, and have much the same account to give of them with my above-named brethren: all of them are very serious and concerned about their souls case, and are very solicitous to have others brought to acquaintance with Christ, and the way of salvation through him: which has had this (I hope) blessed effect, that there seems to be a more than ordinary seriousness among a goodly number in several corners of this congregation, more conscience made of family-worship, in several families who made but too little account of it before;



as likewise there are some new societies for prayer and Christian conference set up in this congregation, wherein several persons, besides these awakened at Cambullang, have joined. I hope these things, through the blessing of God, may prove the beginning of much good in this and in other places. May that blessed God, who has begun a good work, either with you, or any other place, carry on and perfect the same until the day of Jesus Christ.—May the Lord direct and assist you and all his servants, to a right and faithful management of our great Master's work amongst our hands. I add no more, but am Your's, &c.

WILLIAM HAMILTON.

V. By Mr. William Hamilton Minister at Douglas, May 6th, 1742.

R. and D. B. While I was with you, it gave me great pleasure to see so much concern upon peoples spirits about the salvation of their precious and immortal souls, a thing very rare amongst us: some whom I had occasion to discourse with, appeared to be in the utmost distress upon account of sin, both original and actual, and that principally as it is that abominable thing which God hates. Others, whose consciences God had awakened with a sense of guilt, but had now got believing views of Christ Jesus, as a most complete Saviour, both able and willing to save, and whom God had determined, by the power of his Spirit, to yield themselves to the Lord. They, in a very strong manner, expressed love to their God and Saviour, and to all his commands, both of the first and second table of the law; and declared, that it was their firm purpose and resolution, through the assistance of the Holy Spirit, to walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless; and seemed more afraid of offending God, than of any sufferings they might be exposed to in a world: and their practices, so far as I can hear, are, as yet, agreeable to their resolutions; so that I not only hope, but think I have good ground to believe, that work begun and for some time past carried on amongst the people of Cambullang, and strangers that have resorted thither from many distant parts, shall appear, to the conviction of all good men, to be the work of God, from the after holy life and conversation, of not a few of these, whose consciences have at this time been awakened to a sense of their lost and undone state by nature. That the Lord may more and more assist, strengthen, and support you, and give you and all faithful ministers of the gospel many seals of their ministry, is the hearty prayer of, D. B. &c.

WILLIAM HAMILTON.

VI. By Mr. M<sup>c</sup>Knight Minister at Irvine, May 6th, 1742.

R. and D. B. As I had by information from letters, conceived a good opinion of the extraordinary and surprizing work at Cambullang before I went thither, upon an invitation from you to preach there last Sabbath; so my said opinion has been very much confirmed by what I was eye and ear-witness to, during my abode with you, from Saturday to Tuesday last; being still more and more persuaded that it is the

real work of the Spirit of God.—While I joined with your congregation in publick worship, I observed amongst the vast numbers that flocked to hear the gospel preached at Cambuslang, not only the serious looks, the grave deportment, and the close attention to what was spoken, but also the weeping eyes of many that appeared to be in the greatest distress and trouble.—Again in the evenings, after publick worship was ended, and when I had occasion to converse with several of these afflicted persons, I found their wounds and anguish of soul, together with their tears, did proceed not from a whimsical and enthusiastick imagination, but from a deep conviction of the great evil and demerit of sin original and actual, particularly of their sin of unbelief, and slighting precious Christ, and gracious offers of salvation by him; and when I exhorted and directed them to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, as the apostle Paul did the convinced and trembling jaylor, Acts xvi. 31. they answered, “Lord, help me to believe; gladly would I believe, but I cannot.” However, while under their soul-exercises for sin, and because of God’s wrath, I heard them expressing ardent desires after Christ, and an interest in him, and salvation by him; and a great thirst after the word, the knowledge of God and of divine things, and after a saving faith in a crucified Jesus, which gave me ground to hope that our dear Redeemer Jesus, would soon accomplish these longing desires in relieving them from their distresses of both body and mind.—Likewise, I conversed with others who were under piercing and deep convictions of sin, and have felt the sharp arrows of the Almighty sticking fast in their souls, and to whom the Spirit of God had, upon their believing in Jesus Christ, applied his precious blood to heal these wounds, and hereupon hath granted them relief and comfort, hath delivered their souls from death, their eyes from tears, and their feet from falling; for which distinguishing mercies, they were exalting free grace, saying with the apostle Paul, “It is by grace we are what we are; and blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ.”—They, when I conversed with them, declared distinctly the way and manner, how their convictions began and wrought, and how the relief they got from soul-troubles came to them. They also discovered the gracious work of the Spirit of God upon their souls, in their confession of sin with shame, sorrow, and blushing; in their professing a hatred of it, and loathing themselves on the account thereof, crying out, “Behold, we are vile, we abhor ourselves, and repent in dust and ashes;” in their love to God, and his ordinances; in renouncing their own righteousness, and relying wholly on Christ for righteousness and strength; in their high esteem of, and ardent love to their dear Redeemer; in their charity and love to one another, and especially to those who are the real disciples of the Lord Jesus, and bear the image of their heavenly Father; in their tender sympathy with, and affectionate concern for those that fall under distress and anguish of spirit for sin; and in their endeavours to relieve them, by good advices and proper exhortations, and to comfort the dejected and disquieted in mind, with the consolations wherewith they themselves had been comforted. These

are a few of the good fruits of the Spirit of God I observed among several I conversed with at Cambuslang.—Therefore I cannot but bear a testimony, that, in my apprehension, the surprising work with you, dear brother, for these several weeks past, is of God. And if the work be of God, then neither the devil, nor all his agents, shall be able to overthrow it, &c. &c. WILL. M'KNEIGHT.

VII. *By Mr. M'Laurin, one of the Ministers of Glasgow, May 12th, 1742.*

Having had occasion not only to converse with several in this city, who have been lately awakened at Cambuslang, to a deep concern about salvation; and upon inquiry to get good accounts of their behaviour; but also to bestow some pains, in conversations and inquiries of that kind, in the parish of Cambuslang itself; by these means, I am in a condition to affirm on good grounds, several of the most material things in the above Narrative and Attestations: but in regard of the intended brevity of this paper, I judge it proper, to avoid too particular repetition of things already attested by so many good hands.—By the accounts which several of these people give of their impressions of things of eternal importance, with great appearances of sincerity, supported by the accounts given by others of their conduct, they seem, in the judgment of charity, to be persons to whom the following scripture characters agree; viz. that “they are of broken hearts and contrite spirits; that they come to God through Jesus Christ as the way, the life, and the truth; that they endeavour, by the grace of God, to give all acceptation, to the true and faithful saying, that Christ came to save sinners; that they have the love of God shed abroad in their hearts, and earnest desires to have his law written on their hearts:” while they are still deeply sensible of the remainders of evil, that cleave to them and others in this imperfect state.—By the accounts given of their practice by those who have the nearest view of it, they appear to have forsaken the sins to which they were addicted; to delight in the duties to which they were averse; to watch against tentations, to which they formerly yielded; and instead of separating one part of religion from another, to have a strict regard to the precepts of both tables of the divine law: herein exercising themselves to have consciences void of offence toward God, and toward men.—From the best observations I could make on their disposition and behaviour, compared with the observations made by others, they seem, in a particular manner, to excel in meekness, humility, self-denial and charity: in the wisdom from above, described in scripture (James iii. 17.) as “first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits,” &c. in aversion from things that tend to strife rather than to edification: and in ardent desire of the conversion and salvation of others.—I would not be understood to assert such things of all whom I know to have pretended to seriousness about religion on this occasion; being particularly concerned to attest from personal knowledge, in conjunction with Mr. M'Culloch, that part of the above Narrative which re-

lates to pains taken, with some success, in detecting deceivers: a correspondence having been set on foot, and being indeed kept up still, and severals here having begun and resolving to continue a proper scrutiny from time to time, in order to such discoveries.—Mean time, whatever ungrateful discoveries may have been made already, which indeed are not many, or may hereafter be the result of such inquiries; people of candour will own, that the faults of a few particular persons ought not to be charged on a body of serious people, who to other evidences of sincerity, add that of a hearty concern, that deceivers or backsliders may be detected, admonished and by the divine blessing reclaimed.—Whereas an unknown person very lately wrote a letter to Mr. M'Culloch, dated April 29th, (in which was inclosed another letter with a twenty shillings note to Mr. J. J. merchant in this city, on account of wrong done to his father of two or three shillings value many years ago) and that unknown person desires that in the printed account, that was expected of the work at Cambuflang, there might be some instructions about restitution; it is thought sufficient, in regard of the shortness of this paper, to refer that person and others, to the scriptures cited in our larger Catechism, where it treats of the eighth commandment; and to approved commentaries on the ten commandments in general, asserting and proving the necessity of that duty<sup>a</sup>.—While friends of religion will judge themselves obliged to desire, that all who have been awakened to serious concern about it, may prove real converts, persevering to the end: they and others should remember, that tho' severals should backslide, which God of his mercy prevent, it can be no argument against the sincerity of the rest.—So far as we have credible accounts of works to which this bears a resemblance, it does not appear by what I can recollect or learn from persons well skilled in church-history, that ever there were so great numbers awakened to so deep concern about their souls, attended with so promising evidences, as these mentioned in the above Narrative and attestations, without a happy issue: it appears therefore agreeable to the rules of charity and just reasoning, to hope for the like good issue as to this present case.—It consists with my knowledge, that as to such of the people whom this paper treats of, as seem to have attained to joyful hopes, on which some particular scripture promises appear to have a remarkable influence; care is taken to examine them, and to direct them to examine themselves about the essential evidences of interest in Christ and so all the promises in general. JOHN M'LAURIN.

VIII. *By Messrs. Young and Duncan Preachers of the Gospel, May—1742.*

Having had access to examine several persons that have been awakened to a serious concern about salvation, by means of the ministrations of the gospel at Cambuflang, we find with many of them what we cannot but construct, in the judgment of charity, to be promising appearances, or hopeful beginnings of a good work of grace; such as, a deep

<sup>a</sup> See Mr. Durham on the Ten Commands.

sense of their sinful and guilty state, and apprehension of the extreme need of the Saviour Jesus Christ, to be justified by his blood, and sanctified by his Spirit: their plain confession of their great ignorance, and blindness in the things of God, and mysteries of his kingdom, and earnest desire to know the truth as it is in Jesus; and laborious diligence to be better acquainted with the first principles of his doctrine: deeply lamenting their heart pollutions and abominations, as well as their great neglect of God's worship, and careless regard of the great salvation formerly; and with some, their gross vices, and scandalous profanations of God's name and day; their frequent complaints of the sin of unbelief in Christ, and of the deadness and hardness of their hearts, and anxious concerns and prayers to have them softened with the spiritual views of Christ as crucified, into the exercises of godly sorrow and repentance, and reduced in captivity to the obedience of the faith: their cautious guard against sin and temptation: their tender circumspection over themselves, lest the corrupt conversation of others, the hearing of which sometimes is unavoidable, might stifle their serious concern, and extinguish religious impressions: their frequent watchfulness unto the duties of worship, reading the scriptures, &c. &c. And being tenderly sensible when the Spirit breathes on their souls in such exercises, as a Spirit of life and liberty; and anon when he with-holds his sensible influences and consolations of grace, their hearts are troubled.—And when we consider that the young are early inquiring the ways to Zion, seeking the Lord with weeping and supplication; that sinners are taught God's ways; the openly profane and profligate, who were running headlong in the paths of the destroyer, and enticing and corrupting others into the same pernicious courses, stopt in their career, and reformed by sovereign victorious grace, frequenting Christian fellowships, and abounding in Christian conference, and heartning and encouraging others to walk in wisdom's ways: we have good ground to rejoice at this remarkable success of the gospel, and to bless the name of God for giving such a sensible testimony to the word of his grace, and to plead in prayer to him, that he would spread it far and wide, &c. &c. JAMES YOUNG, AL. DUNCAN.

At Cambuslang, May 6th, 1742.—In regard the parish of Old Monkland at present wants a minister, we subscribing heritors and elders of the said parish, hereby testify, that there is a considerable number of persons belonging to this parish, who have been awakened at Cambuslang, to a deep concern about their salvation; and that we have conversed with severals of them, who, to our apprehension, seem to be in a hopeful way. ROBERT DONALD and ALEX. SCOTT, Elders.

IX. *By Mr. D. Connel Preacher of the Gospel, Kilbryde, May 14th,*  
1742.

You desire some account from me of what I have observed or know with regard to the work at Cambuslang, which I shall give without art

or disguise.—I have conversed with a good many in this parish that have been affected there. Some have told me that by what they heard in sermon, they had great desire raised in their minds to be burdened with sin, that so they might come to Christ: and then have got so great a sense of sin and guilt as they could well bear. Others that have come to me in great distress, when I asked them how they came to be in that condition, answered, that while they were hearing some private exhortations of the minister, a great many of their sins were brought to their remembrance. They thought they had been doing nothing but sinning all their days; that they were empty of all good, and that they were undone without Christ. Some have told me, they met with great opposition in going to attend upon the ordinances, but they became resolute and went: and what places of scripture first fastened any sense of sin upon their minds; how this was more and more increased, and what text kept them from despair amidst the greatest terror one could readily be under. Others, that all things in the world were now become tasteless to them, seeing the danger their souls were in. I have seen some sitting alone all in tears, and when I asked them what was the matter; they said, they were afraid lest their convictions should go off without any good effect; and expressed a strong desire after Christ. Others that seemed to be under great concern, being asked what they wanted; said, conviction of sin and faith in Christ. I have been greatly surprised, to hear such a distinct account of the provoking nature of sin, and the terms of our acceptance with God, given by those that are reputed the most ignorant, and who I believe knew scarce any thing at all of religious matters till this work began. I cannot say that among all I have conversed with here, I have found one in despair, but have heard them expressing a great sense of their inability to believe.—I have heard them expressing the highest esteem of the mercy of God, and the mediation of Christ; the most earnest desire after an interest in him; and telling the promises and declarations of mercy, and representations of Christ in the scripture, that were the foundation of their hope, and praising Christ as one altogether lovely.—I have heard them expressing a sense of the evil of sin, and their own vileness by it; earnest desires after perfection in holiness, and fears lest they should fall back into their former sinful state; mentioning the promises that supported them under these fears, and telling what love and joy and praise these produced, when cast into their minds.—Their earnest desires and diligent endeavours after more knowledge; the deep sense and sweet relish of divine truths they seem to have; their readiness to apply what they hear to themselves, even these things that discover more of the corruption of their hearts, or errors of their lives to them; the pouring out of their souls to God in prayer, which they speak of; the perplexity and dejection I have seen them in, when, as they told me, they have not been able to do this; the steadiness and fixedness of their minds on spiritual things, not only in stated duties, but when about their worldly affairs, that they inform me of; their grief when vain thoughts fill their minds, and restlessness till they recover their former spirituality; their

charitable dispositions towards men, of which I could give a variety of instances; their great care to do the will of God, and fear lest they trust in their own righteousness. These and other things I have observed in or heard from them, and about them, put it out of doubt with me, that the finger of God is in this work, which I pray may more and more appear. I am, &c. DAVID CONNELL.

## SECTION II.

*Of the Work at Kilsyth, &c.—Subjects of Sermons previous to it.—News of the Work at Cambuslang.—April 16th, Mr. Willison preaches on Psal. xl. 2, 3.—Next Sabbath, Mr. Robe on Gal. iv. 19.—Sabbath, April 25th, one awakened.—A religious Meeting of Children at Kirkintilloch.—May 16th, an extraordinary Power attends the Word.—Extracts of Letters from Mr. Robe to Mr. M'Laurin, giving an Account of the Progress of the Work.—The Awakening in several other Parishes, viz. Cumbernauld, St. Ninians, Gargunnoch, Calder, Campsie, Badernock, and Muthil,—Attestation of the good Fruits at Kilsyth.*

[ From Mr. ROBE'S Narrative. ]

In the year 1740, I began to preach upon the doctrine of regeneration. The method I followed, was first to press the importance and necessity of it, which I did from John iii. 3. "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." Next, I shewed the mysteriousness of the way and manner of the Holy Spirit in effecting it, from John iii. 8. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit." I proceeded, thirdly, to explain and apply the various scripture views and expressions of it: as, 1st, being born again, from the fore-quoted John iii. 3. 2dly, A resurrection, from Rev. xx. 6. "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection." 3dly, A new creation, from Eph. ii. 10. "For we are his workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good works." 4thly, Christ's conquest of the sinner to himself, from Psal. cx. 3. "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power." 5thly, The circumcision of the heart, from Ezek. xlv. 9. "Thus saith the Lord God, no stranger uncircumcised in heart, nor uncircumcised in flesh, shall enter into my sanctuary, of any stranger among the children of Israel." This was also intended to shew the necessity of regeneration, in order to the receiving the Lord's supper worthily, to be dispensed in the congregation about that time. Here this project was interrupted until the end of last year; when I, resuming it, preached regeneration as it is, 6thly, The taking away the stony heart, and the giving the heart of flesh, from Ezek. xi. 19. 7thly, The putting of God's law in the mind, and writing it in the heart, from Heb. viii. x.—I sometimes could observe, that the doctrine of these sermons was acceptable to the Lord's people, and that there was more than ordinary serious-

ness in hearing them; yet could see no further fruit. But now I find, that the Lord, who is infinitely wise, and knoweth the end from the beginning, was preparing some for this uncommon dispensation of the Spirit that we looked not for; and that others were brought under convictions, issuing, by the power of the Highest, in their real conversion, and in a silent way.

When the news were first brought me of the extraordinary outpouring of the Holy Ghost at Cambuslang, I rejoiced at them. I prayed continually for the continuance of it there, and that the Lord would thus visit us in these bounds, and spake of it sometimes to the congregation, which was not without some good fruit, as I have learned since. Particularly, I was informed by the minister of Cambuslang, and another brother, that a young man from the parish of Falkirk, who had been awakened at Cambuslang, and was in a hopeful condition, said, that the occasion of his coming there, was his hearing me the Sabbath immediately preceding praise the appearance of the Lord at the foresaid place; and that this strongly inclined him to go thither.—There were few of the people under my charge went to Cambuslang, notwithstanding of what they heard me say of it. Some of the better sort went once or twice: but I scarce heard of any who needed most of the work of the Comforter, to convince them of sin, righteousness, and judgment, that went there, until the 13th of May, when there were a good many; but came all away, as far as I knew them, without any deep or lasting impressions upon them. It was matter of discouragement to me, when I heard that my brethren in Cumbernauld, Kirkintilloch, Calder, and Campsie, had several persons in their parishes awakened at Cambuslang, and that I had not one so much as the least touched to my knowledge. What appeared the most hopeful was, that there appeared a concern more than ordinary among the hearers of the gospel; and that there were proposals for setting up societies for prayer, which had been long intermitted.

Upon the Thursday's evening, being the 15th of April last, Mr. Willison, minister at Dundee, came to my house in his return from Cambuslang, whither he went the Saturday before. I desired him to preach to us upon the Friday morning, which he readily complied with; a great multitude of people met, tho' the warning was very short. He preached a distinct, plain, and moving sermon, from Psal. xl. 2, 3. "He brought me up also out of an horrible pit, out of the miry clay, and set my feet upon a rock, and established my goings. And he hath put a new song in my mouth, even praise to our God: Many shall see it, and fear, and shall trust in the Lord." Several of these now awakened date their first serious concern about their souls from their hearing this sermon, and the blessing of the Lord upon it.

The following Sabbath I entered upon the view of regeneration, as it is expressed, Gal. iv. 19. "My little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you." I had more than ordinary tenderness in reading of that text, and could scarce do it without tears and emotion. I observed much seriousness among the hearers.—Last Sabbath of April, being the 25th, one woman was awakened in this con-



gregation to a very distressing sight of her sin, and danger thereby. She lived in the parish of Campsie, which lieth to the Westward of this parish. She was observed by some under great uneasiness in the congregation, but made no out-cry. She went away when the congregation was dismissed, but was not able to go far: she was found soon in the fields in great distress, and crying out, What she should do to be saved? She was brought back to me, and I conversed with her all that evening in the presence of several judicious persons. She fainted once or twice. I observed every thing narrowly and exactly about her, because it was a new thing to me, and I knew the objections made against the work at Cambuslang. She seemed to be a healthy woman, and about twenty years of age. She said, that, in hearing the sermon, she was made to see that she was unlike Jesus Christ, and like the devil, and in a state of unregeneracy. She had strong impressions of the greatness of the wrath of God she was lying under and liable to. She went away composed and calm, in a hopeful condition. She continued many weeks, now and then much distressed; but hath some time ago attained, thro' grace, to sensible relief; and, by the testimony of the neighbourhood, her conversation is such as becometh the gospel.

About this time sixteen children, or thereby, in the town of Kirkintilloch, were observed to meet together in a barn for prayer; the occasion of which was, that one of them said to the rest, What need is there that we should always play; had we not better go and pray? wherewith the rest complied. [Their minister,] Mr. Burnside, as soon as he heard of it, carefully enquired after them, met frequently with them, for their direction and instruction. And, as I am informed, they make progress, and continue in a hopeful way. This made much noise in the country side, and deep impressions both upon young and old.

This week I visited the families of a part of this parish, where I observed more than ordinary seriousness amongst the people, and more than ordinary liberty, freedom and earnestness in my dealing with them. However, it was matter of trouble and exercise to me, that none under my charge, that I knew of, were awakened; and I was much, in my way of thinking, like several of these now awakened, who were concerned at first, lest the Lord had passed them by, when he was awakening others. Such were my fears about this parish.—Nothing appeared more than ordinary upon the first Sabbath of May. Near this time, and a little before, there were societies for prayer erected in the parish. I was also informed that several young girls in the town of Kilsyth, from ten to sixteen years of age, had been observed meeting together for prayer in an out-house they had access to.—May 9th, being the second Lord's-day of that month, were four or five awakened, to a distressing sight of their sinful and lost estate, though only two of them were known to me upon the said day. I prayed, and hoped that this might be like some drops before a plentiful rain.—May 11th, there was a great and a good day of the Son of Man at Auchinloch, in the parish of Calder, which lieth four miles North and East from Glasgow. Mr. Warden their minister preached at the aforesaid place. There was a great cry in the congregation, and about fourteen brought under

great concern and anxiety about their spiritual and eternal state.—May 12th, I went to Cambullang, and preached there, as did also some other ministers upon the next day. I was witness there to a great day of the Mediator's power, and learned much, that, by the Lord's blessing, hath been useful to me in assisting the Lord's people brought under spiritual distress here.—May 14th, being Friday, I left Cambullang in the morning. I met an event in my way homeward, which much surprized me; and I could not but observe the Lord's hand remarkably in it. I came to a house, which I was told belonged to Messrs. Gray, and that their bleachfield was there. I remembered that these gentlemen were married to the daughters of a gentleman whom I knew, and highly esteemed from my youth; and, since I found myself at their gate, I inquired for them, with a purpose not to alight. One of the gentlemen and his lady were at home; they urged me to come into their house, tho' it should be only for a little; which I did. They told me, that six of their servants had been awakened at Cambullang some days since, and desired me to converse with them. I had such a strong inclination to get forward in my journey, that I declined it. They desired me to pray in their family, which I cheerfully complied with. After prayer, I spoke a few words, as the Lord helped me, to their numerous servants who were present, relating to the case of those who were under soul-distressing convictions of their sin and danger, as also of these who never had been under them. Having dismissed them, I went to take my horse. Ere I got to him, a noise was heard among the servants; and we were told that one of them was fallen into great uneasiness, and was crying bitterly. I returned to the house, and she was brought to me. I had conversed but a very short time with her, when a second was brought to me, then a third, in a little after that two together, last of all a sixth, crying out of their lost and undone state, and what they should do. I prayed and conversed with them for some time. I was much moved with this providence. "The Lord, who leads the blind in a way they know not," led me to this house without any thought or purpose of mine, yea, contrary to my inclination, which was to haste forward. He managed my aversion (which I now see to have been sinful) to converse with the first six under distress; to bring about his own holy and glorious ends: for, if I had conversed with them, I had not seen the other servants.

May 16th, I preached, as I had done for some time past, from Gal. iv. 19. In the forenoon I insisted upon an use of consolation, and in the afternoon pressed all the unregenerate to seek to have Christ formed in them. An extraordinary power of the Spirit from on high accompanied the word preached. There was a great mourning in the congregation, as for an only son. Many cried out, and these not only women, but some strong and stout-hearted young men, and some betwixt forty and fifty.—After the dismissal of the congregation, an essay was made to get the distressed into my barn; but it could not be done; the number of them, and of their friends attending them, were so many, I was obliged to convene them in the kirk. I sung a Psalm, and prayed with them; but, when I essayed to speak to them, I could

not be heard, such were their bitter cries, groans, and the voice of their weeping.—After this, I ordered that they should be brought unto me in my closet one by one. I sent also for Mr. Oughterson, minister at Cumbernauld, to assist me in dealing with the distressed that evening, who readily came. In the mean time I appointed Psalms to be sung with these in the kirk, and that the precentor, with two or three of the elders, should pray with the distressed; which the extraordinariness of this event seemed to me to warrant. At the same time I discharged any to exhort or speak to them in the congregation, that I might cut off occasion of calumny and objection from them who seemed to desire it.—The noise of the distressed was so great, that it was heard from afar. It was pleasant to hear these who were in a state of enmity with God, despisers of Jesus Christ, and Satan's contented slaves, some of them crying out for mercy; some, that they were lost and undone; others, "What shall we do to be saved?" others praising God for this day, and for awakening them; and others not only weeping and crying for themselves, but for their graceless relations. And yet it would have moved the hardest heart, that, as the children of Israel under Pharaoh's oppression, when I spake unto many of them, they hearkened not, for anguish of spirit, and the sense of the cruel bondage they were under.—There appeared about thirty awakened this day, belonging to this and neighbouring congregations. About twenty of them belonged to this parish, some few to the parish of Campsie, and the remainder to that of Kirkintilloch: but I have found since, in conversing with the distressed, that the number of the awakened far exceeds thirty.—Wednesday 19th, We had sermon, for the first time, upon a week-day. I preached, as did also Mr. Warden, minister at Campsie, and Mr. M'Laurin, minister at Glasgow, who had come hither the night before, upon my invitation. The number of the awakened this day were as many as were upon the Lord's-day. The greatest number was from the parish of Kirkintilloch; there were also some from the parishes of Campsie and Cumbernauld. The number of the awakened, belonging to this parish, amounted this week to forty.—May 20th, The minister of Kirkintilloch, Mr. M'Laurin and I, preached at Kirkintilloch. There we saw Zion's mighty King appearing in his glory and majesty, and his arrows sharp in the heart of his enemies. Many were awakened there, and brought under great spiritual distress.

*Extracts of Letters from Mr. Robe to Mr. M'Laurin, giving a View of the Progress of the Work from May 15th, to July 19th, 1742.*

Mr. M'Laurin at the conclusion of his attestation, page 136 of the Narrative, says, "When this good work began I could with the more freedom urge Mr. Robe, however hurried, to favour me with accounts from time to time of its progress; because such intelligence would be very acceptable and edifying to many others, particularly in this city. And though it could not be expected that Letters written by one having so much desirable work on his hands should be very full and particular; or that one writing to a friend, and in such haste, should have such re-

gard to stile, as in things intended for public view : yet as these letters give a pleasant view of the gradual progress of that work, together with several remarkable particulars; and also of the warm impressions which a train of so extraordinary and desirable events behoved to make on the mind of one, by duty and inclination, so deeply interested; at or near the very time that they happened, or while they were yet fresh in his memory; expressed in the natural manner usual between intimate correspondents; for these reasons I reckon it no small favour, that I have succeeded in taking pains to obtain his consent, that extracts of these letters should be published.

JOHN M'LAURIN.

Glasgow, Jan. 28th, 1743.

Kilfyth, May 15th, 1742.—After speaking of what happened in his journey from Cambuslang, [an account of which see above page 358] “The Lord is shooting his arrows fast; praise to him that they are not arrows of destruction as we deserve: may his holy arm get him the victory over Satan in these wounded souls.”—He is come to this country side! There was a great day of power at Calder Tuesday last. We had a good day Sabbath last: I now know of six that came under convictions that day; and there may be others. O cry to him for a plentiful effusion of his Spirit, and for much zeal, skill and humility, with singleness to—me. O if I could praise and magnify him; I would fain do it: pray that I may be kept out of my own eye, and that I may have Christ and the good of souls only in sight.—

P. S. May 16th, This has been indeed one of the days of the Son of Man. The King of Glory hath shot his arrows very thick into the hearts of his enemies not for their destruction but to fall under him. There was a great cry of awakened sinners this day: there have been seven and twenty awakened this day, all of them under as great agonies as we conceive these of the twenty-eighth of the Acts; besides others that were carried away by their friends whose names I have not yet; I have dealt with them all this evening, as also Mr. Oughterson for a while, having sent for him.—O praise him and pray much for us, and tell every body to praise him for his mercy to us, and that he will stay a long time with us after this sort.—There are no fewer than five in—family under deep distress:—two daughters and three servants. O 'tis a gracious visit: he hath wounded and will heal. Write this good news to Mr. —O let Heaven and earth praise him: I expect you, and am, &c.

May 23d, —The Lord hath been graciously present this day; his Spirit yet poured forth from on high, notwithstanding of our stupidity and ingratitude: there was an uncommon concern upon the congregation and attendance unto the word: there are seven awakened known to us this evening that were not known before: some newly awakened, viz. this day: others their convictions begun last Sabbath, brought to a distressing and complaining height this day: I am persuaded there are many more of whom I expect to hear to-morrow. There were two others came to us upon Saturday after you left us; both of them some years above forty; one the same day above fifty; another betwixt

sixty and seventy. I rejoice at the Lord's coming near old sinners. I am much dissatisfied with myself, that I am not in raptures of love, joy and gratitude. I know I need not desire you and others of the Lord's people, both to pray and praise for us.

May 28th, — I have the great pleasure to tell you that the Lord yet continues to pour forth his good and free Spirit upon unworthy us: Wednesday last the congregation was much moved: Mr. — and Mr. — and I preached: the awakened were added to: my list amounts to seventy-six, of which there are about forty-eight in this parish: besides seven I am assured of, two of which belong to Denny, two to Airth or Larbert, two to Cumbernauld, and one to this parish: and several others we presume are unknown to us. Some are come to solid relief; others are I hope not far from it.

June 22d, — I have just time to write you this. Mr. — preached with me to-day: there was a considerable multitude: there appeared a concern among the people, though no outcry. I wait for the fruits, which I hope a sovereignly gracious God will shew in his own time: I have some newly awakened since I wrote to you, besides others I hear of: this night there were three with me who never spoke to me before. N. B. They keep their distress as long as they can hold. There was another with me yesterday who was new; and one this morning awakened last Lord's-day.

June 8th, — I have just time to write this to you, having scarce a moment's spare time, the distressed or those who are come to relief coming continually to me. The parish-list is now sixty. I can give no distinct account of those awakened here, in other congregations. The Lord is continuing graciously with us. Four or five new ones have been with me since Sabbath last. Several are come to solid relief. I had one this day filled with inexpressible joy. — I am wonderfully strengthened, have great pleasure, and made unwearied. O praise him who does it; — pray for a more plentiful outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

June 9th, — I wrote to you by the post this morning. We have had a glorious day this day. Many are added to the awakened, either altogether new, or those who were formerly slightly touched have been deeply awakened: there are eight I am certainly informed of; besides a great many others that I judge pretty probable; five of the first are in this parish. There was a general concern in the congregation: among these they say are — and — newly married. I find when I am weakest and have least expectation from my sermon, the Lord shews himself most. I preached from John xvi. 11. I was far from being pleased with the composition. Mr. —'s helper preached with me from Matth. xi. 28. a good sermon. I am much straitened for help; but the Lord stands by me; blessed be he; and he will do it. Receive a third Journal. I have a beautiful one, of one who was inexpressibly filled with the love of Christ shed abroad in her heart — and they tell me continues yet overcome with it. Some old Christians are getting wonderful reviving, and manifestations of the love of God.

June 11th, — Because I know what joy and thankfulness it gives you to hear of our dear Lord's appearing in his glory and majesty in

conquering his enemies to himself, I embrace the opportunity to write to you that this hath been a good week; one of the best I ever saw; though of the greatest labour, yet of the greatest pleasure. I had a closter full of little ones yesternight making a pleasant noise and outcry for Christ; and two of the youngest, one of them but ten, fainting and so distressed they could scarce go home. I cannot write unto you the wonders I saw: one of eleven crying out she was sick of sin, and crying out with hands uplifted to Heaven: when I told her that if she were willing to take Christ he would heal her; I am willing with all my heart and from the bottom of my heart to take him; I bid her wait with patience, and told her she minded the fortieth Psalm: she noted over the first twelve lines with great calmness: I hear they have been very distressed last night and this day. I would fain hope that relief may not be far from her. O pray for the poor young babes. — tells me just now she is come to joy and peace in believing, for which I beg you will praise the Lord, and employ others to do it. Poor little — speaks to the distressed like herself.—This is—a pleasant country-side—be it was. I wish you were here. Wednesday was a wonderful day when we were afraid that the work was like to stop: there have been ten new ones belonging to this congregation since last Lord's-day; so that if I count right they are about or near seventy; besides those who belong to other congregations of which I can have no account.

June 17th, Receive a 4th Journal, which I have with much difficulty, for want of time, got extracted from my book—It concerns the woman overcome with love. She uttered many things which I could not take down, and I seldom insert any thing from my memory: the girl was with me this day, and continues in the same good frame, only her tears are dried up, and she hath got a humble joy in her face. There is an elder Christian in her neighbourhood who hath got a considerable reviving, and marvellous manifestations of the love of Jesus Christ, shewing themselves to be genuine by their effects.—From Lord's-day was seven nights the King of kings has been riding gloriously upon the white horse, shooting his arrows thick into the hearts of his enemies, making them sensible of their evil state of unbelief, making them to cry out for fear of the Lord and the glory of his majesty, at the same time subduing others to himself. We had twelve awakened last week belonging to the parish, fifteen Sabbath last, four whereof were strangers belonging to Cumbernauld, Campsie and Kirkintilloch: Tuesday we had fifteen and one stranger; and this day I had two who were among the first, but never came to me until this day; which make in all belonging to the parish, since Sabbath before the last, forty. I make no doubt, but there are a great many strangers besides, not known to me. I have also had some with me who are come I hope to solid relief. Tho' I am continually employed, yet the Lord gives such bodily strength, as I am not much wearied; and is not wanting to me otherwise; he gives uncommon strength, for uncommon service: which I acknowledge to his glory; and beg that you and others may help me to praise him for it.—There was a good woman who I doubt not was a real Christian who blamed the people much for cry-

ing out, and said, could they not be serious enough without crying? Sabbath was eight days she was made to cry out herself, and was not able to come from the place of meeting to my house without being supported by two men: she acknowledges this day that she justly met with it for her rashness.—Last Lord's-day there were a good many awakened at Cumbernauld.—I cannot precisely tell how many the number of the awakened are with us now, for I have not time to number them.

June 28th, I am so wearied this night that tho' I would incline to write at good length; yet I am not well able: yet blessed be the Lord, I have got as much strength as has been sufficient for the days work: There are now, praises to the builder-up of Zion appearing in his glory, such a number of the awakened as gives me no respite; neither do I allow myself to desire it, seeing I am not called to work in my own strength. The Lord was graciously with us yesternight: there were seven awakened yesterday newly: the child of six was in great distress during the most part of the sermon: I asked at her at night what she would give to get Christ: she answered with a great deal of composure, "I would part with my life to have him;" at which I was amazed.—Blessed be the Lord we are every day getting encouragement by some being brought to relief: these who have got it, walk answerably: we are, God willing, to observe Wednesday as a day of thanksgiving to the God of our extraordinary mercy: I beg you, and others will remember us that day.

June 30th, The Lord hath been graciously present with us this day, I looked upon it as a token for good, that we had a great congregation, seeing it was set apart for solemn thanksgiving to God. I am persuaded it was the best observed day of thanksgiving, in every shape, ever was in Kilsyth; yet vastly short of what should been rendered, according to the benefit. We look to the great Altar, Sacrifice and High-priest for acceptance. I preached from Matth. xxi. 16. From which I prosecuted these two purposes, that extraordinary comings of the Lord Jesus to his temple and ordinances, should be welcomed with extraordinary praises, and that he is pleased when it is so. 2dly, That when he comes he will provide for his praise by these who are unlikely and unfeasible in the world's eye; which made two sermons in the forenoon. We had a good sermon from Mr. Young in the afternoon. There were three newly awakened brought to me this day, belonging to this congregation: there were doubtless many more, for the concern was great.—Five were added to the awakened at Cumbernauld last Lord's-day: blessed be the God of our salvation, the face of the congregation and country-side is changed.

July 2d, Blessed for evermore be our God in Christ, for his continued marvellous grace. I have fifteen newawakened this week before this day. I know of two more this day: and expect others to morrow. I have been at Cumbernauld all this day, and I think the body of this parish. There was a very great cry in the congregation, not only while the terrors of the law were preached, but the comforts of the gospel: the former five were awakened this day: I hear more and

more of the vast change there is upon the face of this parish: iniquity as ashamed hides its head; the wolf and the lamb dwell together—I am obliged to stop at the cry of a number of distressed coming into the closet, — There hath been brought to me, and come in about a dozen in great distress, most of them young; some of them awakened at home this day, and some at Cumbernauld: one of them was awakened while I was speaking to the rest: one weeding corn to day: they were in such distress, that I could only speak in general to them. One of them was looked on as a ——: O amazing grace: I beg you will pray for me: I will have people to converse with me all day to-morrow, and no body to preach for me on the Lord's-day; yet I will not fear, for I trust in the Lord: I doubt not but he will be my strength to all he calls to.

July 5th, The Lord is making us fishers of men indeed: he is present; and while we toiled years in his absence and to apprehension caught nothing, at every letting down of the gospel-net, some are caught; he is driving them into the net; and making some prey to be inclosed: endless praises be, and will be to him for it. Yesterday<sup>a</sup> was a Bochim in the congregation for unworthy communicating; and this evening there was a great cry in the church: Mr. G—— Minister at Carnock, who came here this afternoon preached: Last week the newly awakened were about thirty six, of which about twelve or fourteen were awakened at Cumbernauld Friday last: yesterday, and this day there were fifteen new, all belonging to this congregation: three of them were awakened while Mr. —— preached: we never had so great a number in so short a time. Every day I have some acquainting me with their relief, which I find in the most to be solid and good. I have conversed with about forty this day from the town of Killyth besides others: I trusted in the Lord for yesterday and was helped.—I had with me on Saturday an honest man from Muthil, where Mr. Hally is minister, who informs me there have been, since March, fifty awakened in that parish; for which I bless the Lord.—There is a person in this country—who is jealous that his family owed to the late—— about ten shillings: he hath put it into my hands to give it to his heirs. I know no hand so fit as yours to do it, seeing it may be some time ere I come to town, and do not know his heirs: you will please to receive it from the bearer.

July 8th, There were eighteen awakened yesterday, Sabbath last and since, all belonging to the congregation. There are only two to day, one in Denny and the other in Campsie.

July 15th, I have been busy in dealing with the distressed a good part of this day; we have only as far as I know yet about a dozen or thirteen newly awakened of them who belong to this congregation, since Thursday last, and about fourteen we know of from Gargunnoch, Kippen and Campsie; besides these, one from Muthil, and one from Carnock. There was—a trillapse in fornication dropt down yesterday in the barn just as I was dismissing the distressed: she was to be led home; was with me to day; and in a hopeful way.—Tho' we

<sup>a</sup> It was the preparation Sabbath before the communion.



have had some [persons awakened] every day; yet we have had fewer belonging to this parish these eight days past than for some weeks before: Yet, blessed be the Lord, it is made up [by] strangers who have carried it home to their own congregations.

July 19th, We had a good day from the presence of the Lord yesterday: — There were a good many strangers from beyond Stirling and from Fife: there were two of these at a distance observed — under deep concern: but they went away without speaking: eight have been with me: one from Gargunnoch awakened yesterday afternoon: blessed be the Lord, it is going comfortably over the mountain<sup>a</sup>: — Two from Kirkintilloch and one from Cumbernauld, and only four of our own: blessed be the Lord for all. [Here end the extracts of letters. Let us return to the Narrative, page 37]

*Farther Accounts of the Number of the Awakened. — The Work appears in several other Places.*

There have been at least three hundred awakened in this parish since the beginning of this work, of which about two hundred belong or did belong to this parish. There were indeed about fourteen or fifteen of them awakened when Mr. Whitefield preached at Cumbernauld. In the parish of Cumbernauld, as the minister informs me, there are above eighty. — In the parish of Kirkintilloch there are known to the minister about a hundred and twenty under a more than ordinary concern about their salvation, including the praying young, who are increased now to a greater number than formerly mentioned. — In the parish of St. Ninians, the number of the awakened must be considerable. The first remarkable appearance of this good work there, was at the giving the holy supper, upon the first of this current August. The Monday was one of the greatest days of the Mediator's power I have hitherto seen. By a letter from Mr. Mackie, minister of that parish, I am informed, that the number of the awakened was increased upon the Thursday thereafter, when they had sermon. He appoints days for them to come to him for instruction and direction. — In the parish of Gargunnoch, lying West from the parish of St. Ninians, there are, as I am well informed, near an hundred persons awakened. Some of them first of all at Kilsyth, when the Lord's supper was given there; others at Campsie; others at St. Ninians, [when it was given in these places.] Upon the Thursday thereafter there were eighteen awakened in their own congregation, while Mr. Warden, their own aged and diligent pastor, preached to them. There was also a considerable awakening the week thereafter, the minister of Campsie, his son, preaching there. — In the parish of Calder, according to the information I have from their minister, there are above an hundred awakened. — There are about the same number in the parish of Campsie<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See a particular account as to Dundaff, situate upon the North side of the hills of Kilsyth, partly in the parish of Kilsyth, partly in St. Ninians, in Robe's Monthly History for 1743, N<sup>o</sup> 1. page 19th, with a letter to Mr. Robe, dated Craigmannat, Sept. 9th, 1743, from William Knox; and a postscript con-

firmit it by David Littlejohn and William Bow, Elders, and Peter Bell, p. 22, 24.

<sup>b</sup> See farther as to the parish of Campsie, in a letter to Mr. Robe, dated December 16th, 1743, from Mr. Warden, minister there. Robe's Monthly History for 1743, N<sup>o</sup> 2. page 35.

The case of the parish of Badernock, lying North and West from Calder, is singular. There were above ninety awakened persons in that parish about the 6th of July last. They have been for some years past, and yet are, without a pastor. The Lord hath honoured their schoolmaster, James Forsyth, to be greatly instrumental in this good work among them. I shall give the following extract from a letter of his, dated Badernock, July 17th, 1742, concerning the impressions made upon, and the awakening of, several of the young ones. He writes, "Since the first of February last, I endeavoured to instruct the children under my charge, to the utmost of my power, in the first principles of religion, and that they were born in a state of sin and misery, and strangers to God by nature; I also pressed them, by all arguments possible, to leave off their sinful ways, and flee to Jesus Christ, by faith and repentance; which, by the blessing of God, hath not been in vain. Glory to his holy name, that backed with the power of his Holy Spirit [what was] spoken in much weakness. I likewise warned them against the commission of any known sin, and told them their danger, if they persisted in the same; and that their sins would find them out. The which exhortations, frequently repeated, yea, almost every day, came at last to have some impressions on their young hearts. And I think the great concern that was at first among them, was a mean, in God's hand, to bring the elder sort to a more serious concern, and to more diligence in religious duties; yea, I heard some say, that they were ashamed to hear and see these young creatures so much taken up about their souls salvation. That is some account of the rise of this good and happy work. There was one of the school-boys that went to Cambuslang in March, that was first awakened; he, after some few days, said to me in the school, Will you let two or three of us meet together to sing Psalms and pray? I said, I was very well pleased to hear that they inclined to such a good exercise. So they joined themselves together, and it hath had very good fruit: for, some few days after, there were some of them under concern; and, that day fourteen days they first met, there were ten or twelve awakened, and under deep convictions, some very young of eight and nine years of age, some twelve and thirteen. They still inclined more and more to their duty; so that they met three times a-day, in the morning, at night, and at noon. Also they have forsaken all their childish fancies and plays; so these that have been awakened are known by their countenance and behaviour. There were some, that, by a word of terror in their lesson, were very distressed, and would cry out and weep bitterly. There are some of them very sensible of their case, both of the sin of their nature, and their actual transgressions, and even of the sin of unbelief: for, when I would exhort any of them that were distressed to believe in Christ, because he is both able and willing to save to the uttermost, they replied, That they knew he was both able and willing; but they could not believe themselves, unless God gave them a heart so to do; for, they said, they felt their heart so hard, that they could do nothing." This is the account he gives of the younger sort.—As to the elder sort, he says, "That the first among them were awakened at Cambuslang, others at Calder and

Kirkintilloch; but that the greatest part have been awakened at their society-meetings. They met twice a-week for prayer and praise, where all the awakened in the parish, with as many others as please to come, are admitted." There are also several other little meetings, almost every day, in different places of the parish. At the second of these meetings there were nine awakened; at the third there were four; at another meeting there were five or six.—In another letter, dated July 6th, 1742, he saith, "That this good work still continues among them, and that there are a considerable number newly awakened in their parish, besides strangers that come to their meetings from other parishes."—I have been more particular and large in this article concerning Baderdock, that we who are ministers of the gospel may learn from this, not to be lifted up from any success we may have in our ministrations; seeing, that though the Lord maketh especially the preaching of the word an effectual mean of convincing and converting sinners, and of building up them that are converted, yet he also blesteth the reading of the word, Christian communion, and religious education by parents, schoolmasters and others, for the foresaid blessed ends; and that he can and sometimes doth make use of weak and inconsiderable instruments for beginning and carrying on a good work upon the souls of men, while men of great gifts, and even godliness, are not so successful.

In the parish of Killearn, lying about seven miles to the North-west of Campsie, this good work is also begun. Their minister, Mr. Baine, hath been well affected to it from the beginning, and was early witness to it, and assisting to carry it on at Cambuslang. There was a considerable awakening in this parish, when the Lord's supper was given there upon the third Sabbath of July, especially upon the Monday, when Mr. Potter, professor of divinity at Glasgow, and Mr. Mackie, minister at St. Ninians, preached.—In the country West from Glasgow, there are very joyful accounts of the entrance and progress of this blessed work there. In the town of Irvine there were a few awakened first at Cambuslang; but now there are a good many awakened that never were at Cambuslang, and are in like distress and anguish of soul. They are happy under the inspection and care of their worthy minister, Mr. M'Kneight. In the parish of Long-Dreghorn, and other parishes about, there are severals awakened. In the town of Kilmarnock there were about fifty from that place awakened at Cambuslang; but there have been many more since in their own congregations. In the parish of Denny there are severals, some of whom have been awakened in their own church. There are several in the united parishes of Dunipace and Larbert, some of whom have been awakened likewise there. In the parish of Torphichen, South from Linlithgow, there were seven awakened, when the Lord's supper was given there, upon the first Sabbath of August.

As to Muthil, the reader will be best informed by the following extracts of letters I have received from Mr. Hally, minister there.

Muthil, Sept. 28th, 1742.—R. D. B. For some time past, I have been much refreshed with tidings of great joy, not only from New-England, and other remote parts, but also from different corners of our

own land, particularly from the parish whereof you have the pastoral charge, from whence I hear of a gathering of the people to the blessed Shiloh. That you may rejoice with me, and help with your prayers at the throne of grace, I thought it proper to acquaint you with something of the like glorious work in this congregation.—I do not in this missive, pretend to give you a full and particular account of what the Lord has done amongst us for some time past.—In general, for about a year hence, there has been an unusual stirring and seeming concern through this congregation, and some now and then falling under convictions.—A closer attention to the word preached, and a receiving of it with an apparent appetite, was by myself and others observed—until the Lord's supper was dispensed here, the third Sabbath of July last, at which time, I think, our conquering Redeemer made some visible inroads upon the kingdom of Satan. I hope there are not a few, both in this and other congregations, that can say, "That God was in this place, and that they felt his power, and saw his glory.—But whatever the Lord was pleased to shed down of the influences of his Spirit upon that solemn occasion, comparatively speaking, may be accounted but a day of small things, in respect of what he has been pleased to do amongst us since.—I must acknowledge, to the praise of our gracious God, that an unusual power hath attended the word preached every Sabbath-day since; few, if any Sabbaths, having passed, but some have been awakened, and particularly last Lord's-day, which, I hope I may say, was a day of the Son of Man in this place; for, besides the general concern that was seen in this congregation, about eighteen persons, which I came to know of that night, were pricked at the heart, and deeply wounded with the arrows of the Almighty,——I have been very agreeably entertained with the visits of distressed souls, crying out for Christ, "and what shall we do to be saved?" And I may say, that the work of the law has been severe, and outwardly noticeable upon all that I have conversed with; their convictions have been deep, cutting, and abiding, not (as we have formerly seen) "like a morning cloud and early dew, that soon passeth away." And yet, I have not observed in any that I have spoke with, the least tendency to despair, but giving, so far as I can judge, satisfying evidences of a kindly work of the Spirit, and the law acting the part of a schoolmaster, leading them to Christ, in whom, I hope a great many of them are safely landed, and have had their souls filled with peace and joy in believing; and some have received such a measure of the joys of heaven, that the narrow crazy vessel could hold no more.—Tho' some old people have been awakened, yet this work is most noticeable among the younger sort: and some very young (within twelve years of age) have been observably wrought upon, and the fruits are very agreeable; amongst others, their delight in prayer, and their frequent meeting together for that end. And they who have noticed them, have informed me, of their speaking in prayer the wonderful things of God.—As the Lord has been pleased observably to own us in the public ordinances; so, I think, no less have we felt a down-pouring of his Spirit at our evening-exercises upon Sabbath nights: for, immediately after public worship is over, such crowds

of people come to the manse, as fill the house, and the close before the doors, discovering a great thirst after the word, and such an unusual concern in hearing of it, that their mourning cries frequently drown my voice; so that I am obliged frequently to stop, till they compose themselves. And many on these occasions fall under deep and abiding convictions. So that I am taken up in dealing with them for some hours after the meeting is dismissed.—Many here give such evidences of a saving real work of the Spirit, that to call it into question, would put old experienced Christians to doubt of their own state, yea, to call in question the experiences of the saints recorded in scripture. And yet there are here, as well as elsewhere, who are contradicting and blaspheming; they are objects of pity, and ought to be prayed for.—I give you this account of the Lord's work in this parish, for your own private satisfaction, and of those with you who may join with us, in prayer and praises, to our gracious God, who has done such great things for us. — We are mindful of you, and your congregation, and of the work of God in other parts, not only in public and in private, but in our praying societies, severals whereof have been of late created in this parish, and many people flocking to them. We expect the like from you, and your people.—That the Lord may carry on his work with you and us, and other parts of the land; and that he may signally countenance that solemn occasion you have in view next Lord's-day, is the earnest desire and prayer of, &c. WILLIAM HALLY.

I received, upon the 29th of October, a letter from the same worthy brother, giving a further account.—R. D. B. Yours of the 17th instant, I received—by which I was exceedingly refreshed, with the account of the continuance, and progress of the Lord's work.—These things brought about with you, here and elsewhere, are the doings of the Lord, and wonderful in our eyes; and, considering the almost universal deadness, degeneracy, despising of gospel-ordinances, slighting the ambassadors of Christ, and the many other crying abominations of the land; this reviving, this surprising visit may fill us with wonder and amazement, and make us say, "When the Lord turned again the captivity of our Zion we were like men that dream." But his ways are not as our ways. Glory to him, he has seen our ways, and is healing them.—It gave me much pleasure, to hear Mr. Porteous and some of my people, giving such an account of the work of God with you, at your last sacrament.—Such of my flock as attended that solemn occasion, I hope, have not lost their travel—About seven and twenty of them, all in a company, coming home, were, by a kind of providence overtaken upon the road, by Mr. Porteous, Mrs. Erskine and Mr. David Erskine, who by the blessing of the Lord, were made eminently useful to them. For such was the distress of many of them, that in all appearance they had lodged in that desert place all night, if the Lord by means of these instruments, had not sent them some support and relief; so much did their soul-distress affect their bodies, that they seemed not able to travel much further.—I doubt not but it will give you like satisfaction, to be informed, that the same good work upon souls, is daily advancing and going on in this parish. Every Sabbath-day, since I wrote to you last, I

may say, to the glory of free grace, has been a day of the Son of Man. The arrows of the almighty king are still flying thick amongst us, and wounding the hearts of his enemies, and laying them down, groaning at the feet of the conqueror, crying under a sense of guilt, and the frightful apprehensions of wrath, and thirsting after a Saviour.—For many months past, I have observed a general and unusual concern upon the whole congregation, their hungry-like attention to the word, the serious and concerned-like airs appearing in their faces. Many being so deeply affected in hearing, that frequently a general sound of weeping, through the whole congregation uses to rise so high, that it much drowns my voice. Their carriage and spiritual converse in coming and going from public ordinances, and the many prayers that are put up through this parish—these good and promising appearances, make me, through the blessing of God upon his ordinances, to expect yet greater things.—I told you in my last, what multitudes attended our evening exercise upon Sabbath-nights. But now, though the day be short, I am obliged to go to the kirk with them, where almost the whole congregation (which is very great) wait and attend. Many of them not regarding the difficulty of travelling through a long dark moor, under night: and a good number after they have heard a lecture and two sermons and the evening exercise, stay and retire to the school-house, and there spend some hours in prayer; and the Lord has signally owned them, not only to their own mutual edification but to the conviction of by-standers, and such as have heard them without the walls of the house.—Our praying societies are in a most flourishing condition, and still more members flocking to them. The meetings for prayer amongst the young boys and girls, give me great satisfaction, one whereof began soon after the sacrament, and is now increased to about the number of twenty. Several of them falling under deep concern, I was sent for to speak with them, where I found some of them all in tears. Since that time (that I may have them near me) I give them a room in my house, where they meet every night. And O how pleasant is it to hear the poor young lambs addressing themselves to God in prayer; O with what fervour, with what proper expressions, do I hear them pouring out their souls to a prayer-hearing God; so that standing at the back of the door, I am often melted into tears to hear them. —We have another praying society of young ones, lately erected in another corner of the parish, where one Mr. Robertson teaches one of the charity schools.—The young ones, of late, desired his allowance to meet in the school-house for prayer, which he very readily went into (for it is his great pleasure to promote and encourage religion both in young and old) and there about twenty of them meet twice every week, though they have a good way (many of them) to travel in the night-time.—I may say in general, that such a praying disposition as appears amongst this people, both young and old, was never seen nor heard of before, which gives me ground to expect more of divine influences to come down amongst us; for where the Lord prepares the heart, he causes his ear to hear.—As to the parish of Madery, which you desire to be informed about; soon after the sacrament at

Fowels, a neighbouring parish, some few boys met in the fields for prayer, and when observed were brought to an house, to whom, many others, both young and old resorted since, and are now, according to my information, in a very flourishing condition.—This presbytery are resolved to divide themselves into societies for prayer, for the progress of this blessed work<sup>a</sup>, and to have frequent meetings for this end.—That the pleasure of the Lord may more and more prosper in your hand is the earnest prayer of Yours, &c. WILLIAM HALLY.

[ From another Letter from Mr. Hally to a Gentleman in Edinburgh, dated Muthil, August 29th, 1743, printed in Prince's Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 75, 76. ]

About a year before this work came to be openly observed, there was a secret stirring and concern among the people. This I was informed of by some religious elders from different corners of the parish. Something of it appeared in public upon the first Sabbath of January 1741-2, which happening to be a stormy day, and I having prepared somewhat to be delivered that day, which I was fond the whole congregation should hear, and expecting but a small meeting upon Sabbath morning, I changed my text: and finding more than ordinary freedom in preaching upon it that day, I insisted upon it the next Lord's-day also. Both days I observed an unusual tenderness among many of the hearers; and I was told much more of it afterwards. I was informed of a praying disposition stirred up among the people, beyond what had been formerly observed. Thus it continued till the third Sabbath of July thereafter, at which time the sacrament of the Lord's supper was dispensed in this place, &c. [See his two former letters.]—In some a law-work has been carried on by degrees, and at length arrived at an exceeding great height. Others have been suddenly struck, as with an arrow shot into their hearts, and could be so particular as to condescend upon the particular words in the sermon that the Spirit of God made use of for their awakening.

In conversing with them, I have solemnly charged them to speak their minds freely and truly, and nowise to dissemble their case. And, upon examination, I have found them deeply affected with a sight of their lost state and condition by nature, trembling under the apprehensions of Divine wrath, grieving for the dishonour they had done to God, by sinning against him, and particularly lamenting over their sin of unbelief, in rejecting a Saviour; in slighting so many gospel-calls; in despising so much gospel-grace. I have found them thirsting after Christ, and some of them expressing their desires in a most passionate manner, viz. That they would give ten thousand worlds for an interest in him. And all this with such emotion of spirit, and with such a flood of tears, that often, out of sympathy with them, I have been obliged to shed tears too.—I have been filled with wonder to hear some of them pray, who I had reason to suspect wholly neglected secret duty till of late. Before this good work began amongst us, we had but two praying societies, and now they are increased to eighteen, to which many

<sup>a</sup> See another letter from Mr. Hally, Aug. 28th, 1744, giving some account of the perseverance of the subjects of this work at Muthil.—Robe's Monthly Hist. for 1744, N<sup>o</sup> 6, p. 53.

resort both men and women. We have six praying meetings of young ones. One of them meets twice in the week in my house. I have frequently wished to have had some of the contradistors and blasphemers of this work standing with me at the back of the door, to hear these dear young lambs (some of them below twelve years of age) pouring out their souls to a prayer-hearing God, with such fervour, with such copiousness and propriety of expression, that I have not only been filled with wonder, but melted down in tears to hear them. With great satisfaction I admitted about forty of these young ones to the communion-table at our sacrament this Summer, which occasion the Lord signally owned. There is something of the like work begun and spreading in two neighbouring congregations, Crief and Monyvard, &c. W.H.

[ From Mr. ROSE'S Narrative, page 53. ]

As to the doctrines I preached in the congregation or elsewhere, they were a mixture of the law and the gospel as much as possible in the same sermon; and I observed such composures most blessed of God. The formerly converted, and the awakened who had made progress, I perceived were most affected with the sweet truths of the gospel. I have seen the congregation in tears, and crying out, when the law of grace from Mount Zion, without any express mixture of the terrors of the law, was preached. It is true indeed, several of the awakened have had their spiritual distress increased thereby, as also some of the secure have been awakened; but then it was from their being convinced that they had as yet no interest in these glorious blessings, and so were miserable, and that it would be the worst part of their eternal misery to be deprived of them! And thus it was as terrible to them to hear heaven preached of, as hell; seeing they saw themselves shut out from it by their unbelief. I observed, that the far greatest part of every public audience were secure, unconcerned and fearless; and therefore I preached the terrors of the law in the strongest terms I could, that is to say, in express scripture-terms. I feared to daub or deal slightly with them, but told great and small, that they were the children of the devil while they were in the state of unbelief, and that if they continued so to the end, in our Lord's plain terms, they would be damned. I resolved that I would cry aloud and not spare, and preach with that seriousness and fervour, as one that knew that my hearers must either be prevailed with, or be damned.

I looked up and saw what I never saw before, the fields already ripe unto harvest. I heard the Lord of the harvest commanding me to put in my sickle and reap; I considered that I had now an opportunity put in my hand that was not to last long, the harvest being the shortest time of labour in the whole year: and therefore I resolved to bestir myself, and attend wholly to this very thing. I looked upon my pulpit-work, tho' great, but a small part of my task. I knew that several of the awakened were ignorant; that all of them needed particular direction, instruction, and consolation under their sharp convictions, and wanted much, under the conduct of the Holy Spirit, a spiritual guide to direct them to faith in Jesus Christ, to which they were shut up. I appointed therefore Mondays,



Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, for the awakened and spiritually distressed to come to me for the fore said purposes; which they did assiduously and diligently from morning to night, the same persons sometimes coming to me not only twice which was ordinary, but oftener in a week; yea, even upon Saturdays, which I often grudged, but durst not send them away who had come at some distance without conversing with them. At this time I could not allow myself to be diverted from this attendance by any visitants coming to my house, ministers or others. I was also greatly assisted by some ministers and preachers who stayed with me for some time; particularly at the beginning of this work Mr. Young preacher of the gospel, who had been much at Cambuslang, and had great experience and skill in dealing with the distressed, was greatly helpful to me; but of all others Mr. Gillespie minister at Carnock. He came to me upon the Monday before the Lord's supper was given in the congregation, and stayed ten days. Both of us had as much work among the distressed as kept us continually employed from morning to night; and, without him, it would have been impossible for me to have managed the work of that week. Without such dealings with them, humanly speaking, many of them must have miscarried, or continued much longer under their spiritual distress. It is very true, God will devise means to bring home his banished, as I have seen; but, where there are ministers, these are the outward means: if people in distress will not use them, they themselves are to blame, and they cannot expect a desirable out-gate; and, if we will not apply ourselves diligently to the care of distressed souls willing to make use of us, the Lord will provide without us, that his own elect may not miscarry; but wo will be to us: their blood, as well as those who shall miscarry, will be required at our hands.

I was not without temptations to slacken my hand; both my own mind, and others who wished me well, said, Spare thyself. I was afraid my body would not stand through; and others told me, I should take care of my health; but when I considered my natural temper, that it must be employed some-how, and that I spent near as much time in reading, I thought I could suffer no more by this application, and had not so much to fear from it as from any other constant sedentary employment. But most of all I was influenced from the consideration of the Lord's call to this service; that my time, health, and life were in his hand; that I had dedicated all to his service and glory; that he had promised needful strength; that he would preserve my health and life so long as he had use for them, and that it would be highly unreasonable for me to desire it longer: I resolved not to spare myself. It became soon the pleasantest work ever I was engaged in. I found the distressed profiting under the means of grace by the Lord's blessing, first coming to hate sin, and mourn for it, out of a regard to God, and then pressing after an interest in the Lord Jesus Christ. It diverted me to see young and old carrying their Bibles with them, and either reading some passage that had been of use to them, or looking out and marking some passage I recommended to them. The world appeared changed to me; and (as I noticed to them) when I came to their doors to ca-

teachise them, once or twice in the year, the least trifle hindered their attendance; but now they were glad to come twice or thrice a-week, and greedy to receive instruction: and what cold soul would not have rejoiced at such a change, and welcomed them in the name of the Lord? Though I was wearied when I went to bed, yet, like the labouring man, my rest was sweet to me. The Lord gave me the sleep of his beloved, and I was fresh by the morning. And now, after labouring so much for near these four months, and preaching more than at any time for a whole half-year, I mention it to the praise of my great Master's goodness, my body is fatter in flesh than when I began, and my bodily ails nowise increased. The way of the Lord hath been my life and strength.

I have kept a book, wherein, from day to day, I wrote down whatever was most material in the exercise of the distressed. This may appear an unsupportable labour at first view, especially where the number of the distressed are so many; yet I found it to be very easy; it saved much time to me. An index I kept brought me soon to the part of the book where the person's case was recorded. I had then a full view of their case, as it was when they were first with me: I saw what progress their convictions had made, and knew where I was to begin with them, without examining their case every time from the beginning a-new, as I would have been obliged to do. It [also] gave a full view of their whole case when it came to an issue, and made me more able to judge of it.—I have laboured to be very cautious in pronouncing persons to be brought out of a state of nature into a state of grace: I have in many cases declared to persons, that the grounds of case and rest they took up with, were not solid, nor good; which frequently had good effect. And as to others, that if their exercises were such as they declared them to be, that they were really the scripture-qualifications and experiences of the converted.

[See several Journals extracted from the book just now mentioned in his Narrative, and in the Glasgow Weekly History, giving an account of the exercise of the subjects of this work, and of several edifying scriptures that made impression upon them. The following is an extract of one remarkable instance.]

G. H. Was first awakened, May 16th, of a blameless life, and an ordinary communicant for some years past; her spiritual distress was considerably great. The keeping a Journal of the progress of the work of God upon her was omitted [for some time.]—June 8th, She was with me, and told me it was better with her than when she was with me the 4th current. She said she was somewhat comforted by the instructions the Lord directed me to give her that day; and began to be chearful that night. Upon the Saturday she was filled with doubts and fears, lest she was building upon a false foundation, and was so uneasy at night that she could not sleep. Upon the Lord's-day her spiritual distress increased to a great height. In her way home, she was greatly afraid lest death should seize her before she got into Christ. She sat down by the way, and composed herself to spiritual meditation; the following scripture came into her mind with great power, "Be still, and know that I am

God;" the effect of which was, that it composed her to wait with patience until the Lord's time should come to relieve her, and that she was free from distressing doubts and fears, that disturbed her, and was composed in prayer.—Upon the Monday, while she was employed in her worldly affairs, she thought that she could have been content to be constantly employed in praising God. All that while that word was strongly enforced upon her, "Be still, and know that I am God."—In the evening, while she was late at her wheel, the following scriptures were impressed upon her, "Fear not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed, for I am thy God. When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burnt; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee. I will deliver thee in six troubles; yea, in seven there shall no evil touch thee." She found her heart begin to rise so with wonder at the mercy of God, that she was ready to cry out in his loud praises. She rose and ran to her chamber, and broke out in the praise of God. She was so much filled with love to Christ, and views of the greatness of his love to her, that she was overwhelmed with them. It was said to her, "Daughter, be of good cheer, for thy sins are forgiven thee;" which filled her so with joy, that she could not contain it: she cried out, "Unto him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God, and his Father; to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen." She says, she thought she could not cry loud enough to express his praises, thinking that all that was within her was too little to do it, and that she was so overwhelmed, that her heart was like to come out; yet felt no pain, but much sweetness. She cried out, "Come all ye that fear the Lord, and I will tell you what he hath done for my soul;" and said, "That if all they whoever were, or shall be, were present, she would think it too little to tell it to them; and if they who opposed this work of the Spirit of God were present, she would tell it to his praise, if they should kill her." She said, "That she was composed in a while after: but could not be satisfied, is not satisfied, nor ever will be satisfied with uttering his praises."—She said further, that she would lay her mouth in the dust, and be deeply humbled before the Lord so long as she lives, and that she thinks she could ly down with Mary at Christ's feet, and wash them with her tears, and wipe them with the hairs of her head. She said, Christ says, "I love them that love me, and they that seek me early shall find me." But alas! cried she, I have been too long a seeking him, I thought I had been seeking him before; but it was not a right seeking him: so long as I regarded sin in my heart, the Lord did not hear me.—She said, that this morning she sung the forty-sixth Psalm beginning at the tenth verse, and when she came away, she thought it was said to her, "Why weepeth thou? whom seekest thou?" (it is to be observed that she continued to shed tears abundantly.) She said further, worldly thoughts are away from me now, and oh, if they would never return again! ten thousand worlds could never give me the love and joy Christ filled me with yesterday, and are not so much as to be compared with them. In the strong-

est manner she expressed her hatred at sin, and resolutions against it in Christ's strength. And when I put several questions to her, which she satisfyingly answered; she said, Sir, though you put questions to me as was done to Peter, Christ knows my heart, and he who knows all things knoweth that I love him. She said, she resolved to shew her love to Christ by keeping his commandments, and that she was sensible her duties are worthless, and can never deserve any thing: but that she had taken Christ's righteousness to be her righteousness in the sight of God. She broke out in surprising words of love and assurance, such as, "He is my sure portion, whom I have chosen for ever." O what hath he done for me, when I had ruined myself by sin original and actual! Though both my parents have left me, yet the Lord hath taken me up. She said with great emotion, that she desired to have all the world brought to Christ, and for to feel what she felt and doth feel.—June 10th, She told me this day, that she is still under doubts and fears, lest she is too much encouraged, but the following scripture gives her relief, "Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me." And that yesterday when she heard the judgment to come preached upon; she was not afraid of the threatenings; for she saw security in Christ for her; and that she would not be afraid if she saw him coming in the clouds: but that it would be a blyth sight to her, for he was her friend. And that such scriptures as these came into her mind: "Be not afraid, for I am thy God;" and, "Why art thou disquieted O my soul, why art thou cast down within me? hope still in God; for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God." She said, that she sang the ninety-eighth Psalm with the congregation that day, with such joy and comfort, as she never could before; and that she might say, as in the fourth Psalm, that she had more joy than corn and wine could give her.

[ From Mr. ROBE'S Narrative, page 69. ]

[As to the visible reformation among the people of Kilsyth, since this work began, the following paper will testify.]

R. S. In compliance with your desire to know what remarkable reformation and change we observe and see upon the outward behaviour, lives, and conversations of the people of this parish; we observe, that whereas the profaning of the holy Sabbath by idle discourse, walking abroad in companies, and sitting about doors, were the ordinary practice of numbers in and about the town of Kilsyth; we now see not only this abandoned, but instead thereof the private and secret duties of prayer practised, and spiritual and religious conversation prevailing upon all occasions, especially in coming and going to and from the public ordinances: and further, that the ordinary and habitual practice of cursing, swearing, drinking to excess, stealing, cheating, and defrauding, and all gross immoralities, are generally refrained; and severals, that were ordinarily guilty of such crimes, now detest and abhor the same. Also malice, envy, hatred, strife, contention and revenge, are so much decreased, that we have had few or no instances thereof this Summer; but, on the contrary, love, peace, forgiving of

injuries, and a charitable Christian temper and disposition of mind now prevail among severals of those who have been most frequently overcome by those unruly passions.—There are also numbers of people who have either wholly or ordinarily neglected family-worship, that now ordinarily practise it, and have more than ordinary concern for the glory of God, and the good of their own souls.—There are not only a good many societies for prayer, both of young ones, and also of those of riper years, set up of late; but also severals using endeavours, and desirous to be admitted, whom formerly no arguments could prevail with to join in such religious and necessary duties; and many are observed now frequently retiring to private places for secret prayer upon the Sabbath-days, in the interval of public worship.—The obscene, idle, wicked conversation of our servants and daily labourers are now much abandoned and forsaken; serious edifying religious Christian discourse much practised, which used to be much neglected, especially now in Harvest-time. Written by Mr. John Buchanan session-clerk, and subscribed by the following elders, at Kilsyth, the 5th day of September, 1742. And likewise the several heritors here present do attest the truth of the same.

Robert Graham of Thomraver.	John Forrester elder.
John Graham of Auchinloch.	John Achie elder.
Alexander Marshall of Ruchill.	William Adam elder.
William Patrick of Oldhall.	Mark Scot.
Walter Kirkwood.	James Ranken.
John Buchanan Clerk.	James Miller.
Alexander Patrick elder.	John Sword.
James Rennie elder.	Andrew Provan.
James Zoull.	Sept. 7. John Lapslie elder.
Henry Ewar elder.	

Kilsyth, September 8th, 1742.—I Alexander Forrester, bailie-depute of Kilsyth, do hereby certify, That so much of the spirit of mildness and friendship prevails amongst the people in this place, that there have been no pleas before our court for these several months past; whereas formerly a great many were brought before me every week.

ALEXR. FORRESTER.

[There are also particular attestations to this work, expressing a good opinion of it, by the following ministers, who were witnesses to it for a longer or a shorter time, viz. Mr. Spears at Linlithgow, Mr. Ogilvy at Aberdeen, Mr. Young a preacher, Mr. Blair at Brechin, Mr. M'Laurin at Glasgow. See the Narrative, page 112, &c.—I conclude with the following extract of a letter to Mr. Robe from a country man, Narrative, page 152.]

February 4th, 1743.—Indeed the going to Kilsyth and Cambuslang has made me to be hated by some that formerly loved me: but I desire to bless the Lord that led me by his Spirit: I many a time think that such days of power have not been seen under the gospel, since the apostles first preaching the glorious gospel. O Lord never let my soul forget what I did see at Kilsyth and Cambuslang of thy glorious power. On Saturday's night before the sacrament, after the sermon was over,

I went to the braehead Eastward, and looked around: the candles were burning in every place; that blessed echo of prayers, and sweet singing of songs made me almost faint for joy, and lament over my dead heart that was so lifeless; and put me in mind of the sweet songs that are sung in Heaven at God's right hand. [On Sabbath at his table] the Lord did manifest himself to me, as he does not to the world: I never did think to see so much of Heaven as I was eye and ear witness to that night, on this side of time. "O Lord our God how excellent is thy name in all the earth! who hast set thy glory above the Heavens: out of the mouths of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength: because of thine enemies that thou mightest still the enemy, and avenger. The Lord is gracious, and full of compassion, his tender mercies are over all his works. All thy works shall praise thee O Lord, and thy saints shall bless thee: they shall speak of thy glory and thy kingdom, and talk of thy power; to make known to the sons of men his mighty acts, and the glorious majesty of his kingdom. What tongue can speak of thy power and thy glory?" We will but darken the light of thy power when we speak of it. O Lord let that cloud that has appeared in the West of Scotland spread East, West, South and North, that thy glory may fill the whole earth; as the waters cover the seas. O Lord let thy heavenly dew come down upon our souls, that we may grow, as the willows by the water courses.—O Lord, let not our sins provoke thee to restrain the down-pouring of thy Spirit on these sinful lands. O Lord, for thy name's sake, pass not by this poor parish; and, O Lord, may these that thou hast brought in to thyself, in a remarkable way evidence themselves to be thy children by their good works, they being the fruits of true faith, and love: help them to forgive their enemies. and to pray, that their sins may be forgiven them. They have been praying for the day of the Lord: and now, because it has not come in the way that they looked for, they are grieved, and wish it away again; it is darkness and not light to them. O dear Sir, exhort them to beware of carnal security, and the pride of humility, for I have found them to be two great sins, &c.

### SECTION III.

*Other Places in Scotland that felt less or more of a Revival about this Time.—Nig, Roskeek, Nairn, Rosmarky,—Crief, Monyvard, Auchterarder,—Edinburgh, Glasgow, Irvine,—Coldinghame.—Killimuir Easter, Logie, Alnesh, Kilearn, Cromerty, Kirkmichael, Avoh, Golspy, and Rogart.*

[ From Ross's Monthly History for 1743, N<sup>o</sup> ii page 54, &c. ]

By a letter from Mr. Hally, minister at Muthil, dated November 28th, I have the following information: "I had lately occasion to see a letter from a minister in the synod of Ross, bearing some very agreeable accounts of the success of the gospel in these parts, particularly in the parish of Nig, where, last Summer, eighteen new communicants were admitted. I am informed, that it is much the custom through that

synod, to admit none to the Lord's table, till they be in a condition to give some satisfying account of their experiences in religion. As also in the parishes of Rosekean, Nairn, and Rosemarky, God is giving some testimony to the word of his grace, though not accompanied with such observable awakenings as have been observed in other corners of the land"—By the foresaid letter, he gives the present state of religion at Muthil, and other parishes in its neighbourhood, as followeth,—“ Though the public awakenings are much ceased with us, which I never expected would long continue, I hope these wrought upon in this congregation are persevering, and bringing forth agreeable fruits. Our praying societies are in a flourishing condition: and it is very agreeable to see the young lambs gathering together again, after they were a little scattered in the Summer by the herdings. Some of them keep their meetings twice every week. The hungry-like attention to the word preached still continues in the congregation.—Though some of them have three, some four, and others five miles to travel home through a dark muir; yet few go away from the evening exercises. I hope there are some promising appearances in some neighbouring parishes. In Crief there are eight praying meetings; in Monyvard four; and in Auchterarder six. None were in any of these parishes till of late. Glory to our gracious God, who, in many places, is seeing our ways, and healing them.”

Upon the 23d of October last, the Lord's supper was given at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Irvine. —The evidences of the revival of religion in and about these three cities, from appearances at this solemn time, are such as these:

Edinburgh, October 23d. The number of the communicants, in the several churches of this great city, are within these two years much increased.——And tho' several usual communicants have gone away with the secession, yet the number of the communicants are so far from being lessened, that they are considerably increased, beyond what they were before the secession.——Week-days sermons are much better attended than they have been for many years past.——While I was in town, about that time, I visited several of the societies for prayer, consisting of young people, with whom I was pleased. They appear to thirst strongly after instruction, and to be pliable and teachable to a great degree; they no doubt need much the oversight and frequent direction of their spiritual guides, and elder Christians. And I am persuaded, that by the Lord's blessing upon such oversight and direction, which doubtless will not be wanting, many of them shall be a seed to do service to the Lord, and shall be reckoned to him a generation.——By all that I could see or hear, I am of opinion, that the success of the gospel, by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Edinburgh, upon many of the young, and of the inferior sort, hath been extraordinary, when compared with a former dead time, of not a few years. Blessed be the Lord, there are also not a few of a superiour rank, who can witness the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit, in his saving operations.

At Glasgow, in October last, the increase of the number of tables, when the Lord's supper was given there, is computed by persons fit

to give a just account of that matter, to amount to about eighteen tables, beyond what was usual for a course of years before the late revival: and it is computed, that almost in all the churches there, three tables may contain about, or near 200 communicants.—This increase is indeed supposed to be owing, in some measure, to numbers from the adjacent country, and so to be a confirmation of the revival there; but also owing, in a good measure, to a more than ordinary addition, of late years, to the numbers of new communicants in the town itself.—As hath already been observed, as to Edinburgh, several old communicants having, of late years, gone off to the secession, the number of the communicants now behoved to be less than in former times, were it not for an extraordinary increase another way.—There was a more than ordinary concern to be observed upon many, both in hearing the word and receiving the sacrament; and several are said to have felt effects of more than an ordinary presence of the Lord's grace and Spirit<sup>a</sup>.

As to Irvine, by a letter from a worthy minister, who assisted at the giving the Lord's supper there, at the time mentioned, the number of communicants was much the same, as when it was last given, but about two or three hundred more than in former times, which is reckoned betwixt a fourth and a fifth part increased beyond former years.

From the parish of Goldinghame in the Merse, near Berwick, a worthy correspondent writes me in a letter I received this month of December, that there are these promising evidences of the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit there, beyond what hath been for several years past, viz. a more diligent attendance upon ordinances,—a more earnest thirsting after them,—a more general warm impression of religion, and a greater love to religious discourse.—Societies for prayer not only increasing in numbers, but the members of some of these societies so increasing, as the meeting, of which my correspondent is a member, expect, in a short time, to divide themselves into two sufficient ones; and, what is most of all to be regarded, the members of these societies grow in light and life:—So that some of the elder Christians say, that they never had such comfort and satisfaction as they have now.—Their worthy minister, Mr. Brydon, is earnestly diligent in improving this beginning.—The Lord of the Harvest assist and prosper him.—I have letters from other persons confirming what is above.

[ From the Account of the Revival in Nig, dated Feb. 1744.—Robe's Monthly History for 1744, N<sup>o</sup> 4, page 45, &c. ]

The following account of the revival in the parish of Nig in East Ross, and lying within a mile of the town of Cromarty, is given by Mr.

a Farther information as to Edinburgh and Glasgow, and places near them, may be had in the following passages of Prince's Christian History.

As to Edinburgh, &c. Mr. Willison's letter to Dr. Colman, Feb. 28th, 1743, N<sup>o</sup> 11. — Concerning the religious societies in Edinburgh. Mr. George Muir's letter to Mr. Aitken, Aug. 8th, 1743, and Mr. Bowre's to

Mr. Muir, N<sup>o</sup> 34, 35.—Mr. John Erskine's letter to a gentleman in N. England, Sept. 10th, 1743, N<sup>o</sup> 77.

As to Glasgow, &c. Mr. M'Culloch's letter to Mr. Whitefield, N<sup>o</sup> 35.—Mr. Hamilton's to Mr. Prince, Sept. 17th, 1742, N<sup>o</sup> 10.—Mr. M'Laurin's to Mr. Cooper, Aug. 9th, 1743, N<sup>o</sup> 77.



Balfour minister of said parish, at the desire of Mr. Sutherland minister at Golspy, and transmitted to me by him.

The revival of religion in the parish of Nig in East Ross, has been upon the advance since the year 1730, though for most part in a gradual flow way, and with several stops and intermissions at times. As to new awakenings, the most considerable concern appeared in 1739; then several persons awakened (and who had never done it before) applied to the minister about their spiritual interest, each day in the week, for one week, Saturday not excepted.—The awakening which has been here from time to time (and which continues still in some desirable measure, by which is meant the accession of such as did not before profess, or at least, did not declare a religious concern) has not been in that extraordinary way, for the number of persons awakened at a time, nor attended at all with such unusual bodily symptoms, as were in sundry instances the effect of awakenings in some other parts, and most unreasonably excepted to on such account merely, where the blessed work proceeded under a more plentiful effusion of the Spirit of grace, and where a more glorious display of the power and demonstration thereof attended the means of salvation. But in other respects the work of grace upon convinced souls here, appears to be in its rise, progress and issue, in the same scriptural way, and the same in kind and substance, as in these other parts, from which Narratives have come to hand. Very few, not one in forty, who have been awakened, have fallen off from a religious profession or given open scandal to it. The general meeting for prayer and spiritual conference, which some time consisted only of the members of session, and a few others, became at length so numerous, that about three years ago, it was necessary to divide it into two, each of which is since considerably increased. Besides these general meetings, which convene in two places of the parish at a proper distance, each every third Monday respectively, and in which the minister always presides, there are ten societies which meet in several places of the parish every Saturday for prayer and other religious exercises. Care is taken that in each of these societies, one or more of the elders, or some Christians of distinguished experience, be always present; and nothing as yet appears about them, but what has a tendency to promote the most valuable ends and interests of religion. Besides those who have applied for access to the meetings, and who are not admitted till after giving some account of their concern to the minister, as also to some of the elders, and other Christians in their neighbourhood, the body of the parishioners seem generally to be under serious impressions of religion. Worship is kept up in all the families of the parish, except three or four. The Lord's-day is very solemnly observed. After the public worship is over, there are meetings in all parts, where neighbouring families join in prayer, reading, and repetitions of sermons, and yet care is taken, that such meetings and exercises do not interfere with, nor hinder the more private exercises of religion in each family apart. Ordinances are very punctually attended on Lord's-days; and diets of catechising, in whatever part of the parish they are kept on week-days, are much crowded by people from other parts. The civil magistrate has had no crimes here

to animadvert upon for many years; and the kirk session has very little else to do, but to inform, and consult about the religious concerns of the parish, and to concert how these may be looked after and managed to greatest advantage. And it is specially to be remarked, that the people are very diligent and industrious in their secular callings, and more forward in the business of their husbandry, than their neighbours in other parts of the country.

There is the like appearance of success to the gospel in other parishes in this country, particularly the parishes of Rosekeel and Killimuir Easter, of which the ministers of these parishes may give information, as they are known to have the advancement of the great interest [of the gospel] much at heart.—The people here were much refreshed with the several accounts they have had of the glorious work of God elsewhere, and particularly in these parts of our native country, where the same appears with such blessed and shining evidences of the divine power and presence with ministers and people. They affectionately remember both, in prayer and conference; and are much afflicted on account of the reproaches cast upon this blessed work, and the contradiction and opposition given it, by those of whom this would be least expected.—As notes have not been taken in writing of past occurrences and cases, it is judged the safer way to give this general account of matters only at this time; though it is not doubted if particular cases and instances were recollected, with their special circumstances, a Narrative of them would be entertaining and edifying to all that have a relish and value for such subjects.

[ From Mr. Balfour's Letter, dated Nig June 20th, 1744.—Robt's Monthly History for 1744, N<sup>o</sup> 6. page 39, &c. ]

R. D. B. Since February last, that I sent you a state of the revival of religion in this parish, the work of awakening has proceeded upon new subjects more currently than in any former period, and still continues, to the praise of free grace; with severals it appears to be more distinct and lively than formerly.

The far greater number that profess religion in this parish are illiterate, and understand only the Irish language. All that I shall say of the language is, that it is no disadvantage to their edification and instruction in religion. I never conversed with more intelligent, savory, and distinctly exercised private Christians, than some illiterate men in this country, or that challenged, and got more respect on a religious account from all sorts of persons of their acquaintance. It is surprising to observe with what industry many, especially of the younger sort, endeavoured to acquire reading. Some read the Psalms in Irish metre, and teach others in the same way, without knowing or attending to the power of letters, or the use of syllabication, by considering words as complex characters, which are to be always pronounced in the same way. Some of the elder sort likewise recover their reading, which they had been taught young, but neglected and had forgot afterwards. But as the generality are still illiterate, that disadvantage is much made up to them, by the hearing of others read the scriptures and other good books, which they translate currently as they read, and without any

stop. Such a readiness has been acquired this way, that it is become very practicable to those that understand both languages. This way of reading is one of the exercises performed in the several weekly meetings for prayer, as also in many families. By these means the knowledge of the scriptures, and practical religion is greatly increased. It is really astonishing to me to observe what a copious and pertinent use of the scriptures many illiterate persons have acquired, and with what a readiness and fluency they pray in scripture language. I love not to make comparisons, nor at all to exaggerate things, but I must be allowed to declare ingenuously, they oft fill me with a conscious blush, when I am among them, and hear them praying, as well as speaking to religious cases. Thus in the most literal sense, "Faith comes by hearing." *Surgunt indocti, et Coelum rapiunt.* The men of letters dispute Heaven, these live it. O what a sweet significancy is there in our Lord's words, "to the poor the gospel is preached," *πρωτὶ ἐνγγελίζονται.* The poor are evangelized. There must be something else intended than the external administration, for that was offered then, and still is, to all as well as to the poor. I cannot conceive of what is peculiar in it, but what the apostle mentions, Rom. vi. 17. and the accomplishment of one of the great Old Testament promises under the evangelical dispensation, Isa. lvii. 13. accommodated by our Lord, John vi. 45. I beg the help of your prayers still, and that you kindly remember me to the worthy brethren in your bounds, particularly Messrs. M'Laurin and Corse. I am with most affectionate regard, &c. JOHN BALFOUR.

P. S. The subsequent account of the state of religion in the parish of Rosekeen, which lies within six miles of the town of Tain, was lately transmitted to me by the minister of that parish, and is transcribed verbatim. The worthy man in his letter to me, desires such corrections may be made in the stile, as may be needful, to fit it for public view, in case you think proper to publish it. This I leave to you to do therein as you shall see occasion.

[ State of Religion in the Parish of Rosekeen.—Robe's Monthly History for 1744, N<sup>o</sup> vi. page 45, &c. ]

Mr. Daniel Beton, minister of the gospel at Rosekeen was transported to that populous parish 1717, and is the first Presbyterian minister there since the restoration. The Lord blessed the ministry of his word there at the beginning, so far, that he was encouraged to celebrate the sacrament of the Lord's supper in the year 1721, though he had then but six or seven of his own parishioners that were admitted, as far as he can remember. There was a pleasant appearance of good in his parish, for nine or ten years thereafter: the number of serious persons encreasing, love and holiness maintained among them. Such of these as are yet in time (as most of them are) seem to be growing in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. But from the year 1732, to the year 1742, things were much at a stand, comparatively; tho' during that space, one and one was engaged to the Lord, and a testimony left in the conscience of some, which appeared thereafter, and the Lord's hand held to them whom he had prevailed with more

early. But from the Harvest 1742, to Martinmas 1743, or thereby (which he reckons the most remarkable period of his ministry in that place) there came a surprising revival and stir among the people of this parish; about the number of six and thirty men and women fell under a concern about their salvation, during that period; were some weeks thereafter received into the monthly fellowship meeting in the parish; several of them were admitted since that time to the Lord's table, and others of them are to be admitted, if the Lord shall spare them and their minister, who is much broken in his constitution by sharp afflictions of different kinds.—This work began most sensibly about the end of October 1742. He found, by conversing with these persons, that the subjects the Lord blest most for their awakening, drawing, and encouraging them (together with close catechising through his parish) were Hosea xiii. 13. "He is an unwise son, for he should not stay long in the place of the breaking forth of children." And, Gal. iv. 19. "My little children of whom I travail in birth again, till Christ be formed in you." And John iii. 3. "Except a man be born again," &c. But especially the first of these subjects was the principal mean of the first stir. In the general, some of them were plunged in the deeps of fear and despondency, and are still for most part: others have attained to more courage in a way of believing; and all of them as yet walk suitably to their profession. And it is hoped, the Lord has not ceased to add to the number of these: for this season some few are coming to the minister in a private way, to communicate the afflicted case of their souls by reason of their sin and misery; and honest people in the parish tell him, that others are upon the way of coming. The Lord knows what may come of these things, but we hope for the best.

Some children, boys and girls, in the easter end of the parish, about twelve in number, betwixt nine and fifteen years of age, began Winter last to meet in a private house, (the landlady being a godly poor widow) every Lord's-day evening, and Monday's night, where they exercise themselves in prayer by turns, singing, and conferring about what they hear in public. They keep strict discipline among themselves, and admit none into their society, but such as undertake to pray with them. At first some of the serious people of the place, hearing of it, came to over-hear them without their knowledge, who were greatly surprised and affected with their massy, sound expressions, and the favour they found with them in prayer. And now one or other of the serious people join often with them. They watch close over the behaviour of each other. They are constant hearers of the word, and examine one another about it. Their outward deportment is grave and quiet, without any childish levity yet discovered about them. They are illiterate, but fond of learning.

[ From Mr. Wood's Letter of the State of Religion in the Parish of Rosemarky, May 1st, 1744.—Robe's Monthly History for 1744, N<sup>o</sup> 6. p. 47, &c. ]

R. and D. S. It is indeed but a day of very small things with us, in comparison with the goings and steps of the majesty of our God and King in his sanctuary with you, and elsewhere; but ill would it become us

to despise even that, or even conceal or disown it; though I know a more public mentioning of it requires much prudence and caution, much of a single eye and upright heart.—The least gracious revival is the more remarkable to me, as I had been groaning under the burden of labouring in vain, as to any considerable appearance of success for several years before.—Of the few professors of serious religion in the place, the most lively and judicious were removed by death.—In such melancholy circumstances, it must be peculiarly refreshing, that the Lord of his own mere goodness should in any measure have visited us. His coming was not indeed with observation; being attended with none of these more extraordinary circumstances, as in some other places, but in a gentle gradual way.—Since the communion here in July last, the bulk of the congregation seem to have a desire after instruction, and the knowledge of the gospel, much greater than formerly. And this holds with respect to the more private as well as more public ordinances; for, in the course of my examinations last Winter and Spring, I never had so little reason to complain of absents, being crowded where-ever I went, by persons from other corners of the parish, besides those who were then to be catechised.—There are now about thirty persons of different ages and sexes, who since that time, have come to me under convictions and awakenings of conscience, through the word. Upon conversing with them, I found severals had been under some gradual work of this sort for a good time before, (some two years) though they never discovered it till now.—There are now four praying societies in different corners of the parish, (some whereof meet weekly, some once in the two weeks) besides a general meeting with myself once a month. I am informed by some of the serious people, of several others in their respective neighbourhoods, to the number of fourteen or sixteen, who seem to have some promising appearances of a spiritual concern beginning in them, but they have not yet been to speak with me; and indeed I have found none of them forward to discover any thing of this kind, as long as they were able to conceal it.—I would fain hope, what of this kind we have met with, are only some drops and forerunners of a plentiful shower, wherewith the Lord of his sovereign goodness, which he has prepared for the poor, will refresh this corner of his weary heritage, as he has done other corners.—I am the more earnest in this longing expectation, when I observe the stedfast eyes, the piercing looks, the seemingly serious and greedy desires of many in the congregation at times in hearing the word, who as yet have discovered their concern of soul in no other way. And indeed one principal view I have in this, is to engage your interest at a throne of grace, and that of such of the friends and children of Zion, as you think proper to communicate it to; that you and they would strive mightily in prayer for us, and give the great Lord of the vineyard no rest, till he look down upon this poor desolate countryside, and this parish in particular, that is under some peculiar disadvantages, and turn our wilderness into a fruitful field.—I see mention made in the same number of your History, of some other parishes in this synod, as Nig, &c. I doubt not you'll have more distinct information

sent you, of what of the Redeemer's grace and power is appearing there, and at Rosekean and Killimuir. I have heard likewise comfortable accounts in the same kind of the parish of Logie (whose worthy minister is lately called home). All these are in the presbytery of Tain. I have also had very agreeable accounts of the success of the gospel in the parishes of Alneth and Kilearn in the presbytery of Dingwal. In this presbytery of Chanry, there is at Cromerty a good number of lively, solid, and judicious Christians gathered in, by the ministry of their godly and judicious, and now aged pastor, Mr. George Gordon, and their number has considerably increased of late. The work of the gospel is likewise advancing in Kirkmichael, where I am informed there were fifteen new communicants admitted at the last communion there. —I hear likewise of some promising stir beginning in the parish of Avoh. R. and D. S. &c. JOHN WOOD.

[ From Mr. Balfour's Letter, dated January 29th, 1745.—Robe's Monthly History for 1745, N<sup>o</sup> 2. page 30. ]

R. and D. B. "I have further to add, to the praise of Sovereign Grace, that matters proceed still in my parish as formerly. New awakenings continue, and these formerly awakened persevere, and I hope are making progress in Christian experience.—Sometime ago, I had notice from Mr. Beton at Rosekean, signifying, that there were then about nine persons awakened, since the account I had sent Mr. Robe of that parish; as I had likewise from Mr. Sutherland, that there was a beginning of that kind in his parish, where about six or seven had come under a concern. This is certainly very refreshing to the good man, who longed much for such effects of his ministry, and greatly lamented the want of them."

[ From Mr. Balfour's Letter, dated May 22d, 1745.—Robe's Monthly History for 1745, N<sup>o</sup> 3. page 61. ]

It will no doubt be very agreeable to you, and our other friends and brethren,—to hear that I had yesterday a letter from Mr. Sutherland at Golspy, in which he writes thus,—“I often regreted to you the wretched situation of my parish in former times; but since the beginning of November last, the Lord has in his wonderful mercy granted cause of praise and thanksgiving: for from that time there have been about, or upwards of sixty persons come to me under kindly awakenings of conscience, many whereof have since that time been helped so to advance and increase in knowledge and experience, that the work appears to be from the Spirit of God. Sundry of them have felt such shocking temptations from the malicious spiteful enemy, that I must still conclude, it must be a work destructive of Satan's interest.” Thus far he; and I shall offer but one remark about it, which is, that the commencement and progress of this blessed event falls in with that of the concert<sup>a</sup>, and I think should be improved for our encouragement in prosecuting it, as I hope the Lord will afford many more such encouragements.

a The concert for prayer. See Sect. v. of this Chap.

[ From Mr. Sutherland's Letter, dated Golspy May 8th, 1745.—Robe's Monthly History for 1745, N<sup>o</sup> 3. page 64. ]

I had a thanksgiving-day in the parish three weeks ago, on account of this manifestation of grace; and I began, at their desire, a weekly-lecture on Wednesday last; and I was told since that day, that the Lord gave countenance, by awakening one that day, who came not yet to me.—

[ From Mr. Sutherland's Letter, dated Golspy Aug. 8th, 1745.—Robe's Monthly History for 1745, N<sup>o</sup> 5. page 130, &c. ]

R. and D. B. I was favoured with yours, &c.—This parish of Golspy, in the county of Sutherland, was for some time before the year 1688, become a sanctuary (by means of the family of Sutherland's steady adherence to the interests of religion, and by means also of their residence in the parish) to sundry eminent Christians persecuted from a neighbouring county, for their non-compliance with the grievous impositions of the times. These refugees might with safety have returned to their native country immediately after the happy revolution; yet such was their gratitude to the foresaid noble family, that they chused rather to spend the remainder of their days in their respective callings, under the wings that covered them in their distress. Hereby, through the blessing of God, religion flourished in the parish during the forty years ministry of Mr. Walter Denune, my immediate predecessor, who also, before his settlement, suffered much from the fury of the period above-mentioned, as Woodrow's History narrates.—At my admission to the ministry in this parish in the year 1731, there was a goodly number of devout Christians in the place, some whereof were the posterity of these refugees. But in a few years after my said admission, sundry of the serious people were called to the joy of their Lord; whilst we who survived them found cause to bewail that; but few were wrought upon to fill up their places. It is true, in that long period of time from the year 1731, to the year 1744, there were some awakened, who, to this day, adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour, yet their number was so very small, and the scandals of others amongst us so frequent and heinous, that I often concluded my time and labours were almost lost.

In this uncomfortable state of things, and amidst my greater fears than hopes, I took care to notify to the people, the blessed and wonderful success of the gospel in the British colonies of America, so soon as I had certain accounts of it, by the printed declarations of Messrs. Edwards and Cooper, and others. I likewise communicated to them the displays of divine mercy and grace, your congregation, that of Cambuslang, and sundry other congregations in the West and South of Scotland were so highly honoured with, immediately after I found that blessed work so well attested by you, by Mr. Willison of Dundee, Mr. Webster of Edinburgh, and by sundry more of our brethren of unquestionable credit. After my return from the assembly 1743, I also reported to them, what with great joy I had myself observed of the Lord's work, when with you at Kilsyth, and at Muthil, and Cambus-

lang, in my way to that assembly; if by these means I might provoke the people to emulation; yet no success was observed.—In the month of August 1743, after the administration of the sacrament of the holy supper at Nig, at which I assisted, for some short time thereafter I lamented, to our dear and worthy brother Mr. Balfour, the wretched security of the generality of the people of my parish, and my unsuccessful ministrations amongst them. He thereupon reported, how much cause he had to bless the Lord, for the success of the gospel amongst his people, from the time he had constituted societies for prayer in his parish: immediately I resolved to essay the like means in imitation of his successful example; and, in consequence thereof, and on my return to my charge, I communicated this design to some of the serious people of my parish, and directed them to meet in three distinct societies on Saturday evenings, with earnest recommendations to them to pray for the influences of the Spirit of God to accompany the ministration of gospel-ordinances in the place. This number called the rest of the communicants together, and soon set about the duty according to recommendation; but could observe no remarkable change wrought on any for the space of a year thereafter.—But when our hopes were almost gone, the great and bountiful God, who ever does wonders, was mercifully pleased to breathe upon a number of dry bones, and to visit them with his salvation: for, from the beginning of November last, to the date hereof, there were upwards of seventy persons came to me under various exercises of soul. A few of this number, who had visited me in or about November last, told, among other things, that they had been for sundry months bowed down in spirit under a sense of their aggravated guilt; but, for reasons they mentioned, could not get themselves prevailed with to disclose their sad circumstances to any till then. Soon after this hint I shewed to the congregation in a doctrinal way, that it was the duty of awakened sinners, next to their application to a throne of grace, to lay open their sense of sin and misery to ministers and experienced Christians, lest through want of appointed helps, Satan and lusts might get advantages of them. This public notice given, so far encouraged such as were awakened before or after that date, that they afterwards resorted to me frequently as their occasions required. [After speaking of the exercises and temptations of the awakened, he adds] With regard to their conversion, I may affirm, that the change to the better is evident in their lives, as their neighbours testify of them.—This work was advanced in some by quicker, and in others by slower degrees; yet in both a decent, grave and solemn deportment, or shedding abundance of tears, which they concealed all they were able, were all the visible signs we had, in time of hearing, of the inward concern of their minds. And by reason of the silence and calmness that accompanied this work in its beginning or progress hitherto, we have heard of none that ventured to reproach it. About forty of them have, with weeping eyes and trembling hands, received tokens for the Lord's table at the late solemn ordinance here, and it is hoped, the rest will be encouraged to follow their example in a little time.—With respect to the effects produced on their bodies, some have told, that they have



been deprived of many nights rest, others of many hours of almost every night, in which they were deeply exercised with the apprehensions of the wrath of God, or much comforted. Some have for some time almost lost their appetite for their natural food, or forgot to eat bread at their set meals. Others felt their bodily strength and health much impaired; and a few have owned, they had felt bodily tremblings on some occasions; but besides, heard no other effects on their bodies.—I must further remark, that since the beginning of this work, those of a long standing in religion, have been sensibly revived and enlarged, and are much comforted now with what they observe in others, and are very assisting to them. Even the secure multitude attend ordinances better, and seem to listen to the word preached with greater attention than before.—The far greater number of the awakened, are of ages from twenty to fifty years; few of them below twenty, and four only from sixty to seventy. They are of the farmers and tradesmen, or their wives and servants, and but few of their children; and amongst them are seven widows in low circumstances.—The terrors of the Lord denounced in his word against the wilful transgressors of his holy laws, and the impenitent unbelieving despisers of his gospel grace; the impossibility of salvation on the score of self-righteousness; the absolute necessity of the efficacious influences of the grace and Spirit of God, in order to a vital union with Christ by faith, for righteousness and salvation; that all the blessings of the new covenant, freely given by the Father to the elect, and purchased for them by the sufferings and death of Christ the Son, are effectually applied to them by the Holy Ghost, were the doctrines insisted on to the people of this congregation. Those wrought upon have told me, that a course of lectures on the Gospel according to Matthew, especially the conclusion, that narrates the sufferings, death and resurrection of Christ, together with sermons preached on Deut. xxxi. 21, 22. Eph. iv. 30. 1 Pet. iv. 17, 18. to which I subjoined 2 Pet. ii. 9. Eph. v. 14. and Matth. xxii. 4. were the means the Lord had blessed to their edification.—To conclude, the change on fundry amongst us was so remarkable, that we saw good cause to set a day apart for thanksgiving to God, for what of his work appeared to us.—I have also enquired into the state of the religious concerns in the parish of Rogart, adjacent to this: and by the report I had, find, that in the year 1740, there were fifteen persons awakened in that parish; that the foresaid fifteen, with a few other serious persons, felt themselves, in the years 1741 and 1742, fallen under sad decays of soul, and observed, that others in the parish were remaining under their former stupidity; that thereupon they had associated for prayer, and at their meetings mourned and wept over the causes of the Lord's withdrawals from their own souls, and prayed earnestly for powerful days of the Son of Man; and that in the years 1743 and 1744, especially the former, there were about fifty more of the people awakened, and that they are in a hopeful way. I intreat you to assist us to praise the bountiful hand that hath, in some measure, been opened to supply our great necessities already, and that you continue your supplications for our country-side, and for this flock in particular.—I offer my hearty re-

spects to our dear brother Mr. M'Laurin of Glasgow. I kindly salute the two pleasant societies I saw at Kilsyth. I am, &c.

JOHN SUTHERLAND.

#### SECTION IV.

*The Perseverance of Numbers of the Subjects of the above Revival, attested in 1751, by the following Ministers,—Mr. Robe,—Mr. Warden,—Mr. Erskine,—Mr. Hally,—Mr. Baine.—Mr. M'Laurin,—Mr. M'Culloch.*

[ From the Conclusion of Mr. Robe's Narrative. ]

I am now to conclude my Narrative of this extraordinary work at Kilsyth, &c. with this article concerning the perseverance of these who appeared to be converted in this and other parishes of the neighbourhood, in the year 1742 and 1743. It hath been long delayed, and in the opinion of several, who often called upon me to finish it with such an article, too long.

[After observing the providential seasonableness of publishing it at this time, in answer to what was falsely alledged abroad by some that were unfavourable to a like blessed work in Holland, viz. "That this work in Scotland was come to nothing, and that the subjects of it were fallen away, and become worse than they were before."—And, after impartially declaring that there were many of the awakened, whose convictions and impressions ceased without coming to any good issue, —he observes, there were a considerable number of the awakened who gave him, and others, good reason to hope well of them, and charitably to conclude, that they had undergone a saving change<sup>a</sup>.—And that these, a few excepted, continue to this day to have their conversation such as becometh the gospel.—And adds,]

There are two things I expressly assert, and am able to make good, that of those who were judged hopefully converted, and made a public profession of religion, there have been fewer instances of scandal and apostacy than might be and was expected: yea, further, that there hath been fewer instances of apostacy of these, than of those who gave me hopes of their conversion in former years, in proportion to their numbers.

[Then, after owning, with grief, that many of them had lost much of the liveliness they had for some years.—And that several of the numerous societies for prayer were ceased; for which he assigns several other reasons, besides degrees of backsliding, and coldness of love.—He says,]

I have this further to add concerning the hopeful subjects we speak of, that I never had such satisfaction and clearness in admitting any others to the Lord's table, as I have had in admitting them; and that there are few or none gave me such comfort and satisfaction about their spiritual state and condition, as these do, when they have been sick or dying, or in any other state of trial or affliction. A few of them, after that they had lived several months or years, to outward appearance, walk-

<sup>a</sup> That he was not very forward to do this, See above, page 374.

ing worthy of the Lord to all well-pleasing, have been taken from us by death.—And is it not a part of that charity which thinketh no evil, and hopeth all things, to hope that these [others,] who have continued so many years blameless and harmless, shall continue so unto the end? For this reason I required the following attestation of the kirk-session, only to the perseverance of these persons, who had been blameless in their lives, according to the measure of good Christians; leaving out those, who had fallen into gross sins, although they had given good evidences of their repentance; as also, those who had some things which some one or other of the session complained of, and wanted to have them admonished for, even where these things, if true, were not sufficient grounds to doubt of their conversion. Yea, it was said in the session, by some members, and not contradicted by others, that there were several omitted in the list of persons proposed to the session, as hopeful as those who were inserted, and who are from time to time admitted to the Lord's table; and who would have been admitted, if the holy supper had been dispensed in the congregation at this time; tho' indeed, after warnings and admonitions, suitable to the verity and importance of the complaints made. But I chuse rather to lessen the number of the persons attested, to cut off occasion of cavilling, and objection from those who desire and wait for it.—I shall now subjoin an extract from the session minutes of the attestation referred to.

Manse of Kilsyth, March 19th, 1751.—The session being met for prayer, according to a former appointment; the minister read unto them the names of above an hundred persons, who were the most of them brought under notour spiritual concern, in the years 1742, and 1743; and of whom he had good ground to entertain good hopes.—The under-subscribing members of the session, elders and deacons, hereby testify and declare, That all those of them, who are now alive, have been, from year to year, admitted by the kirk-session to the Lord's table, since their first admission, either in these fore-mentioned years, or since; and, in as far as is known to the said members, they have had their conversation such as becometh the gospel; as also, that four or five of the said list, who are now removed by death, behaved until their said removal, as became good Christians. The above testimony, written by Ebenezer Paterfon, session-clerk, is subscribed day and date foresaid, by John Lapllie, Alexander Patrick, Henry Ewar, James Miller, elders, and John Ranken deacon.

March 24th, 1751.—The which day, the session being met, the persons names being read before the members present, that were read in the meeting of the session upon the 19th of this current; and the said absent members did now subscribe the foresaid testimony, viz. Robert Graham, Andrew Provan, Henry Marshal, David Auchinvoll, Walter Kirkwood, elders. William and David Shaw, James Ranken, James Zoull, Mark Scot, deacons.

I now proceed to insert letters I have received, [part of which follows.]

[ From a Letter from Mr. Warden, Minister formerly at Campsie, now at Perth, dated March 26th, 1748. ]

R. and very D. S. In answer to yours, desiring me to inform you of what I know as to the perseverance of the subjects of that spiritual concern, which appeared so remarkably in the years 1742, and 1743, I might refer you to what I wrote you of the 16th of December 1743. The particulars of that, I can, with great freedom, re-attest: but, if you would have me more express, I do hereby attest, That of persons in the parish of Campsie, whose concern was known to me, there were not above four persons, of whom, at my leaving that place, I could conclude, that they were fallen from their profession. There were others, of whom I knew little particularly, as I had very few opportunities of conversing with them; but whose practice, as far as I could observe, was unblameable. And, with great pleasure, I yet think on many of them, of whom I could not but entertain the greatest hopes. A solid and lively sense of divine things seems to fill them with love to God, humility, self-deniedness, meekness and charity: and a jealousy of themselves, and their own attainments, seems to animate them with a peculiar earnestness in every religious exercise. In a word, their devotion is exemplary; and remarkably produces the fruits of religion in a regular and industrious discharge of relative and social duties. I hope God will strengthen what he has wrought for them, and their fellow-Christians in Kilsyth, and the neighbourhood, &c. JOHN WARDEN.

[ From a Letter from Mr. Erskine, Minister at Kirkintilloch, Feb. 22d, 1751. ]

R. D. B. My sentiments of the religious concern in this place are the same, as when I wrote you April 1748. If I understand any thing of the Bible, it obliges me to judge charitably of every profest Christian, who understands the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and whose conversation is as becometh the gospel; I mean; whose behaviour is pious and devout, sober and temperate, humble and patient, just and honest, meek, charitable and forgiving. Such has been the behaviour of most of the subjects of the late religious concern in this place. The joy which some of them have expressed in the immediate view of death and eternity; the patience and resignation others of them have discovered under very heavy afflictions; their meekness under injuries and reproaches; their contributing, to their power, yea, and some of them beyond it, for the relief of the afflicted in propagation of the gospel; and the candid teachable disposition I have observed in most of them, even when I have thought it my duty to oppose some of their favourite opinions or practices, are things which argue them animated by another spirit, than most among whom they live.—I am persuaded that a thorough acquaintance with these people would effectually remove the prejudices of fair and honest minds. I am, &c. JOHN ERSKINE.

[ From a Letter from Mr. Hally Minister at Muthil, February 26th, 1751. ]

R. D. B. Yours of the 20th I received upon the 25th instant; and in answer thereunto, the remembrance of the glorious goings of our

God and King in his sanctuary in this place in the years 1742, and 43 gives me still much pleasure, and cannot but beget a longing to see such days of the Son of man again. I am fully persuaded that the gracious fruits of that work will abide with many in this congregation, to eternal ages. I never did expect that all that were awakened should arrive at a real conversion. I doubt not but when the Spirit of the Lord is in some extraordinary way concurring with gospel ordinances for the conversion of the elect, but others may feel of his common operations, which may vanish as a morning cloud. About six of these persons that were the subjects of that glorious work (I have all reason to believe) are gone to partake of the first remaining for the people of God. As they had a gospel-walk, so at their death they gave a notable testimony to the truth and reality of religion; some of them who had been long in the dark about their state, at evening with them it was light, doubts and fears dispelled, and an abundant entrance ministered unto them, to the heavenly kingdom of our Lord. There are a great many in this and some neighbouring parishes, yet living, who were the subjects of that work, to whom it has been saving so far as men can judge: if we are to judge the tree by its fruits. Their walk being (as to human observation) such as becometh the gospel, nothing (so far as I have been informed) appearing about them inconsistent with a gracious state. There are indeed both with them and Christians of a longer standing, great complaints of much deadness, withdrawing of the spirit, and suspending of his influences, from public ordinances, private and secret duties; which I am informed, is a general calamity over the whole national church at this day, and no wonder that it be so, all things considered. I am &c. WILLIAM HALLY.

[ From a Letter from Mr. Baine, Minister at Killern, April 18th, 1751. ]

R. and D. S. I cannot but reflect upon it with sorrow, that during the late revival, the subjects of religious concern in this place were but few; there being scarcely eight persons upon whom it was then visible: but it will give you pleasure to know, and you may rely on it; that of these there are three or four who continue to give most satisfying evidence of their being affectionate disciples of the Redeemer; and particularly some of them are among the most eminent private Christians, I was ever acquainted with, being remarkably poor in spirit, and humble in their walk with God, frequently blessed with high measures of sensible communion with him, and fervent in love to the whole of human kind, even their enemies. What pity that some of our dear brethren in the ministry and others who have no access to see this grace of God, or by some unlucky means disbelieve it, should be deprived of a cause of joy which makes glad the inhabitants of heaven itself. I am &c. JAMES BAINE.

[ From a Letter signed by twenty-five Members of Session in Glasgow, March 26th, 1751. ]

R. S. We subscribers, members of the kirk-sessions of Glasgow, understanding that ye are collecting proper informations, anent the reputed subjects of the late revival of religion in the year 1742, and about that time; in answer to an inquiry, whether all of them, or the gene-

rality of them, have proven backsliders, as it would appear is alledged by some at distant places? we judging it our duty, to embrace this opportunity, do attest, from our personal knowledge of several of these persons, and from credible information from persons of undoubted characters, who know many of them, that the said unfavourable allegation is not fact; but that to this present time, goodly numbers of them, both in town and country, who were looked upon to have obtained a gracious out-gate under their awakenings and convictions, and were admitted to the ordinance of the Lord's supper; give the same kind of evidence of their perseverance, that founds a judgment of charity in others cases. That whereas, an estimate was made in the year 1743, of our additional communicants; and was published in your Monthly History for December in that year, being N<sup>o</sup> 2<sup>a</sup>.—we reckon, that that computation was very moderate; and think it requisite to observe, that, preceeding the time of this revival, for a course of years, for ordinary there was, at most, only about fifty-four tables of communicants, at giving of the Lord's supper in this place, containing about three thousand six hundred communicants: and, since that, to this time, there has been little or no decrease of these numbers, amounting, in all, to four thousand eight hundred persons: and, that the number of backsliders, since that time, so far as we know, or have been able to learn, is, comparatively, small: that severals of those persons, who were the subjects of the late revival as above, and have since died, gave comfortable evidences of their perseverance to the end. Had it been needful and expedient, we could have been more particular, both as to the numbers and names of those we write of. That preceeding this reviving period, as religion seemed to be at a low ebb, and like to degenerate in its life and power, to meer form: the benefits of this revival were not confined simply unto those above-noticed, said to be the subjects of this work; but, also, great numbers, who, in the judgment of charity, might be termed God's own people, (many of whom of long standing) did share deeply in these extraordinary showers of the divine influences, to their great joy, confirmation, and up-building: so that, it is with much pleasure, they do reflect upon that ever-memorable period: and we may add, that a very uncommon liberty, life and strength, was bestowed upon numbers of the ministers, who were employed at these places, (some of whom attended from very distant corners)—We have reason to bewail the misimprovement by ourselves and others, of such blessed days of the Son of Man; and we desire to join you and others, in supplicating him, with whom the residue of the Spirit is, for a more plentiful effusion than ever, of the Holy Spirit from on high, upon this, and all the reformed churches.—Wishing you all success and welfare, we are, &c.

[ From a Letter from Mr. McLaurin, one of the Ministers of Glasgow, May 8th, 1751. ]

R. D. B. When you are publishing attestations of the perseverance of goodly numbers of the subjects of the revival in 1742, and about that time: however much we here came short, at that period, of other pla-

a See above, page 380.

ces near us: yet, as that period did and still does appear to me the most extraordinary I ever saw, as to evidences of the success of the gospel: and, as I am almost the only minister of this town that was in that station here, during the whole of that period; and have had all along the evidence which things of this kind admits of, and which is sustained in other cases, of the perseverance of goodly numbers of these people: I judge it incumbent on me, on these accounts, to join with others, in attesting what is so fit to be remembered and recorded.—If facts that have the important character of public notoriety, are on that account, attended with distinguished moral evidence; that character appears plainly applicable to the fact relating to the increase of persevering communicants, so well attested by twenty-five members of sessions of this city, in a letter signed by them, and directed to you. It is proper to observe, that though it were only supposed, that one fourth part of the increase mentioned in that estimate, were inhabitants; it must far surpass any thing of that kind known here these twenty-eight years, that I have been a minister in this place; or, so far as I can learn, in the memory of any now living in it: though it is still to be much regretted, that there are not many more communicants, I mean worthy ones, in so populous a place: that after so uncommon an increase of communicants, as in the estimate referred to, had there been as numerous backslidings, as some aspersions must imply, a proportional increase of suspensions from the sacrament, must be presumed to have ensued; which is not the case: that continued admissions, are really continued attestations of the perseverance now inquired into; that the attestations implied in such admissions, and these contained in the above-mentioned paper, have the concurring characters, which, in other cases, render testimony valid, viz. that the witnesses are sufficient as to their character, their number, and their means of knowing what they testify: that among real backsliders, there are, through divine mercy, instances of returning backsliders: that some, who at first were much suspected to be deceivers, have, for a tract of time, given to those who know them best, strong proofs of their uprightness: that persons, whose conduct has occasioned reproach to the revivals, are not always found, upon inquiry, to be persons, whose profession of religion began at that period: that the favourable things above-mentioned, are far from being said in the way of mere charitable conjecture: that instead of that, they are the consequences of such evidence, as arises partly from extensive personal acquaintance with these persons, partly from occasional inquiries about them from time to time, partly from more laborious scrutinies, set on foot privately, both formerly, and of late, among persons attentive to such things. And lastly, that if any who possibly know only backsliders, can be supposed to claim a right of judging harshly of those, whom they own they do not know, by those whom they do know; merely, because the religious profession of both began about the same time or place: it must be easy for the unprejudiced to observe, what principles such reasoning must be built on, what consequences it must infer, and what affinity it has to some peoples way of judging of all professors of religion in general, at whatever time their profession began. I am, &c.

JOHN M'LAURIN.

[ From a Letter from Mr. McCulloch, April 30th, 1751. ]

[After calling to mind the glorious days of the gospel in 1742 and 1743: what a heaven upon earth some enjoyed.—He proceeds to some useful observations upon the parable concerning the seed falling upon the way-side, the stony ground and the thorny ground, of all which sorts there were at Cambuslang.—And adds]—Glory to God, setting aside all these that appeared under awakenings here in 1742, who have since remarkably backslidden, whether persisting in their backsliding or returning from it, there is a considerable number of the then awakened, that appear to bring forth [suitable] fruits. I do not talk of them at random, nor speak of their number in a loose general and confused way; but have now before me, at the writing of this, April 27th, 1751, a list of about four hundred persons, awakened here at Cambuslang in 1742, who from that time, to the time of their death, or to this, that is, for these nine years past, have been all enabled to behave, in a good measure, as becometh the gospel; by any thing I could ever see, and by the best information I could get concerning them by word or writing, from others of established characters for religion, who know them and their manner of life all along<sup>a</sup>.

[This he explains more particularly 1. negatively—I do not pretend to say that they are free of all faults and follies.—Or that this list is complete.—Or that they are all now alive.—Or to determine that they are all converted. But 2. positively—They have a Christian profession and an answerable conversation.—I know, partly by personal observation, partly by credible information from others that they practise justice and charity, relative duties, public-spiritedness, humility, meekness, patience, and a close and diligent attendance on gospel ordinances, heavenly-mindedness, watchfulness against all sin, especially these sins that used formerly easily to beset them.—The cursers and swearers have learned to speak of divine things with holy

<sup>a</sup> I am not free, at present, (says Mr. McCulloch, *Attestation*, page 57.) to publish any of their names, or these of the attestations: nor is it at all proper or needful to do so; but all the above number are severally attested, either by ministers, elders, or private Christians of established characters, who have known them, and their manner of life, from 1742; and all these attestations, in sum, bear not only, that such persons they mention, were awakened at Cambuslang in 1742, or were under convictions and remarkable concern there at that time; but that they have all along from that to their death, or to this time, behaved well, and as became their Christian profession, charitable allowances being made for involuntary weaknesses and infirmities, as to other Christians in this imperfect state.

<sup>b</sup> Some indeed further require (says Mr. McCulloch, *Attestation*, page 56,) that per-

sons who would have a place in their charity, should give some account of their experiences of the grace of God: and this is what a great number, perhaps above a fourth part of the persevering subjects here in 1742, have done. They gave me very particular accounts of God's dealings with their souls, in their first awakenings and outgates, with their following soul-experiences, distresses, deliverances, and comforts, in 1742, 1743, and 1744, and some of them also continued these accounts to 1748. And I set down very many of these from their mouths, always in their own sense, and very much also in their own words: and many of these accounts have appeared to competent judges, to whom they have been shewn, and who have perused them with care, to be very rational and scriptural, and worthy to see the light; which perhaps may be done hereafter.



awe<sup>d</sup>.—Such of them as used to be late in taverns; for these nine years past shun all occasions of that kind and keep at home and spend the night in Christian conference, things profitable to their families and in secret and family devotion.—The tipling sot that lay a-bed till eight or nine in the morning; for these nine years gets up at three or four in the morning to read and pray, till he calls his household together at seven or eight to family devotion.—Some wives who before 1742 were at variance with their husbands, have since that time lived in much love and peace with them.—Others, when the husbands passions break out against them in boisterous language run to another room to their knees, asking of God forgiveness and a better temper to the husband, and patience and meekness to herself.—The formerly covetous and selfish have got a public spirit.—They join cheerfully to their power, and some even beyond it, (so that I have sometimes seen it needful to check some of them for too large quotas or offers) in collections for promoting the interest of religion, or for relief of these in straits.—They carefully observe the concert for prayer.—They flock to the hearing of the word.—Are careful to prepare for the Lord's Supper and frequent in partaking of it at different places.—Abound much in prayer, not only in secret and in the family, but in fellowship meetings]. In 1731, when I came to this parish, there were three of these meetings in it. In 1742, they increased to a dozen or more; now they are decreased to six. In every town or village almost in this side of the country, where there is any competent number of serious lively Christians, and where religion is in a thriving way, there are of these societies for prayer; and the persevering subjects of the work I speak of, in parishes where any such persons are, always make a part of these societies. Tradesmen, who are members of them, and who work for so much a day; allow their employers to deduce so much from their days-wages, as answers to the time they happened to be absent at the meeting for prayer. Some of these societies, besides their ordinary fixed times for meeting, which is usually once a week in the evening; have also their meetings for fasting and prayer upon extraordinary occasions; as sudden tidings of remarkable losses or dangers to any of their concerns; or of events whereby it appears that the interest of religion is in great danger. And sometimes the Lord gives much of his gracious presence and of a

a I have to say, for my own part, (says an aged and experienced Christian, in his letter to Mr. McCulloch, Attestation, page 45,) that I am able to go to death with it, that the Spirit of God was so powerfully at work in Cambullang, that not only sinners, who knew nothing of God before, were reached both by conviction and conversion, but even saints themselves were made to attain to that which they had been strangers to in the matters of religion. I am able, if time would allow, to give a most satisfying account, of not a few, both men and women, who I hope will bless God to all eternity for that happy time; particularly, there were among others, two young men living not far from me, who came over to you

in 1742, on purpose to mock the work; and, as they had formerly been horrid cursers and sweaters, the one swore to the other, he would go (see the falling at Cambullang, asking his comrade, if he would go with him to that place? The other swore he would go too, but that they should not make him fall, for that he would run for it. And upon their going there together, they were both caught the same day; and, for a quarter of a year after, they continued under very deep convictions, and have ever since kept fellowship-meetings weekly: and I have been sometimes with them, and heard them both pray and converse in Christian experience, to my great satisfaction.

spirit of prayer to his people in these, though, alas! not so much as in former times. Upon the whole, I think I may say, the Lord has done great things for us, whereof we are glad. To him alone be all glory and praise of whatever good was got or done, in that remarkable work of his grace. Amen. I am R. and D. S. Your affect. Br. and Servant WILLIAM M'CULLOCH.

[ From the Attestation of the Kirk-Session of Cambuslang April 30th, 1751. ]

Having heard the foregoing attestation read to us by our pastor, and having maturely considered the same, paragraph by paragraph, we do heartily join with him in said attestation; and hereby make it our own, being persuaded that it contains a just and true account of the extraordinary work here in 1742, and the comfortable abiding effects of it on many, probably more than the four hundred mentioned in the foregoing attestation; and particularly, as to about seventy of that four hundred, who lived in this parish in the year 42.; and who were among the awakened here that year, and from that time to this, or to the time of their death, lived, (so far as we know ourselves, or by credible information) in a blameless inoffensive way, and as becomes their Christian profession.—Tho' the most of the subjects of the awakening, whose exercise contained a mixture of strong fancy and imagination, are relapsed to their former sinful courses: yet, there are several instances of persons, whose exercises were mixed with fanciful apprehensions; and which they gave out to be real representations of objects and visions, are of the number of those who are persevering in a justifiable Christian profession, and unblemished conversation.—The decrease of the number of meetings for prayer, from about a dozen or more in this parish in the year 1742, to the number of six this present current year, mentioned by our pastor in his attestation, was occasioned not only by the backsliding of severals, that at the beginning of the revival, formed themselves into these meetings: but also, by the death of severals of the members, the removal of others from this parish; and by marriages of others, who were obliged to mind the affairs of their families. By all which, some of these meetings were quite broken up; and the remaining persevering members, have adjoined themselves to the subsisting societies within this parish, or to other societies for prayer, where providence hath now cast their lot.—The reason why we declare there are probably more than the four hundred persevering subjects of awakening contained in our minister's attestation, is, that when the list of the above subjects came to hand from other parishes, there were no account sent up from the west country, where we know great numbers of the subjects of the late work lived, and do live; and we doubt not, numbers of these have brought, and are bringing forth fruit with patience.—And now, upon the whole, we the under-subscribers, with the greatest freedom, after the most impartial inquiry and diligent care for information about the premisses, being all the elders belonging to the kirk-session of this parish, save one occasionally absent from this meeting, day and date aforesaid, do, hereto subscribe our names. Alexander Duncan elder. Archibald Fife elder. Ingram More elder. Claud Somers elder. Bartholomew Somers elder.

## SECTION V.

*Of the Concert for Prayer, begun 1744.—Renewed 1746.—A Proposal of renewing it again 1754.*

[ From the Preface to Mr. ROBE's Sermons. ]

THIS concert was first set on foot, spread, and carried on, without printing any thing about it for some time, in the way of private friendly correspondence, by letters in 1744. Afterwards some account of it was published in the Christian Monthly History for 1745, N<sup>o</sup> 1. Sometime after this, a considerable number of ministers in this country, in consequence of laudable advice from abroad, concurred in recommending the continuance of the concert for a greater number of years than what had been agreed to at first. Of all which there is an account in the following memorial, drawn up by the foresaid ministers, and by them sent to their correspondents both abroad and at home.

*Memorial from several Ministers in Scotland to their Brethren in different Places for continuing a Concert for Prayer, first entred into in the Year 1744.*

“Whereas it is the chief scope of that concern to promote more abundant application to a duty that is perpetually binding, prayer that our Lord's kingdom may come, joined with suitable praises : and it contained some circumstantial expedients apprehended to be very subservient to that design ; relating to stated times for such exercises ; so far as this would not interfere with other duties : particularly a part of Saturday evening, and Sabbath morning every week ; and more solemnly of some one of the first days of each of the four great divisions of the year, that is, of each quarter ; as the first Tuesday, or first convenient day after <sup>a</sup> : and the concert as to this circumstance was extended only to two years, it being intended, that before these expired, persons engaged in the concert should reciprocally communicate their sentiments and inclinations, as to the prolonging of the time : with or without alteration, as to the circumstance mentioned. As it was intended by the first promoters, that others at a distance should propose such circumstantial amendments or improvements, as they should find proper : it is hereby earnestly intreated, that such should communicate their sentiments accordingly, now that the time first proposed is near expired.—2. To induce those already engaged to adhere, and others to accede to this concert ; it seems of importance to observe that declarations of concurrence, the communicating and spreading of which, are so evidently useful, are to be understood in such a latitude as to keep at the greatest distance from entangling mens minds : not as binding men to set a-part any stated days from secular affairs ; or even to fix on any part of such and such precise days, whether it be convenient or not ; nor as absolute promises

a The meaning is, the first Tuesdays of February, May, August and November, or the first convenient days after these.

in any respect; but as friendly, harmonious resolutions; with liberty to alter circumstances as shall be found expedient: on account of all which latitude, and that the circumstantial part extends only to a few years; it is apprehended the concert cannot be liable to the objections against periodical religious times of human appointment.—3. It is also humbly offered to the consideration of ministers, and others furnished with gifts for the most public instructions; whether it might not be of great use, by the blessing of God, if short and nervous scriptural persuasives and directions to the duty in view, were composed and published, either by particular authors or severals joining together; which last way may sometimes have peculiar advantages; and that from time to time, without too great intervals: the better to keep alive on mens minds, a just sense of the obligations to a duty so important in it self, and in which many may be in danger to faint and turn remiss, without such repeated incitements; and whether it would not also be of great use, if ministers would be pleased to preach frequently on the importance and necessity of prayer, for the coming of our Lord's kingdom; particularly near the quarterly days or on these days themselves, where there is public worship at that time.—4. They who have found it incumbent on them to publish this memorial at this time, having peculiar advantages, of spreading it; entreat that the desire of concurrence and assistance contained in it, may by no means be understood as restricted to any particular denomination or party, or to those who are of such or such opinions, about any former instances of remarkable religious concern; but to be extended to all who shall vouchsafe any attention to this paper, and have at heart the interest of vital Christianity, and the power of godliness; and who, however differing about other things, are convinced of the importance of fervent prayer, to promote that common interest, and of scripture persuasives to promote such prayer.—5. As the first printed account of this concert was not a proposal of it, as a thing then to be begun; but a narration of it, as a design already set on foot; which had been brought about with much harmony, by means of private letters; so the farther continuance, and, 'tis hoped, the farther spreading of it seems in a promising way of being promoted by the same means; as importunate desires of the renewing of the concert, have been transmitted already from a very distant corner abroad, where the regard to it has of late encreased; but notwithstanding of what may be done by private letters, it is humbly expected, that a memorial spread in this manner, may, by God's blessing, farther promote the good ends in view; as it may be usefully referred to in letters, and may reach where they will not.—6. Whereas in a valuable letter, from the corner just now mentioned, as a place where regard to the concert has lately encreased, it is proposed, that it should be continued for seven years; or at least for a much longer time than what was specified in the first agreement; these concerned in this memorial, who would wish rather to receive and spread directions and proposals on this head, than to be the first authors of any, apprehend no inconvenience, for their part, in agreeing to the seven years, in the latitude above described, which reserves liberty to make such

circumstantial alterations, as may be hereafter found expedient: on the contrary it seems of importance, that the labour of spreading a concert which has already extended to so distant parts, and may, it is hoped, extend farther, may not need to be renewed sooner, at least much sooner; as it is uncertain but that may endanger the dropping of it; and it seems probable there will be less zeal in spreading of it, if the time proposed for its continuance be too inconsiderable. Mean time declarations of concurrence for a less number of years may greatly promote the good ends in view: tho' it seems very expedient that it should exceed what was first agreed on; seeing it is found on trial, that that time, instead of being too long, was much too short.——

7. If persons who formerly agreed to this concert should now discontinue it; would it not look too like that fainting in prayer, against which we are so expressly warned in scripture? And would not this be the more unsuitable at this time, in any within the British dominions, when they have the united calls of such public chastisements and deliverances, to more concern than ever about public reformation, and consequently about that which is the source of all thorough reformation, the regenerating and sanctifying influences of the almighty Spirit of God." [This Memorial is dated Aug. 26th 1746.

The reasons and advantages of such a concert for prayer may be seen in the Monthly History for 1745, N<sup>o</sup> 1. particularly from the middle of the 18th page to the end of the letter. Also the reader may find most excellent scriptural persuasives and directions to fervent and abundant prayer, for the public interests of religion in the Monthly History for 1746, N<sup>o</sup> 10. contained in remarks on the three first petitions of the Lord's prayer, by the learned and judicious author of the said letter.

I also refer the reader, for the utmost satisfaction on this point, to an excellent performance of Mr. Edwards, minister at Northampton in New-England, intitled, *An humble Attempt to promote explicate Agreement, and visible Union of God's People in extraordinary Prayer, &c.* That I may excite desires and endeavours after the perusal of such a pious, learned and ingenious essay, I shall here inform the reader of its contents. It is divided into three parts.——In the 1st, the text, Zech. vii. 20, 21, 22. is opened, and an account given of the concert for prayer proposed in the memorial from Scotland.——The 2d part contains motives to a compliance with what is proposed in the memorial, under the following titles,——The latter day glory not yet accomplished.——The great glory of the latter day.——The Holy Spirit the sum of Christ's purchase.——The latter day eminently the day of salvation.——How the creation travaileth in pain for that day.——Scripture precepts, encouragements, and examples of prayer for Christ's kingdom.——Dispensations of providence at this present day, with many motives to pray for it.——The beauty and tendency of uniting in such prayer.——The particular and great encouragement in the word of God to such an agreement in prayer.——The 3d part contains objections answered. The contents are,——No superstition in the case.——The concert not fanciful.——The concert not pharisaical.——The slaying the witnesses considered.——The fall of Antichrist approaching.——

The time not known before-hand.—The time not at a very great distance.—His fall will be gradual.—Good reason to hope, that that work of God's Spirit will soon begin, which will, in its progress, overthrow Antichrist and Satan's kingdom on earth.—The sixth vial probably now a fulfilling.—Antichrist's ruin speedily follows it.—However, if otherwise, yet our prayer will not be in vain.—Such an agreement no new thing.—The duty of agreeing to prayer no new duty<sup>a</sup>.—The like practised in 1712, with the wonderful consequents.—The conclusion. It hath a preface prefixed by the rev. Messrs. Sewall, Prince, Web, Foxcroft, and Gee, pastors in Boston, much esteemed in all the churches, who have also agreed to the concert, and in this preface recommend it in these words: "And this design we cannot but recommend to all who desire the coming of that blissful kingdom, in its promised extent and glory, in this wretched world."

[Then Mr. Robe adds several very moving arguments, from the misery of the unconverted world, &c. See preface to his sermons, page 13, &c. —In page 20, &c. he says,] Your zeal in this may provoke many to join in this glorious undertaking: and, on the other hand, your slackness or refusal may discourage those who have already entered into it. But more especially you, who, to appearance, zealously entered into it, and have now given it over, and restrain this extraordinary prayer from God, of which last sort, I am afraid, there are too many at this day. In letters we lately had from New-England, we have a very particular account of the great progress this concert hath made in these provinces. Many ministers, private Christians, yea, congregations and churches, have entered into it, and continue to enter. In one of these letters a minister of Christ writes, May 23d, 1749, "'Tis matter of great thankfulness and joy, that God puts it into the hearts of so many, in various parts, to unite in extraordinary prayer for the coming of Christ's kingdom: and surely it is a thing that bodes well. It would tend to cause this concert to prevail much more here, if we could hear that it was greatly spreading and prevailing on your side of the Atlantick, where it was first begun, and from whence it was first proposed to us. On the contrary, it will undoubtedly be a discouragement to people here, if they hear that the matter decays and languishes, or is come to a stand." Can you be easy, not only to faint and weary in this duty, you once thought so excellent and necessary, but also by this fainting to discourage your brethren, &c<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See an example of it in 1634, in *Rutherford's Letters*, Part 2d, Letter 17th, to lady Kenmure.—Another in two printed papers dispersed through Scotland, dated February 24th, and March 9th, 1732.—Another January 14th, 1745.

<sup>b</sup> Glasgow, June 24th, 1754. The time expressly agreed on for the continuance of the above concert, being elapsed, it has been proposed to renew it. Accordingly several members of the societies for prayer in this place have signed the following agreement: "June 3d, 1754, We whose names are sub-

scribed, agree, that the concert for prayer should be continued for seven years after this date." Such few members of societies in other places and ministers, to whom the proposal has been mentioned, have also agreed to it. It might have been mentioned to many more, and spread in private letters; had there not been an opportunity of inserting it here: It is therefore intreated that all into whose hands this may come, would join in to blessed a mean of promoting the kingdom of Christ. The Lord incline them to comply!

## C H A P. VII.

## Among the Indians in America.

## S E C T I O N I.

*Of the Indian Boys at Stockbridge<sup>a</sup>, (formerly Houffatonnock) maintained and instructed by the Charity of Mr. Isaac Hollis (a Minister near London.)*

[ From a Letter from Mr. Sargeant, Minister at Stockbridge<sup>b</sup>, to the above Mr. Hollis, dated April 7th, 1743.—Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 19. ]

R. S. You have a particular account of the laying out of your money in maintenance of your boys<sup>c</sup>.—Sundry of them have arrived at considerable degrees of knowledge; several appear virtuously disposed, and some to be affected with a divine sense and relish of things.—One in particular, on whom I have chiefly had my eye, and have in a special manner favoured, has made extraordinary progress in his learning, and appears a virtuous pious young man; and has been singularly serviceable to me in assisting me in my translations, expositions, and applications of the scripture; and has been very helpful, especially among the young people in a general religious concern that has of late prevailed among them; and been a great promoter of a religious meeting held among them every Lord's-day evening, for repeating what they hear in the day, and praying and singing. And he is well qualified to teach school among his countrymen; and after a few years more will probably be fit to be a preacher of the gospel among them. He has lived considerably with me, and is now lately improved as an interpreter for a young man now preaching to a number of Indians not far distant from us.—Two or three others of them have been and are serviceable in improving the rest of the Indians in knowledge and virtue. I entertain some thoughts of one's being sent as a missionary among his countrymen, to preach the gospel to them; two others of the younger ones promise very fair to prove virtuous, pious, and useful. I design to take one of them into my house, and spend what money of yours I have yet in my hands upon him, till I receive further orders from you.—A continued series of unwearied kindness to the Indians has, I think, at length intirely overcome their jealousies and suspicions; and an almost universal disposition to receive instruction, seems to prevail among them in these parts: I pray God increase it; and of late a reformation is very visible among us.—Also, a Moravian missionary, not far from hence, has, to appearance, had wonderful success among a number.—Sir, I have lately proposed, what has been for many years in my mind, a design to set up a free boarding-school in this place, for the education of

<sup>a</sup> Where Mr. Edwards is now minister.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Sargeant was ordained 1735, to be minister to the Indians there, many of whom

desired the gospel at that time. See Mr. Appleton's sermon at his ordination.

<sup>c</sup> The number was twelve.

Indian children; in which I propose that they shall be brought up to labour as well as learning, and the exercises of devotion; with which proposal the Indians now seem to be mightily taken; being sensible of their folly in having been formerly so backward to improve the advantages put into their hands. Whether Providence will so smile on the design, as to make it take effect, I know not; but am full of faith in the matter; and doubt not but we shall have your prayers, if not your assistance, although you have already been at so generous an expence for us; which has prepared the way for this design; for which the Indians seemed not disposed till now. But I can think of no better method, in a natural way, to change the whole state of the Indians in America; and to prepare them for an effectual reception of Christianity, to change their habit of wildness, and spread the knowledge of Christ through all their tribes: the disposition to these things seems more and more to prevail, and spread among them: may Almighty power effect the merciful purposes of Sovereign grace among them.—Sir, as to your making any allowance to me, for my care and trouble, of which you speak in your very obliging letter to me; I neither ask nor desire it; and beg of you not to think of it; for I should indeed be ashamed to accept any thing else of you (though my stated allowance is not large) but your intercessions at the throne of grace for me, of which I stand in great need. We can never be thankful enough to you, under God, for having put it in our power to do so much to promote our general design. Through your liberalities, thankgivings abound to God; who I am sure will reward your charity; and I doubt not but generations to come will bless your name; and you will find your reward in eternity.—I beg the favour of your correspondence, and a continual interest in your prayers for me, and the poor people, for whose salvation I have the honour and happiness to be employed.

JOHN SARGEANT,

## SECTION II.

*Of the blessed Influences of the divine Spirit on divers Tribes of the American Indians in the End of 1743, and Beginning of 1744.—Particularly the Narrangsets in Rhode-Island Colony, under the Ministry of Mr. Park.—Though they could not read, they abounded in gracious Experiences.—Warmly exhorted one another.—Their outward Change as to Decency, suitable to the inward.—Opposers silenced.—The Commissioners for the Indian Affairs willing to encourage a School among them.*

[ From the Christian History, N<sup>o</sup> 55, 56. ]

IT is no small part of the wonderful dispensation of the grace of God in the present day, [1743, 1744,] the surprising effusion of his Spirit on divers tribes in these ends of the earth, who would never before so much as outwardly receive the gospel, notwithstanding the attempts which have been made these hundred years to persuade them to it. Their extreme love of hunting, fishing, fowling, merry-meeting, singing, dancing, drinking, and utter aversion to industry, have rendered them ex-



extremely averse to the Christian religion: and though several tribes of them, both in Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, and in the island of Martha's-Vineyard, have been prevailed upon to hear the gospel, many among them hopefully converted, and divers churches gathered and maintained among them for near an hundred years: yet very small impressions of religion have been ever made till now, on the Mohegan Indians in Connecticut, and scarce any at all on the Montauk Indians in Long-Island, or the Narrangsets in Rhode-Island colony. —Some account of the beginning of this among the Narrangset Indians, we have from the rev. Mr. Park of Westerly, in our N<sup>o</sup> 26<sup>a</sup>. We now go on, from another letter of his, to give a farther account of the joyful progress of that blessed work, as follows;

*To the AUTHOR of the CHRISTIAN HISTORY, February 6th, 1743-4.*

SIR, I have thought for some time, that the glory of God, and the joy and comfort of his people, called for a farther declaration of the wonderful work of God in this place. —Although there is even at this time among us of the English, a remnant according to the election of grace; yet the throne of God's glory, in his earthly temple here, is among the Indians. —The number of names who have yielded a professed subjection to the gospel of Christ among us, are an hundred and six, of which sixty-four are Indians. —It was some time before they rightly understood the nature of gospel ordinances; and therefore they were kept back through fear of unworthiness; looking for greater things wrought in themselves, and larger manifestations of the Lord Jesus, before they approached unto him in special ordinances; hearing others give an account of wonderful manifestations of the love of Christ to them, thinking they must have the same before they were fit for the table of the Lord. —But when it pleased God to bless means, for their clearer understanding of the Christian religion, which I endeavoured publicly and privately to open to them, and teach them; that if they knew the power and love of God upon their hearts; had been shown from whence they were fallen, their utter inability to recover themselves, the freeness and all-sufficiency of Christ to save them, and bring them back to God and the Father; had their hearts wrought upon by the grace of God, sincerely to submit themselves to God in Christ Jesus, to be pardoned, taught and governed; that they should in this way of the gospel wait upon God, and that it was a device of the devil to put objections in the way to keep them back; they then began to offer themselves: and the Lord shined more abundantly into them. —The first considerable body who offered themselves to covenant with the Lord, was upon the ninth of October, when eight Indians were baptized, and received to full communion; who gave very hopeful evidence of a work of saving grace wrought in them: several of which were some of the most substantial ones among them. —January the 15th, 1743-4, twenty-six more were baptized and received to full communion. —February the 5th, 1743-4, fifteen came under

<sup>a</sup> See it above, page 293.

the bonds of the gospel.—The others were received in smaller numbers at various times, which I judge it not material to mention.—And God is abundantly glorified by them herein: his work is truly glorious; for which his name is most worthy of praise.—They come before God and his people; and with awful gravity and becoming solemnity, give away themselves to the Lord in an everlasting covenant, with their whole souls flowing forth to God.—They cleave to the Lord with purpose of heart; they are diligent in attending the means of grace; they come rejoicing in hopes to meet the Lord and be refreshed with the word of his grace. They have set up the worship of God in their families. They have frequent private meetings among themselves for prayer and praise, and conference; particularly stated on Sabbath-day evenings, and Wednesday evenings. Upon the last of which, I meet with them as often as the providence of God permits; to pray with and for them, to read the word of God, and preach, and discourse with them upon matters of importance which occur, as the Lord enables me.—And they drink in the word of God, and grow up in gracious experiences; that considering the disadvantages they are under by not knowing to read, they may well be called experienced Christians; and are examples of faith, patience, love, humility, and every grace of the Spirit of God. I have sometimes been ashamed, and even confounded before God at myself, when I have been among them, and heard their conversation; heard them express their strong confidence in God, and beheld their zeal, and fervent charity among themselves: their love to their minister, and all such as bring glad tidings of good things unto them is singular.—They are abundant in their endeavours to bring over opposers, by setting forth the evil of their ways, in which they used to walk with them, and the comfort and sweetness of a divine life; exhorting one another daily, while it is called to day. And when they are assembled together for religious worship, and God gives them a sense of divine things under the word preached; their hearts are drawn out to plead with their brethren to come over on the Lord's side; and with rejoicing I can sometimes stand still and see the salvation of God.—Their faith and hope in God encourageth and quickeneth them in duty to obtain the promises of the good things of this life, and of that which is to come. So that there is among them a change for good respecting the outward as well as the inward man. They grow more decent and cleanly in their outward dress, provide better for their households, and get clearer of debt.—The most of the Indians, that are here in a body, are come into the kingdom of God; and the most of those that are without are hopefully convinced that God is in the others of a truth, and of the necessity of their being partakers of his grace. And the Lord seems to be spreading forth his power, to such as are scattered abroad.—The Lord has wrought so wonderfully and apparently among the Indians, that it greatly stops the mouths of opposers, and they are ready to gnash their teeth and melt away. They are forced universally to grant, that there is something good among the Indians; if it does but hold. But alas! they seem to comfort themselves that they will return and be as bad and worse than ever.—But

as all the attempts of Satan against the Lord Jesus, are over-ruled to the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom: so I trust through grace, this has been eventually for their further establishment in grace; by proving a means of warning and watchfulness to them, and of quickening me to greater labouriousness among them.——And God has been very gracious, and has even appeared remarkably for them; in keeping them hitherto by his power, through faith, and I hope will, unto salvation. Inasmuch that nothing of scandal has appeared against them; but they have approved themselves faithful in the covenant of God, by having their conversation as becomes the gospel of Christ. And they appear living and lively towards God, hungering and thirsting after righteousness, fearful of the least sin; being taught by experience, that the least sin known and continued in, separates from God, and causes him to hide his face from them. Especially they have been kept perfectly free, for ought that has appeared to me, from the sin of drunkenness, the sin which so easily besets them. Many of them say that they have no desire after strong drink, but loath it: others that a little dram satisfies and refreshes them more than to guzzle it down as they used to do, and they do not lust after more. And I intreat the prayers of all that love the Lord Jesus, particularly for them, that God would keep them from being tempted to sin, or support and deliver them when tempted. They manifest great sorrow of heart, for their brethren and kinsmen according to the flesh, when they hear of their drinking and quarrelling.——God appears leading them farther and farther into the extensiveness of his gracious covenant in Christ; that they are bringing their children more and more, and offering them up to the Lord. One with good old Abraham, offered up his whole household; his own children and two adopted children. And God seems to be pouring out his blessing upon their offspring: many little ones seem full of love and sweetness. Ever since the Lord has been graciously among the Indians manifesting his power and glory; they have been desirous of a school among them, that their children and all such as can, might learn to read. And it has been what my thoughts and endeavours have been much exercised upon. But the powers of darkness have hitherto stood so in the way, that but little has been done to purpose.——The commissioners for the Indian affairs have given encouragement to assist in that affair, if any scheme was laid, and matter proposed, which should be a ground of encouragement to them. But I have been nonplus'd in all my attempts hitherto, to ripen such a thing. All that we have been able yet to do, is to employ an Indian woman to keep school in a wigwam, where she teaches a number of the children to read; but it is vastly short of that usefulness as is needful among them, and as it appears more than probable, it would be, if there was a school erected among them. The end of my inserting this account is, to excite such as wish the prosperity of Zion to thoughtfulness, and all such endeavours as they may be directed unto, to assist in bringing this design to pass, that the work of God may not be hindered, by the want of such a necessary help, &c. I subscribe an unworthy ambassador of the Lord.

## SECTION III.

*Some Ministers in the British Plantations represent the miserable State of the Indians upon the Borders of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, to the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge.—The Society agree to send two Missionaries to these Indians.—The first that undertakes it is Mr. Azariah Horton.—A short Account of his Labours and Success from August 1741 to 1744, on Long-Island.—The next Mr. David Brainerd.—A short Narrative of his Success from April 1743 to November 1744.—At Kaunaumeeek in Albany.—And the Forks of Delaware River in Pennsylvania.—And Susquahanna.*

[ From the Appendix to Mr. Pemberton's Sermon at the Ordination of Mr. David Brainerd, printed at Boston, 1744. ]

THE deplorable perishing state of the Indians in these parts of America, being; by several ministers here, represented to the society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge, the said society charitably and cheerfully came into the proposal of maintaining two missionaries among them, and sent their commission to some ministers, and others here, to act as their correspondents, in providing, directing, and inspecting the said mission.

As soon as the correspondents were authorized by the society's commission, they immediately looked out for two candidates of the evangelical ministry, whose zeal for the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, and whose compassion for poor perishing souls, would prompt them to such an exceeding difficult and self-denying undertaking.—They first prevailed with Mr. Azariah Horton to relinquish a call to an encouraging parish, and to devote himself to the Indian service. He was directed to Long-Island, in August 1741, at the East-end whereof there are two small towns of the Indians; and from the East to the West-end of the island, lesser companies settled at a few miles distance from one another, for the length of above an hundred miles. At his first coming among these, he was well received by the most, and heartily welcomed by some of them. They at the East-end of the island especially, gave diligent and serious attention to his instructions, and were many of them put upon solemn inquiries about what they should do to be saved. A general reformation of manners was soon observable. They were careful to attend, and serious and solemn in attendance, upon both public and private instructions. A number of them were under very deep convictions of their miserable perishing state; and about twenty of them give lasting evidences of their saving conversion to God. Mr. Horton has baptized thirty-five adults, and forty-four children. He took pains with them, to learn them to read; and some of them have made considerable proficiency. But the extensiveness of his charge, and the necessity of his travelling from place to place, makes him incapable of giving so constant attendance to their instruction in reading as is needful.

In his last letter to the correspondents, he heavily complains of a great defection of some of them, occasioned by strong drink being brought among them, and their being thereby allured to a relapse into their darling vice of drunkenness: a vice to which the Indians are every where so greatly addicted. He likewise complains, that some of them are grown more careless in the duties of religious worship.—But as a number retain their first impressions, and as they generally attend with reverence upon his ministry, he goes on in his work, with encouraging hopes of the presence and blessing of God with him in his difficult undertaking<sup>a</sup>.

It was some time after Mr. Horton was employed in the Indian service, before the correspondents could obtain another. At length they prevailed with Mr. David Brainerd, to refuse several invitations unto places where he had a prospect of a comfortable settlement among the English, to encounter the fatigues and perils that must attend his carrying the gospel of Christ to these poor miserable savages.—A general representation of whose conduct and success, in that undertaking, is contained in a letter we lately received from himself, [part of which follows.]

*To the rev. Mr. PEMBERTON. Forks of Delaware, November 5th, 1744.*

R. S. Since you are pleased to require of me some brief and general account of my conduct in my mission amongst the Indians, I shall now endeavour to answer your demands, by giving a brief but faithful account of the most material things.—On March 15th, 1743, I waited on the correspondents at New-York, and the week following at Woodbridge in New-Jersey, and was speedily dismissed by them, with orders to attempt the instruction of a number of Indians in a place some miles distant from the city of Albany. And on the first day of April following, I arrived among the Indians at a place called by them Kaunaumeeke.—The place, as to its situation, was sufficiently lonesome and unpleasant, being encompassed with mountains and woods, twenty miles distant from any English inhabitants, six or seven from any Dutch, and more than two from a family that came some time since from the Highlands of Scotland, and had then lived (as I remember) about two years in this wilderness. In this family I lodged about the space of three months, the master of it being the only person with whom I could readily converse in those parts, except my interpreter; others understanding very little English.—After I had spent about three months in this situation, I found my distance from the Indians a very great disadvantage to my work amongst them. I was obliged to travel forward and backward almost daily on foot. And, after all my pains, could not be with the Indians in the evening and morning, which were usually the best hours to find them at home.—I therefore resolved to remove, and live with or near the Indians.—Accordingly I removed soon after;

<sup>a</sup> See extracts from Mr. Horton's Journals, in Mr. Robe's Monthly History for 1744. N<sup>o</sup> 5, and 6. containing many remarkable particulars.

and, for a time, lived with them in one of their wigwams; and not long after, built me a small house, where I spent the remainder of that year intirely alone; my interpreter (who was an Indian) chusing rather to live in a wigwam among his own countrymen.—This way of living I found attended with many difficulties, and uncomfortable circumstances, in a place where I could get none of the necessaries and common comforts of life (no, not so much as a morsel of bread) but what I brought from places fifteen and twenty miles distant, and oftentimes was obliged, for some time together, to content myself without, for want of an opportunity to procure the things I needed.—Yet I can truly say, that the burden I felt respecting my great work among the poor Indians, the fear and concern that continually hung upon my spirit, lest they should be prejudiced against Christianity, and their minds imbitter'd against me, and my labours among them, by means of the insinuations of some, who (although they are called Christians) seem to have no concern for Christ's kingdom, but had rather (as their conduct plainly discovers) that the Indians should remain Heathens, that they may with the more ease cheat, and so enrich themselves by them; the burden, I say, the fear, and concern I felt in these respects were much more pressing to me, than all the difficulties that attended the circumstances of my living.

As to the state or temper of mind, in which I found these Indians, at my first coming among them, their heathenish jealousies and suspicion and their prejudices against Christianity, were in a great measure removed by the long continued labours of Mr. Sargeant among a number of the same tribe, in a place little more than twenty miles distant: by which means these were, in some good degree, prepared to entertain the truths of Christianity, instead of objecting against them, and appearing almost intirely untractable, as is common with them at first, and as perhaps these appeared a few years ago.—

In my labours with them, I studied what was most plain, and easy, and best suited to their capacities: and endeavoured to set before them from time to time (as they were able to receive them) the most important, and necessary truths of Christianity; such as most immediately concerned their speedy conversion to God.—First, the sinfulness and misery of the estate they were naturally in: the evil of their hearts; the pollution of their natures; the heavy guilt they were under, and their exposedness to everlasting punishment; as also their utter inability to save themselves, either from their sins, or from those miseries which are the just punishment of them; and their unworthiness of any mercy at the hand of God, on account of any thing they themselves could do to procure his favour; and consequently their extreme need of Christ to save them.—And, secondly, I frequently endeavoured to open to them the fulness, all-sufficiency, and freeness of that redemption, which the Son of God has wrought out by his obedience and sufferings, for perishing sinners; how this provision he had made, was suited to all their wants; and how he called and invited them to accept of everlasting life freely, notwithstanding all their sinfulness, inability, unworthiness, &c.

I then gave them an historical account of God's dealings with his ancient professing people, the Jews: some of the rites, and ceremonies, they were obliged to observe, as their sacrifices, &c. and what these were designed to represent to them.—Afterwards I proceeded to give them a relation of the birth, life, miracles, sufferings, death, and resurrection of Christ: as well as his ascension, and the wonderful effusion of the Holy Spirit.—I next proceeded to read, and expound to them the Gospel of Matthew (at least the substance of it) in course.—These expositions I attended almost every evening, when there was any considerable number of them at home; except when I was obliged to be absent myself, in order to learn the Indian language with Mr. Sargeant.——Besides these means of instruction, there was likewise an English school constantly kept by my interpreter among the Indians: which I used frequently to visit, in order to give the children and young people instructions and exhortations suited to their age.—The degree of knowledge to which some of them attained, was considerable.—But that which gave me the greatest encouragement amidst many difficulties and disconsolate hours, was, that the truths of God's word seemed, at times, to be attended with some power upon the hearts and consciences of the Indians.—Several of them came, of their own accord, to discourse with me about their souls concerns; and some, with tears, enquired what they should do to be saved? and whether the God that Christians served, would be merciful to those that had been frequently drunk, &c.—There likewise appeared a reformation in their lives and manners.—Their idolatrous sacrifices were laid aside, and their heathenish custom of dancing, halloeing &c. in a considerable measure broken off. And I could not but hope, that they were reformed in some measure from the sin of drunkenness. They likewise manifested a regard to the Lord's-day.—Yet after all I must confess, that there were some things more discouraging. And while I rejoiced to observe any seriousness among them, I was not without continual fear lest such encouraging appearances might prove like a morning-cloud, that passeth away.

When I had spent near a year with them, I informed them that I expected to leave them in the Spring, and to be sent to another tribe of Indians at a great distance: upon which they appeared very sorrowful, urging that they had now heard so much about their souls concerns, that they could never more be willing to live without a minister, and further instructions in the way to Heaven, &c. Whereupon I told them, they ought to be willing that others also should hear, seeing those needed it as much as themselves. But they added, that those Indians, to whom I had thoughts of going, were not willing to become Christians, as they were, and therefore urged me to tarry with them. I then told them, that they might receive further instruction without me; but the Indians, to whom I expected to be sent, could not, there being no minister near to teach them. And hereupon I advised them, in case I should leave them, to remove to Stockbridge, where they might be supplied with land, and be under the ministry of Mr. Sargeant: which proposal they seemed disposed to comply with.

April 6th, 1744. I was ordered by the correspondents to take leave of them, and to go to a tribe on Delaware-river in Pennsylvania.—These orders I soon attended, and on May 10th, met with a number of Indians in a place called Minnissinks, about an hundred and forty miles from Kaunaumuck, and in my way to Delaware-river. With these I spent some time, and first addressed their king in a friendly manner; and after some discourse, and attempts to contract a friendship with him, I told him I had a desire (for his benefit and happiness) to instruct them in Christianity. At which he laughed, turned his back upon me, and went away. I then addressed another principal man in the same manner, who said he was willing to hear me. After some time, I followed the king into his house, and renewed my discourse to him: but he declined talking, and left the affair to another, who appeared to be a rational man. He began, and talked very warmly near a quarter of an hour together: he inquired why I desired the Indians to become Christians, seeing the Christians were so much worse than the Indians. The Christians, he said, would lie, steal, and drink, worse than the Indians. It was they first taught the Indians to be drunk: and they stole from one another, to that degree, that their rulers were obliged to hang them for it, and that was not sufficient to deter others from the like practice. But the Indians, he added, were none of them ever hanged for stealing, and yet they did not steal half so much; and he supposed that if the Indians should become Christians, they would then be as bad as these. And hereupon he said, they would live as their fathers lived, and go where their fathers were when they died. I then freely owned, lamented, and joined with him in condemning the ill conduct of some, who are called Christians: told him, these were not Christians in heart. —And when he appeared calmer, I asked him if he was willing, that I should come and see them again: he replied, he should be willing to see me again, as a friend, if I would not desire them to become Christians. —I then bid them farewell, and prosecuted my journey toward Delaware. And May 13th, arrived at a place called by the Indians Sakhawotung.

Here also I informed the king of my desire to instruct them in the Christian religion. After he had consulted a few minutes with two or three old men, he told me, he was willing to hear. I then preached to those few that were present; who appeared very attentive, and well-disposed. And the king in particular seemed both to wonder, and to be well pleased with what I taught them, respecting the Divine Being, &c. And since that time he has ever shewn himself friendly to me, giving me free liberty to preach in his house, whenever I think fit. —Here therefore I have spent the greater part of the Summer past, preaching usually in the king's house. —The number of Indians in this place, is but small. —There are not more than ten houses that continue to be inhabited; and some of these are several miles distant from others. —When I first began to preach here, the number of my hearers often did not exceed twenty or twenty-five persons: but towards the latter part of the Summer I have frequently had forty or more. —The effects which the truths of God's word have had upon some of them, are en-



couraging.—Some few instances among them not only detest their old idolatrous notions, but strive also to bring their friends off from them. And as they are seeking salvation for their own souls, so they seem desirous, and some of them take pains, that others might be excited to do the like.

In July last I heard of a number of Indians residing at a place (called Kaukselauchung) more than thirty miles Westward from the place where I usually preach. I visited them, found about thirty persons, and proposed my desire of preaching to them: they readily complied, and I preached to them only twice; they being just then removing from this place (where they only lived for the present) to Susquahannah-river where they belonged.—While I was preaching, they appeared sober and attentive; and were somewhat surprised, having never before heard of these things. There were two or three, who suspected that I had some ill design upon them; and urged, that the white people had abused them, and taken their lands from them, and therefore they had no reason to think that they were now concerned for their happiness: but on the contrary, that they designed to make them slaves, or get them on board their vessels, and make them fight with the people over the water (as they expressed it) meaning the French and Spaniards; however, the most of them appeared very friendly, and told me, they were then going directly home to Susquahannah, and desired I would make them a visit there.—This invitation gave me some encouragement.

In the beginning of October last, with the advice and direction of the correspondents, I undertook a journey to Susquahannah. And after three days tedious travel, two of them through a wilderness almost unpassable by reason of mountains and rocks, and two nights lodging in the open wilderness, I came to an Indian settlement on the side of Susquahannah-river, called Opeholhaupung: where were twelve Indian houses, and (as nigh as I could learn) about seventy souls, old and young, belonging to them.—Here also, soon after my arrival, I visited the king, addressing him with expressions of kindness; and informed him of my desire to teach them the knowledge of Christianity. He hesitated not long before he told me, that he was willing to hear. I then preached, and continued there several days, preaching every day, as long as the Indians were at home. And they in order to hear me, deferred the design of their general hunting (which they were just then entering upon) for the space of three or four days.—The men, I think, universally (except one) attended my preaching. Only, the women, supposing the affair we were upon was of a public nature, belonging only to the men, and not what every individual person should concern himself with, could not readily be persuaded to come and hear: but, after much pains used with them for that purpose, some few ventured to come, and stand at a distance.—When I had preached several times, some of them very frankly proposed what they had to object against Christianity.—And when I had endeavoured to answer their objections, some appeared much satisfied. I then asked the king if he was willing I should visit, and preach to them again, if I should live to the next Spring; he replied, he should be heartily willing for his own part, and added, he wished the

young people would learn &c.—There were sundry other things in their behaviour, which appeared with a comfortable, and encouraging aspect; that, upon the whole, I could not but rejoice I had taken that journey among them.

Thus, Sir, I have given you a faithful and brief account of what has been most considerable in my mission. I shall only now take leave to add a word or two respecting the difficulties that attend the christianizing of these poor Pagans.—1. Their minds are filled with prejudices against Christianity, on account of the vicious lives and unchristian behaviour of some that are called Christians. These not only set before them the worst examples, but some of them take pains, to dissuade them from becoming Christians; foreseeing, that if these should be converted to God, the hope of their unlawful gain would be lost.—2. These poor Heathens are extremely attached to the customs, traditions and fabulous notions of their fathers. And this one seems to be the foundation of all their other notions, viz. That 'twas not the same God made them, who made the white people, but another who commanded them to live by hunting, &c. and not conform to the customs of the white people. If the miracles of Christ and his apostles be mentioned, to prove the truth of Christianity; they also mention sundry miracles, which their fathers have told them were anciently wrought among the Indians, and which Satan makes them believe were so. They are much attached to Idolatry, frequently making feasts, which they eat in honour to some unknown beings, who, they suppose, speak to them in dreams; promising them success in hunting, and other affairs, in case they will sacrifice to them. They oftentimes also offer their sacrifices to the spirits of the dead; who, they suppose, stand in need of favours from the living, and yet are in such a state as that they can well reward all the offices of kindness that are shewn them. And they impute all their calamities to the neglect of these sacrifices.—3. They are much awed by those among themselves, who are called Pawaws, who are supposed to have a power of enchanting, or poisoning them to death, or at least in a very distressing manner. And they apprehend it would be their sad fate to be thus enchanted, in case they should become Christians.—Lastly, The manner of their living is likewise a great disadvantage to the design of their being christianized. They are almost continually roving from place to place; and 'tis but rare, that an opportunity can be had with some of them for their instruction. There is scarce any time of the year, wherein the men can be found generally at home, except about six weeks before, and in the season of planting their corn, and about two months in the latter part of Summer, from the time they begin to roast their corn, until 'tis fit to gather in. I am, &c. DAVID BRAINERD.

## SECTION IV.

*Some farther Hints of Mr. Brainerd's Labours among the Indians, from November 1744 to June 1745, in the Forks of Delaware.*

[ From his Life, published by Mr. Edwards, page 133, &c. ]

Thursday, November 22d, Came on my way from Rockciticus to Delaware-River.—About six at night I lost my way in the wilderness, and wandered over rocks and mountains, down hideous steep, through swamps, and most dreadful and dangerous places: and the night being dark, so that few stars could be seen, I was greatly exposed: was much pinched with cold, and distressed with an extreme pain in my head, attended with sickness at my stomach; so that every step I took was distressing to me. I had little hope for several hours together, but that I must lie out in the woods all night, in this distressed case. But about nine o'clock, I found a house, through the abundant goodness of God, and was kindly entertained. Thus I have frequently been exposed, and sometimes lain out the whole night: but God has hitherto preserved me; and, blessed be his name, such fatigues and hardships as these serve to wean me more from the earth; and, I trust, will make heaven the sweeter.—Within the space of the next twelve days, [says Mr. Edwards from his diary,] he passed under many changes in the frames and exercises of his mind. He had many seasons of the special influences of God's Spirit, animating, invigorating, and comforting him in the ways of God and duties of religion; but had some turns of great dejection and melancholy. He spent much time, within this space, in hard labour, with others, to make for himself a little cottage or hut, to live in by himself through the Winter. Yet he frequently preached to the Indians, and speaks of special assistance he had from time to time, in addressing himself to them; and of his sometimes having considerable encouragement, from the attention they gave. But, on Tuesday December 4th, he was sunk into great discouragement, to see them (most of them) going in company to an idolatrous feast and dance, after he had taken abundant pains with them to dissuade them from these things.—Thursday, December 6th, Having now a happy opportunity of being retired in a house of my own, which I have lately procured and moved into, and considering that it is now a long time since I have been able, either on account of bodily weakness, or for want of retirement, or some other difficulty, to spend any time in secret fasting and prayer; considering also the greatness of my work, and the extreme difficulties that attend it; and that my poor Indians are now worshipping devils, notwithstanding all the pains I have taken with them, which almost overwhelms my spirit: moreover, considering my extreme barrenness, spiritual deadness and dejection of late; as also the power of some particular corruptions; I set apart this day for secret prayer and fasting, to implore the blessing of God on myself, on my poor people, on my friends, and on the church of God.—Friday, December 7th, Spent some time in prayer in the morning; enjoyed

some freedom and affection in the duty, and had longing desires of being made faithful to the death. Spent a little time in writing on a divine subject: then visited the Indians, and preached to them, but under inexpressible dejection.—Lord's-day, December 9th, Preached both parts of the day at a place called Greenwich in New-Jersey, about ten miles from my own house. In the latter exercise, blessed be the Lord, I had some fervency, both in prayer and preaching; and, especially in the application of my discourse, was enabled to address precious souls with affection, concern, tenderness and importunity. The Spirit of God, I think, was there; as the effects were apparent, tears running down many cheeks.—Wednesday, December 12th, Found my interpreter under some concern for his soul; which was some comfort to me, and yet filled me with new care. I longed greatly for his conversion; lifted up my heart to God for it, while I was talking to him: came home, and poured out my soul to God for him: enjoyed some freedom in prayer, and was enabled, I think, to leave all with God.—Thursday, December 13th, Endeavoured to spend the day in fasting and prayer, to implore the divine blessing, more especially on my poor people; and, in particular, I sought for converting grace for my interpreter, and three or four more under some concern for their souls. I was much disordered in the morning when I arose; but having determined to spend the day in this manner, I attempted it. Some freedom I had in pleading for these poor concerned souls several times.—Friday, December 14th, Near noon, went to the Indians; but knew not what to say to them, and was ashamed to look them in the face: I felt I had no power to address their consciences, and therefore had no boldness to say any thing. Was much of the day in a great degree of despair about ever doing or seeing any good in the land of the living.—Tuesday, December 18th, Went to the Indians, and discoursed to them, near an hour, without any power to come close to their hearts. But at last I felt some fervency, and God helped me to speak with warmth. My interpreter also was amazingly assisted; and I doubt not but the Spirit of God was upon him (tho' I had no reason to think he had any true and saving grace, but was only under conviction of his lost state;) and presently upon this, most of the grown persons were much affected, and the tears ran down their cheeks; and one old man (I suppose an hundred years old) was so affected, that he wept, and seemed convinced of the importance of what I taught them.—Wednesday, December 19th, Spent a great part of the day in prayer to God for the out-pouring of his Spirit on my poor people; as also to bless his name for awakening my interpreter, and some others, and giving us some tokens of his presence yesterday. And, blessed be God, I had much freedom, five or six times in the day, in prayer and praise, and felt a weighty concern upon my spirit for the salvation of those precious souls, and the enlargement of the Redeemer's kingdom among them. My soul hoped in God for some success in my ministry; and blessed be his name for so much hope.—Tuesday, December 25th, Enjoyed very little quiet sleep last night, by reason of bodily weakness, and the closeness of my studies yesterday: yet my heart was somewhat lively in prayer and praise: I

was delighted with the divine glory and happiness, and rejoiced that God was God, and that he was unchangeably possessed of glory and blessedness. Though God held my eyes waking, yet he helped me to improve my time profitably amidst my pains and weakness, in continued meditations on Luke xiii. 7. "Behold these three years I come seeking fruit," &c. My meditations were sweet; and I wanted to set before sinners their sin and danger.—Wednesday, Jan. 9th, In the morning, God was pleased to remove that gloom which has of late oppressed my mind, and gave me freedom and sweetness in prayer. I was encouraged and strengthened, and enabled to plead for grace for myself, and mercy for my poor Indians; and was sweetly assisted in my intercessions with God for others. Blessed be his holy name, **for ever and ever; Amen, and Amen.** Those things that of late have appeared most difficult and almost impossible, now appeared not only possible, but easy.—Lord's-day, Jan. 27th, Had the greatest degree of inward anguish; that almost ever I endured: I was perfectly overwhelmed, and so confused, that after I began to discourse to the Indians, before I could finish a sentence, sometimes I forgot entirely what I was aiming at; or if, with much difficulty, I had recollected what I had before designed, still it appeared strange, and like something I had long forgotten, and had now but an imperfect remembrance of. It was occasioned by vapoury disorders, melancholy, spiritual desertion, and some other things that particularly pressed upon me, this morning, with an uncommon weight, the principal of which respected my Indians. This distressing gloom never went off the whole day; but was so far removed, that I was enabled to speak with some freedom and concern to the Indians, at two of their settlements; and I think, there was some appearance of the presence of God with us, some seriousness, and seeming concern among the Indians, at least a few of them. In the evening this gloom continued still, 'till family prayer<sup>a</sup>, about nine o'clock, and almost thro' this, until I came near the close, when I was praying (as I usually do) for the illumination and conversion of my poor people; and then the cloud was scattered, so that I enjoyed sweetness and freedom, and conceived hopes, that God designed mercy for some of them. The same I enjoyed afterwards in secret prayer; in which precious duty I had for a considerable time sweetness and freedom, and (I hope) faith, in praying for myself, my poor Indians, and dear friends and acquaintance in New-England and elsewhere, and for the dear interest of Zion in general. "Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits."—Lord's-day, Feb. 17. Preached to the white people (my interpreter being absent) in the wilderness upon the sunny side of a hill: had a considerable assembly, consisting of people that lived (at least many of them) not less than thirty miles asunder; some of them came near twenty miles. I discoursed to them, all day, from John vii. 37. "Jesus stood and cried, saying, if any man thirst, &c." In the afternoon, it pleased God to grant me great freedom and fervency in my

<sup>a</sup> Tho' Mr. Brainerd now dwelt by himself in the forementioned little cottage, which he had built for his own use, yet that was near to a family of white people with whom he had lived before, and with whom he still attended family-prayer.

discourse;—I think, I was scarce ever enabled to offer the free grace of God to perishing sinners with more freedom and plainness in my life. And afterwards, I was enabled earnestly to invite the children of God to come renewedly, and drink of this fountain of water of life, from whence they have heretofore derived unspeakable satisfaction. It was a very comfortable time to me: There were many tears in the assembly; and I doubt not but the Spirit of God was there, convincing poor sinners of their need of Christ.—In the evening, I felt composed, and comfortable, tho' much tired; I had some sweet sense of the excellency and glory of God; and my soul rejoiced, that he was God over all, blessed for ever; but was too much crowded with company and conversation, and longed to be more alone with God. Oh that I could for ever bless God for the mercy of this day.—Wednesday, March 6th. Spent most of the day in preparing for a journey to New-England.—The next day [says Mr. Edwards] he set out on his journey: and it was about five weeks before he returned. The special design of this journey, he himself declares afterwards, in his diary for March 21. Where, speaking of his conversing with a certain minister in New-England, he says thus, “Contrived with him how to raise some money among Christian friends, in order to support a colleague with me in the wilderness, (I having now spent two years in a very solitary manner) that we might be together; as Christ sent out his disciples, two and two: and as this was the principal concern I had in view, in taking this journey, so I took pains in it, and hope God will succeed it, if for his glory.—April 14th. This week, he went a journey to Philadelphia, in order to engage the governour there to use his interest with the chief man of the Six Nations, (with whom he maintained a strict friendship) that he would give him leave to live at Susquahannah, and instruct the Indians that are within their territories<sup>a</sup>.—Wednesday May 8th, he set out on his journey to Susquahannah, with his interpreter. He endured great hardships and fatigues in his way thither thro' a hideous wilderness; where, after having lodged one night in the open woods, he was overtaken with a North-Easterly storm, in which he was almost ready to perish. Having no manner of shelter, and not being able to make a fire in so great a rain, he could have no comfort if he stopt; therefore determined to go forward, in hopes of meeting with some shelter, without which he thought it impossible he should live the night thro': but their horses happening to have eat poison (for want of other food) at a place where they lodged the night before, were so sick that they could neither ride nor lead them, but were obliged to drive them before them, and travel on foot; until thro' the mercy of God (just at dusk) they came to a bark-hutt, where they lodged that night. After he came to Susquahannah, he travelled about the length of an hundred miles on the river, and visited many towns and settlements of the Indians; saw some of seven or eight distinct tribes; and preached to disse-

<sup>a</sup> The Indians at Susquahannah are a mixed company of many nations, speaking various languages, and few of them properly of the Six Nations. But yet the

country having formerly been conquered by the Six Nations, they claim the land; and the Susquahannah-Indians are a kind of vassals to them.

rent nations, by different interpreters. He was sometimes much discouraged, and sunk in his spirits, through the opposition that appeared in the Indians to Christianity. At other times, he was encouraged by the disposition that some of these people manifested to hear, and willingness to be instructed. He here met with some that had formerly been his hearers at Kaunaumeeke, and had removed hither; who saw and heard him again with great joy. He spent a fortnight among the Indians on this river; and passed through considerable labours and hardships, frequently lodging on the ground, and sometimes in the open air; and at length he fell extremely ill, as he was riding in the wilderness, being seized with an ague, followed with a burning fever, and extreme pains in his head and bowels, attended with a great evacuation of blood; so that he thought he must have perished in the wilderness: but at last coming to an Indian trader's hut, he got leave to stay there; and though without physick or food proper for him, it pleased God, after about a week's distress, to relieve him so far that he was able to ride. He returned homewards from Juncauta, an island far down the river; where was a considerable number of Indians, who appeared more free from prejudices against Christianity, than most of the other Indians. He arrived at the Forks of Delaware on Thursday May 30th, after having rode in this journey about three hundred and forty miles.—Lord's-day, June 9th, [at Neshaming whither he had gone near fifty miles to assist at a sacrament] felt some longing desires of the presence of God to be with his people on the solemn occasion of the day. In the forenoon, Mr. Beatty preached; and there appeared some warmth in the assembly. Afterwards, I assisted in the administration of the Lord's supper: and towards the close of it, I discoursed to the multitude, with some reference to that sacred passage, Isa. liii. 10. "Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him." Here God gave me great assistance in addressing sinners: and the word was attended with amazing power; many scores, if not hundreds, in that great assembly, consisting of three or four thousand, were much affected; so that there was a very great mourning.—Tuesday, June 18th, Set out from New-Brunswick with a design to visit some Indians at a place called Croswickung in New-Jersey, towards the sea<sup>a</sup>.

We are now come to that part of Mr. Brainerd's life [says Mr. Edwards] wherein he had his greatest success in his labours for the good of souls, and in his particular business as a missionary to the Indians.—We may see from the preceeding parts of this account of his life, how great and long-continued his desires for the spiritual good of this sort

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Brainerd having, when at Boston, [says Mr. Edwards] wrote and left with a friend a brief relation of facts touching his labours with the Indians and reception among them, during the space of time between Nov. 5th 1744, and June 19th 1745. (with a view to connect his Narrative, at the end of Mr. Pemberton's Ordination-Sermon, and his Journal, in case they should ever be reprinted) concludes the same with

this passage: "As my body was very feeble, so my mind was scarce ever so much damped and discouraged about the conversion of the Indians, as at this time. And in this state of body and mind I made my first visit to the Indians in New-Jersey, where God was pleased to display his power and grace in the remarkable manner that I have represented in my printed Journal."

of people were; how he prayed, laboured, and wrestled, and how much he denied himself and suffered, to this end. After all his agonizing in prayer, and travailing in birth for their conversion, and all the interchanges of his raised hopes and expectations, and then disappointments and discouragements; and after waiting in a way of persevering prayer, labour and suffering, as it were through a long night, at length the day dawns. "He went forth weeping bearing precious seed," and now he "comes with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him;" but it is at a time, in a place, and upon subjects, that scarce ever entered into his heart. [Thus far the extract from his life.—We now proceed to give some hints of the success here referred to, from his public Journal.]

## SECTION V.

*At length the Lord remarkably countenances his Labours amongst the Indians at Croswickung in New-Jersey.—Some Hints of his Success there from June 1745 to June 1746.—And of his Visits to the Forks of Delaware and Susquahannah.*

### PART I.

*The Conversion of his Interpreter.—Mr. William Tennent's Counsels blest to the Indians during Mr. Brainerd's Absence.—The wonderful Power of God when Mr. Brainerd spoke particularly to those under Concern August 8th.—An old Conjuror awakened.—Others fall to the Ground, and cry for Mercy in their own Language.—Some of the white People also awakened Aug. 11th.—Aug. 16th, A Day of great Power. God seemed to work independently of the Means.—The Number of Indians Aug. 26th was ninety-five; almost all of them affected either with Joy in Christ, or with deep Concern to obtain an Interest in him.—Their Prayers for Mr. Brainerd when going to preach to the Indians at Susquahannah.—Some of those at the Forks of Delaware Mockers of those who heard Mr. Brainerd.—The Idolatrous Sacrifice at Juncauta.—The Powows or Conjurors.—Mr. Brainerd's Remarks upon this Work of Grace amongst the Indians till November 4th 1745.*

[ From the Abridgement of Brainerd's Journal printed 1748, with a Dedication to the Society in Scotland by Dr. Doddridge. ]

Croswickung in New-Jersey, June 19th, 1745. Having spent most of my time for more than a year past in the Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania, and not having had any considerable appearance of success among the Indians there, upon hearing that there was a number of Indians at Croswickung in New-Jersey, near fourscore miles South-eastward from the Forks of Delaware, I came hither this day.—I found very few persons at the place I visited, and perceived the Indians in these parts were very much scattered.—However I preached to those few, and upon my telling them that I would willingly visit them again the next day, they readily set out, and travelled ten or fifteen



miles, in order to give notice to some of their friends; so that on the 22d, their number, which at first consisted of about seven or eight persons, was increased to near thirty; and there was not only a solemn attention among them, but it was apparent that some considerable impressions were made upon their minds by divine truths.—Lord's-day, June 23d, Their number still increased, and all with one consent seemed to rejoice in my coming among them.—To see poor Pagans desirous of hearing the gospel of Christ, animated me exceedingly, though I was now very weakly.

July 2d, Was obliged to leave them, thinking it my duty, as soon as health would admit, to visit those at the Forks of Delaware.—At parting, they all earnestly enquired when I would come again, and of their own accord agreed to meet and live together, when I came again, during my continuance with them; and that they would do their utmost to gather all the other Indians in these parts. One in particular told me, with tears, “the wished God would change her heart.” Another, “that she wanted to find Christ.” And an old man, who had been one of their chiefs, wept bitterly with concern for his soul.—The encouraging disposition and readiness to receive instruction now apparent among them, seems to have been the blessed effect of the conviction that one or two of them met with some time since at the Forks of Delaware, who have since endeavoured to shew their friends the evil of idolatry, &c.

Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania 1745. Lord's-day July 21st, Preached to my people; then to a number of white people present; and in the afternoon to the Indians again. Many wept. Afterwards I baptized my interpreter and his wife, who are both persons of some experimental knowledge in religion; and were the first I baptized among the Indians.—When I first employed him, he seemed to have little or no impression of religion upon his mind, and thereby I laboured under great disadvantage in addressing the Indians.—But last July, while I preached to an assembly of white people with more freedom and fervency than usual, he was somewhat awakened, so that the next day he talked with me freely about his spiritual concerns.—But these impressions seemed quickly to wear off, and he grew secure again till late in the Fall of the year; at which time he declined much in his health, and then divine truth took hold of him. His mind was burdened from day to day, and it was now his great enquiry “what he should do to be saved.” His spiritual trouble prevailed, and he had little rest day or night; and while he was striving for mercy, he saw, he says, an impassable mountain before him; his way was hedged up with thorns, that he could not stir an inch further.—He saw that the life he had lived was the way to eternal death, and that he was now on the brink of endless misery.—After he had been some time in this condition, and had given up all for lost as to his own attempts, then, he says, it was born in upon his mind, as with an audible voice—“There is hope—There is hope”. He cannot remember any distinct views he then had of Christ; but these exercises of soul produced a very great change in the man, so that it might justly be said, he was become another man, if not a new man. Hereupon

there was a great change in his temper, discourse, and behaviour; and especially there was a surprizing alteration in his public performances. He now addressed the Indians with admirable fervency, and when I had concluded my discourse, and was gone, he would tarry behind to repeat and inculcate what had been spoken.—The change is abiding, and his life unblemished to this day. He seems to have a very considerable experience of spiritual exercise, and discourses freely of the conflicts and consolations of a real Christian. His pleased heart echoes to the soul-humbling doctrines of grace, and he never appears better pleased than when he hears of the absolute sovereignty of God, and the salvation of sinners in the way of free grace. And, upon the whole, I have reason to hope that he is created anew in Christ Jesus to good works.

July 26th, Baptized my interpreter's children.—There was a considerable appearance of divine power among the Indians at the time that ordinance was administered. On the 30th, gave them particular advice and direction, being now about to leave them for a time, in order to renew my visit to the Indians in New-Jersey.

Großweckung in New-Jersey, August 3d, 1745. I found a number here under a deep concern for an interest in Christ; their convictions having been much promoted by the labours of the rev. Mr. William Tennent, to whom I had advised them to apply in my absence. This day I preached to them with some view to Rev. xxii. 17. The Lord, I am persuaded, enabled me to set before them the Lord Jesus Christ, in a manner somewhat uncommon, as a kind and compassionate Saviour, inviting perishing sinners to accept everlasting mercy. A surprizing concern appeared among them. There were not above two among twenty adult persons that I could see with dry eyes.—Lord's-day, the 4th, Being invited by a neighbouring minister to assist in the administration of the Lord's supper, I took the Indians along with me, near fifty in all, who attended the several discourses of the day; and all seemed to have their concern in some measure raised. Now a change in their manners became visible. In the evening, when they came to sup together, they would not taste a morsel, till they had sent for me to come and ask a blessing on their food, at which time some of them wept, especially when I minded them how they had in times past eat their feasts in honour to devils, and neglected to give God thanks.—On the 6th, in the morning, I discoursed to the Indians at the house where we lodged; and in the afternoon, at the place where I have usually preached to them. There appeared nothing very remarkable till near the close of my discourse, and then divine truths were attended with a surprizing influence. There were scarce three out of forty that could refrain from tears and bitter cries. They all, as one, seemed in an agony of soul to obtain an interest in Christ: and the more I discoursed of the love of God, in sending his Son to suffer for the sins of men, and invited them to come and partake of his love, the more their distress was aggravated, because they felt themselves unable to come. It was surprizing to see how their hearts seemed to be pierced with the tender and melting invitations of the gospel.—Two persons this day obtained relief and comfort, which, when I came to discourse with them particu-

larly, appeared solid, rational, and scriptural. Being asked what they wanted God to do further for them, they replied, in their vulgar way, "They wanted Christ should wipe their hearts quite clean," &c.—August 7th, Preached from Isa. liii. 3,—10. Most were much affected, and many in great distress for their souls, and some few could neither go nor stand, but lay flat on the ground, crying incessantly for mercy.—August 8th, Preached to them again from Luke xiv. 16,—23. Their number was now about sixty-five. There was much visible concern among them while I was preaching; but afterwards, when I spoke more particularly to one and another, whom I perceived to be under much concern, the power of God seemed to descend upon the assembly like a rushing mighty wind, and with an astonishing energy bore down all before it. I stood amazed at the influence which seized the audience almost universally, and could compare it to nothing more aptly than the irresistible force of a mighty torrent, or swelling deluge, which with insupportable weight and pressure sweeps before it whatever is in its way. Almost all persons of whatever age were bowed down with concern together, and scarce one was able to withstand the shock of this surprising operation. Old men and women, who had been drunken wretches for many years, and some little children, not more than six or seven years of age, appeared in distress for their souls, as well as persons of middle age. The most stubborn hearts were now obliged to bow. A principal man among them, who before was secure and self-righteous, because he knew more than the generality of the Indians, was now brought under solemn concern for his soul, and wept bitterly. Another man in years, who had been a murderer, a powow, or conjurer, and a notorious drunkard, was brought now to cry for mercy with many tears, and to complain he could be no more concerned though in so great danger.—They were almost universally praying and crying for mercy in every part of the house, and many out of doors, and numbers could neither go nor stand. None seemed to take notice of those about them, but each prayed as freely for themselves, as if they had been every one by themselves in the closest retirement; Zech. xiii. 10, 11, 12.—This concern, in general, seemed most rational. Those who had been awakened long before, complained chiefly of the badness of their hearts, and those newly awakened, of the badness of their lives and actions. Those who had lately obtained relief, were filled with comfort, and seemed to rejoice in Christ Jesus: and some of them took their distressed friends by the hand, telling them of the goodness of Christ, and the comfort that is to be enjoyed in him, and invited them to come and give up their hearts to him. Others in the most honest and unaffected manner were lifting up their eyes to heaven, as if crying for mercy for the distressed ones around them.—One remarkable instance I cannot let pass; a young Indian woman, who, I believe, never before so much as knew she had a soul, called at my lodging, and when I told her I intended presently to preach, laughed, and seemed to mock; but, before I concluded, she was so convinced of her sin and misery, that she seemed like one pierced through with a dart, and cried out incessantly. She could neither go nor stand,

nor sit without being held up. After public service, she lay along, praying earnestly; and the burden of her prayer was, *Giittumáukaliim-méh wéchaiiméh kmeléh Ndah*, i. e. "Have mercy on me, and help me to give you my heart." And thus she continued incessantly praying many hours. It was indeed a surprising day of God's power, and seemed enough to convince an atheist of the truth, importance and power of God's word.—August 9th, Spent most of the day in discoursing with them privately.—Lord's-day, August 11th, In the afternoon discoursed on part of St. Peter's sermon, Acts ii. And at the close of my discourse to the Indians, made an address to the white people, and divine truths seemed to be attended with power both to the Indians and English, as one or two were newly awakened this day, who never appeared to be moved with concern for their souls before; and those who had obtained comfort appeared humble and devout.—Aug. 16th, Found one who had got relief and comfort after pressing concern, and could not but hope her comfort was of the right kind. In the afternoon preached from John vi. 26,—34. There were two persons newly awakened; and sundry old men were in distress for their souls; so that they could not refrain from weeping and crying out. God is powerfully at work among them; and yet some few who felt a commotion in their passions in days past, seem now to discover that their hearts were never duly affected. I never saw the work of God appear so independent of means as at this time. God's manner of working upon them appeared so entirely supernatural, and above means, that I could scarce believe he used me as an instrument, or what I spake, as means, of carrying on his work. I seemed to do nothing, and indeed have nothing to do, but stand still and see the salvation of God, and found myself obliged and delighted to say, "Not unto us," not unto instruments and means, "but unto thy name be the glory."—August 24th, There were several Indians newly come, who thought their state good, because they had learned to read, and been civilized, by living with the white people. With these I discoursed particularly after public worship, and was surprised to see their self-righteous disposition, though they appeared utterly strangers to their own hearts, and altogether unacquainted with the power of religion. After much discourse, one of them seemed to be convinced, that, "by the deeds of the law no flesh living could be justified," and wept bitterly, inquiring, "what he should do to be saved? This was comfortable to others, who had gained some experimental knowledge of themselves, and had been grieved with the conversation and conduct of [the other.]—Lord's-day, August 25th, Baptized twenty-five Indians, fifteen adults, and ten children. Most of the adults I have comfortable reason to hope are renewed persons, and not one of them but what I entertained some hopes of. When the crowd was gone, I discoursed to the baptized persons in particular; minded them of the solemn obligations they were now under; warned them of the dreadful consequences of careless living; and encouraged them to watchfulness and devotion. This was a sweet season. They took each other by the hand with tenderness and affection, and sundry of the other Indians were much affected, and wept bitterly, longing to be partakers of

the same joy.—August 26th, Preached from John vi. 51,—55.—A blessed influence seemed to spread through the whole assembly, and many who had not yet found Christ as their Saviour, were engaged in seeking after him. Their number was now about ninety-five persons; and it was a lovely sight to see almost all affected, either with joy in Christ Jesus, or with deep concern to obtain an interest in him.—Having made two journeys, before I came first to Crofsweekfung, far back to the Indians at Susquahannah river; and it being now a proper season to find them generally at home, I thought it my duty to make them another visit: therefore I told my people, that I must now leave them for the present, and go to their brethren far remote; that I was desirous the Spirit of God should go with me, without whom nothing could be done to good purpose; and asked them if they could not be willing to spend the remainder of the day in prayer for me? They cheerfully complied; and soon after I left them began, the sun being then about an hour and an half high, and continued praying all night till break of day.—Two distressed souls were, I trust, this day brought to the enjoyment of solid comfort. And an old Indian, who had till now been an obstinate idolater, gave up his rattles, which they use for music in their idolatrous feasts, to the Christian Indians, who quickly destroyed them.

Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania, September 1st, 1745, Preached to the Indians, afterwards to the white people. Many were in tears in both assemblies.—September 3d, Preached to the Indians from Isa. liii. 3,—6. Sundry persons seemed to be awakened, among whom were two stupid creatures, that I could scarce ever before keep awake.—On the 5th discoursed to them of the parable of the sower, and afterwards conversed with sundry of them. Many wept, and cried out in an affecting manner; others were seized with surprize and concern. I asked one who had obtained comfort, why he now cried? He replied, “When he thought how Christ was slain like a lamb, and spilt his blood for sinners, he could not help crying even when he was alone.” I then asked his wife, who had likewise been abundantly comforted, wherefore she cried? She answered, “Because the Indians here would not come to Christ, as well as those at Crofsweekfung.” I asked her if she found a heart to pray for them, and whether Christ had seemed to be near to her of late in prayer as in time past? She replied, “Yes, he had been near to her; and that at some times, when she had been praying alone, her heart loved to pray; so that she could not bear to leave the place, but wanted to stay and pray longer.”—Lord’s-day, September 8th, Some of the careless white people were awakened, or at least startled, seeing the power of God so prevalent among the Indians.—Some of the Indians in these parts have always refused to hear me preach, and are enraged against those that attend; and, of late, they are more bitter than ever, scoffing at Christianity, and sometimes asking my hearers, “How often they have cried; and whether they han’t now cried enough to do the turn.” So that already they have trials of cruel mockings.—Sept. 9th, Set out for Susquahannah river, directing my course towards an Indian town called Shaumaking, containing, they say,

near 300 inhabitants.—Lord's-day, Sept. 15th, Met with one who understood the languages of the Six Nations (as they are called) who discovered an inclination to hearken to Christianity: but many of them were so drunk from day to day, that I could get no opportunity to speak to them. The next day I endeavoured to instruct them from house to house. Towards night I went to a part of the town, where they were sober, and got together near fifty persons, and discoursed to them, having first obtained the king's cheerful consent. There was one or two that seemed to be touched, and appeared well pleased with some conversation afterward in private.—September 17th, Left Shaumaking, and on the 19th, visited an Indian town, called Juncaata. Was much discouraged with their temper and behaviour. They seem resolved to persist in their idolatrous practices. The next day visited them again, and found them very busy in making preparations for a great sacrifice. My spirits were much sunk, having no interpreter but a Pagan, (my own interpreter being obliged to leave me the day before, and indeed he could neither speak nor understand the language of these Indians) so that I was under great disadvantages.—In the evening they met together, near an hundred of them, and danced round a large fire, having prepared ten fat deer for the sacrifice. The fat of the inwards they burnt in the fire, while they were dancing, and sometimes raised the flame to a prodigious height, yelling and shouting so loud, that they might be heard two miles or more. They continued their dance almost all night, after which they eat the flesh of the sacrifice, and then retired to their lodgings. I enjoyed little satisfaction this night in the midst of this idolatrous revel; and having walked to and fro till both body and mind were pained, and much oppressed, I at length got into a little crib made for corn, and there slept on the poles.—Lord's-day, September 22d, Spent the day with the Indians on the island. As soon as they were well up, I laboured to get them together to instruct them, but soon found they had something else to do; for near noon they gathered together all their powows (or conjurers) and set about six of them to playing their juggling tricks, in order to find out why they were then so sickly upon the island, numbers of them being at this time disordered with a fever and bloody flux. In this exercise they were engaged several hours, sometimes singing, sometimes howling, sometimes extending their hands to the utmost stretch, spreading all their fingers, and seeming to push with them; sometimes stroking their faces with their hands, then spirting water as fine as mist, setting, lying, bowing, wringing their sides, twisting their faces, turning up their eyes, grunting, puffing, &c. Some of them were much more fervent and devout, and seemed to chant, peep, and mutter with a degree of warmth, as if determined to awaken and engage the powers below. I sat about thirty feet from them, tho' undiscovered, with my Bible in my hand. When they had continued their hideous charms and incantations more than three hours, having in that space of time taken sundry intervals of rest, they broke up.—After they had done powowing, I attempted to discourse with them about Christianity, but they soon scattered, and gave me no opportunity. A view of these

things, being entirely alone, destitute of the society of any one that so much as named the name of Christ, almost stripped me of all hope of propagating the gospel here, and rendered this the most burdensome Sabbath I ever saw. The next day I made some further attempts, but to no purpose. They live so near the white people, that they are always in the way of strong liquors, and of the ill examples of nominal Christians, which renders it unspeakably difficult to treat with them about Christianity.

Croßweeklung, Oct. 5th, 1745, Preached to my people from John xiv. 1.—6. The divine presence seemed to be in the assembly. O what a difference is there between these and the Indians on Susquahannah! and how astonishing is that grace which has made this change! —Lord's-day Oct. 6. After public service I withdrew, and the Indians continued praying together near two hours. It was very refreshing to see those who lately were Pagans and idolaters, having no hope, and without God in the world, now filled with a sense of divine love and grace, and worshipping the Father in spirit and in truth, as numbers here appeared to do.—Lord's-day, Oct. 27. While I was preaching to a vast assembly, who generally appeared secure enough, there was one Indian woman, a stranger, who had never heard me before, seized with such a pressing concern for her soul, that she expressed a great desire to go home and call her husband (more than forty miles distant) that he also might be awakened to a concern for his soul. The pious people of the English seemed refreshed with seeing the Indians worship God in so devout and solemn a manner.—Lord's-day Novr. 3d, Preached to my people from Luke xvi. 17. Afterwards baptized fourteen Indians, eight children and six grown persons. One of these was near four-score years of age, and I have reason to hope God has brought her savingly home to himself. Two others were men of about fifty, who had been singular, even among the Indians, for wickedness; one had been a murderer, and both notorious drunkards, as well as excessively quarrelsome; yet now I cannot but hope both are become subjects of God's special grace. And there was not one of the adults I baptized; who had not given me some comfortable grounds to hope God had wrought a work of special grace in their hearts.—Novr. 4th, I have now baptized in all forty-seven Indians, twenty-three adults, and twenty-four children. Thirty-five of them belong to these parts, the rest to the Forks of Delaware. And, thro' rich grace, they have none of them as yet been suffered to disgrace their profession of Christianity by any scandalous or unbelieving behaviour.

I might now make many remarks on so remarkable a work of grace as this has been, but shall confine myself to a few hints only.—1st, It is remarkable that God began this work among the Indians, at a time when I had the least hope, or rational prospect of seeing such a work propagated among them: my bodily strength being then much wasted, and my mind exceedingly depressed. This was the very season in which God saw fit to begin this glorious work.—2. It is remarkable how God providentially, and in a manner unaccountable, called these Indians together to be instructed. When I first came I found not one

man in the place; only four women, and a few children; but before I had been here many days they gathered from all quarters, some from more than twenty miles distant; and at my second visit some came from more than forty miles. And many came without any intelligence of what was going on here, so that it seemed as if God had summoned them together from all quarters to hear his gospel. Nor is it less surprising that they were, one after another, affected with a solemn concern for their souls almost as soon as they came upon the spot where divine truths were taught. After this work of grace begun with power, it was common for strangers of the Indians, before they had been with us one day, to be deeply convinced of their sin and misery, and solicitously enquire "What they must do to be saved."—3. It is likewise remarkable how God preserved these poor Indians from being prejudiced against me by means used for that purpose by ungodly people. Abundance of delusive artful suggestions were employed to prejudice them against, or affright them from Christianity; but they all constantly turned against the authors of them, and (through the divine goodness) only served to engage the affections of the Indians more firmly to me. And it seems the more wonderful in that I was an utter stranger, and the others their old acquaintance. But if God will work, who can hinder or resist?—4. Nor is it less wonderful how God was pleased to provide a remedy for my want of skill in the Indian language, by remarkably fitting my interpreter for the performance of his work. It might be supposed that divine truths would unavoidably lose much of the energy with which they might at first be delivered, by coming from a second hand. But although this has often (to my sorrow and discouragement) been the case while my interpreter had little or no sense of divine things, yet afterward it was quite otherwise.—He had likewise, to appearance, an experimental acquaintance with divine things, and longing desires for the conversion of the Indians, and admirable zeal and fervour in addressing them. And it is remarkable, when I was favoured with any special assistance in my work, he was usually affected in the same manner almost instantly, and seemed at once quickened, and enabled to speak in the same pathetick strain. And a surprising energy often accompanied the word at such seasons, so that the whole face of the assembly would be apparently changed almost in an instant, and tears and sobs become common among them.—5. It is further remarkable, that God carried on his work here by such means, and in such a manner, as tended to obviate those prejudices and objections which have often been raised against such a work. None could say they were only frightened with a fearful noise of hell and damnation, this work having been begun and carried on by almost one continued strain of gospel-invitation to perishing sinners, as may be guessed from the scriptures I chiefly insisted on: nor have I ever seen so general an awakening in my life, as while I was opening and insisting on the parable of the great Supper, Luke xiv; in which discourse I was enabled to set before them the unsearchable riches of gospel-grace. Not that I never instructed them respecting their fallen state, and the sinfulness and misery of it, This was what I at first chiefly insisted on, and endeavoured



to repeat and inculcate in almost every discourse, knowing that without this foundation, I should but build upon the sand, and that it would be in vain to invite them to Christ till they were convinced of their need of him.—Nor has there been any plausible objection to be made against this work in regard to the manner in which it has been carried on. The convictions of their sin and misery have indeed produced many tears, cries and groans; but there has been no appearance of those convulsions, bodily agonies, frightful screamings, swoonings, and the like, which have been so much complained of in other places. Some indeed have been for a time, in a great measure, deprived of their bodily strength, yet without any convulsive appearances.—6thly, and lastly, The effects of this work have likewise been very remarkable. Many of these people have gained more doctrinal knowledge of divine truths in less than five months than could have been instilled into them by the most diligent use of the most proper and instructive means for years together, without such a divine influence. Their Pagan notions, and idolatrous practices, seem to be wholly abandoned. They are regulated, and appear regularly disposed in the affairs of marriage. They seem generally divorced from drunkenness, their darling vice. A principle of honesty and justice appears in many of them, and they seem concerned to discharge old debts which they had neglected, and perhaps never thought of for years past. Love seems to reign among them, especially those who have given evidences of a saving change; and I have seen no appearance of bitterness or censoriousness in these, or any disposition to esteem themselves better than others.—As their sorrows under convictions have been great, so have the joys of many of them since been: but their consolations have not appeared extatick or flighty, nor inclined them to lightness or airiness, but have been attended with solemnity, and often with tears, and an apparent brokenness of heart. And now, upon the whole, I think I may justly say, here are all the signs and evidences of a remarkable work of grace among these Indians. May the great Author of it maintain and promote it here, and propagate it every where, till the whole earth be filled with his glory. Amen.

I have now rode more than three thousand miles in the last eight months, and almost the whole of it has been about my proper business as a missionary for propagating Christian knowledge among the Indians. Several hundred miles I have travelled, in order to find out a fit colleague in this work, but have not yet found one qualified and disposed thereto. I apprehend a necessity of having an English school speedily set up among these Indians, who are now willing to gather together in a body for this purpose. The several societies I have preached to last Summer, live at so great distances, and so much of my time is necessarily consumed in journeying, that I can employ but little in any of my necessary studies. The Indian languages are so very numerous, my other labours and fatigues are so great, and bear so hard on my constitution, that I am at times almost discouraged from attempting to learn them. However, I have taken considerable pains to learn the Delaware language, and as far as health and business will admit, propose still to

do so.—As these ignorant Pagans stood in need of having line upon line, so I preached publicly, and taught them from house to house for whole weeks together; and my public discourses did not then make up one half of my work, whilst there were so many constantly coming to me with that important enquiry, “What must I do to be saved?” And yet I can say, to the praise of rich grace, the apparent success of my labours abundantly compensated all my pains, and was a great means of supporting and carrying me through it. But still I see great need of assistance in my work, and have been much oppressed for want of one to bear a part of my labours and hardships.—May the Lord of the harvest send forth more labourers into his harvest, that they who sit in darkness may see great light, and the whole earth may be filled with the knowledge of God.

## P A R T II.

*An uncommon Season of Grace, Lord's-day December 15th.—A Catechetical Lecture begun December 21st.—Several remarkable Particulars.—Another extraordinary Time of divine Power, Lord's-day December 29th.—An affecting Instance of spiritual Joy, March 9th.—The Number advanced to an Hundred and Thirty, old and young, March 24th.—They begin their little Town.—Twenty-three Communicants, April 27th, besides five or six absent at the Forks of Delaware.—A brief Account of the Conversion of the Powows, mentioned August 8th, and February 1st.—He dares another Conjuror to do his worst.—Mr. Brainerd's Remarks upon the whole.—Some Passages relating to his lamented Death at Northampton in New-England, October 9th, 1747, in the 30th Year of his Age.*

[ From the Abridgment of Brainerd's Journal, page 43, &c. ]

Crossweeklung, November 26th, After some time spent in private conferences, I preached from John v. 1,—9. I was favoured with some special freedom and fervency, and a powerful energy accompanied divine truths. Many wept, and scarce any appeared unconcerned. There was no boisterous commotion, but a sweet and humble melting. The persons lately awakened were some of them deeply distressed, and said, “They knew not what to do, nor how to get their wicked hearts changed.”—November 28th, Discoursed upon our Lord's transfiguration, Luke ix. 28,—36. Had therein a principal view to the edification and consolation of God's people, and observed some exceedingly affected, and filled with longing desires of being with him. I asked one who wept most affectionately, “What she now wanted?” She replied, “O to be with Christ; she did not know how to stay.”—Lord's-day, December 8th, Discoursed upon the blind man, John ix. There appeared no remarkable effect of the word upon the assembly at this time. Such have been the doings of the Lord here, in awakening sinners, and comforting faints, that 'tis now strange to see the assembly sit with dry eyes, and without sobs and groans.—Lord's-day, December 15th, Preached

from Luke xiii. 24,—28. Divine truths fell with weight and power upon the audience. Near night, discoursed to them again from Matth. xxv. 31,—46. It was an amazing season of grace. The word of the Lord pierced into the hearts of many. The impressions made upon them appeared solid, rational and deep, worthy of the solemn truths by means of which they were produced. How did their hearts seem to bow under the weight of divine truths! And how evident did it now appear that they received and felt them, “not as the word of man, but as the word of God!” None can frame a just idea of the appearance of our assembly at this time, but those who have seen a congregation solemnly awed, and deeply impressed by divine truths delivered to them in the name of God.—December 16th, Discoursed to my people in the evening from Luke xi. 1,—13. There was much concern in the assembly; particularly one woman was in such an agony in seeking after Christ, that the sweat ran off her face for a good while, tho’ it was a very cold evening, and her bitter cries were a most affecting indication of the inward anguish of her heart.—December 21st, My people having attained to a considerable degree of knowledge in the principles of Christianity, I thought proper to set up a catechetical lecture; and this evening attempted something in that form, proposing questions to them agreeable to the Assembly’s Shorter Catechism. They were able readily and rationally to answer many important questions proposed to them. In the improvement of the whole, when I came to infer, and open the blessedness of those who have God for their everlasting friend and portion, they appeared to be much affected and engaged.—Lord’s-day, December 22d, Discoursed upon the story of the young rich man in the gospel, Matth. ix. 16,—22. God made it a seasonable word, I am persuaded, to many souls. Some Indians were newly come here, who had lived among Quakers, and had imbibed some of the Quakers errors, particularly this fundamental one, viz. “That if men live soberly and honestly, according to the dictates of their own consciences (or the light within) there is no danger or doubt of their salvation.” These persons I found worse to deal with than the mere Pagans, who have no self-righteous foundation to build upon. However, they all, but one, appeared now convinced that this sober honest life of itself was not sufficient to salvation, since Christ himself had declared it so in the case of the young man.—This was likewise a season of comfort to some souls, and in particular to her mentioned the 16th instant, who had never before obtained any settled comfort; she now appeared in a heavenly frame of mind, composed and delighted with the will of God. When I came to discourse with her particularly, and to inquire how she got relief from her spiritual distresses, she replied in broken English, “Me try, me try save myself; last my strength be all gone; coud’n’t me stir bit further. Den last me let Jesus Christ alone, send me hell if he please.” I said, but you was not willing to go to hell, was you? She replied, “Could not me help it. My heart he would be wicked for all. Could not me make him good. By, by, my heart be grad desperately.” I asked her why her heart was glad? She replied, “Grad my heart, Jesus Christ do what he please with me. Den me

think, glad my heart Jesus Christ send me hell. Didn't me care, me love him for all." And she could not readily be convinced, but that she was willing to go to hell, if Christ was pleased to send her there. Tho' the truth evidently was, her will was so swallowed up in the will of God, that she could not frame any hell in her imagination that would be dreadful or undesirable, provided it was but the will of God to send her to it.—December 26th, This evening was visited by a very old woman, who appeared to be much broken and childish thro' age, but under great spiritual exercise. She was led by the hand to my house, and appeared in extreme anguish. When I asked what ailed her? She replied, "Her heart was distressed, and she feared me should never find Christ." She told me she had heard me preach often, but never knew any thing about it till the last Sabbath, and then it came, she said, "All one as if a needle had been thrust into her heart," since which time she had no rest day nor night. That on the evening before Christmas, a number of Indians discoursing together about Christ at a house where she was, their talk pricked her heart, so that she could not sit up, but fell down on the bed, at which time she went away, (as she expressed it) and felt as if she dreamed, and yet is confident she did not dream. When she was thus gone, she saw two paths; one appeared very broad and crooked, and that, she says, turned to the left hand; the other appeared straight and very narrow, and that went up the hill to the right hand. She travelled, she said, for some time up the narrow right-hand path, till at length something seemed to obstruct her journey. She sometimes called it darkness, sometimes compared it to a block or bar. She then remembered, she says, what she had heard me say about striving to enter in at the strait gate, and thought she would climb over this bar: but just as she was thinking of this, she came back again, as she termed it, meaning, that she came to herself; whereupon she was extremely distressed, apprehending she had now turned back and forsaken Christ; and that there was therefore no hope of any mercy for her.—As I was sensible that trances and imaginary views of things are of dangerous tendency in religion, when sought after and depended upon; so I could not but be much concerned about this exercise, especially at first, fearing this might be a design of Satan to bring a blemish upon the work of God here, by introducing visionary scenes, imaginary terrors, and all manner of mental disorders and delusions, in the room of genuine convictions of sin, and the enlightening influences of the blessed Spirit, and was almost resolved to declare, that I looked upon this as one of Satan's devices, and to caution my people against it as such. However, I determined first to inquire into her knowledge, to see whether she had any just views of things, which might occasion her present distressing concern, or whether it was a mere fright arising only from imaginary terrors. I asked her divers questions respecting man's primitive, and more especially his present state, and respecting her own heart, which she answered rationally, and to my surprize. And I thought it was next to impossible, that a Pagan, who was become a child thro' age, should in that state gain so much knowledge by any mere human instruction, without being remarkably enlightened from above.—I then proposed

to her the provision made in the gospel for the salvation of sinners, and the ability and willingness of Christ to save to the uttermost all that come to him. To which she assented, but instantly replied, "Ay, but I can't come, my wicked heart won't come to Christ, I don't know how to come," &c. And this she spake in anguish of spirit, striking on her breast, with tears in her eyes, and with such earnestness in her looks, as was indeed piteous and affecting. She seems to be really convinced of her sin and misery, and her need of a change of heart; and her concern is abiding and constant, and I hope will have a saving issue.—How far God may make use of the imagination in awakening some persons, I cannot pretend to determine; or whether this exercise be from a divine influence, I shall leave others to judge. This I must say, that its effects hitherto bespeak it to be such.

Lord's-day, Decem. 29th; Preached from John iii. 1,—5, A number of white people were present, as usual on the Sabbath. The discourse was accompanied with power; and there were some tears among the white people, as well as the Indians. But the impressions made on their hearts appeared chiefly by the extraordinary earnestness of their attention, and their heavy sighs. After public worship was over, I went to my house, intending to preach again after a short intermission: but they soon came in, one after another, with tears in their eyes, enquiring, what they should do to be saved? What I spoke was set home in such a manner, that the house was soon filled with cries and groans. Upon this they all flocked together, and the most careless were almost universally seized with concern for their souls.—It was an amazing season of power, as if God had bowed the heavens and come down. So astonishingly prevalent was the operation upon old as well as young, that it seemed as if none would be left in a secure and natural state, but that God was now about to convert all the world. 'Tis impossible to give a just description of the appearance of things, such as to convey an adequate idea of the effect of this influence. Some were rejoicing to see so many striving to enter in at the strait gate, and wanted to push them forward as some expressed it. Others, both old and young, of both sexes were in tears, and in anguish of spirit, with down-cast looks like condemned malefactors. So that there seemed to be a lively emblem of the solemn day of accounts, or a mixture of heaven and hell. Their concern and religious affection was such, that I could only discourse to one and another, and sometimes address them all together, and at last concluded with prayer. Such were their circumstances, that I could scarce get half an hour's intermission from speaking from half an hour before twelve till past seven at night.—Dec. 30th, Was visited by four or five young persons under concern for their souls, most of whom were very lately awakened. The next day visited my people from house to house, and scarce left a house without some of its inhabitants in tears. They are now gathered together from all quarters, and have built them little cottages, so that more than twenty families live within a quarter of a mile of me.—Lord's-Day Jan. 5th, Discoursed from Matth. xii. 10—13. The same truths which have often produced tears and sobs in the assembly seemed now to have no spe-

cial influence upon any. Afterwards baptized the woman mentioned Dec. 22, and one child. This woman has discovered a sweet and heavenly frame of mind since her first reception of comfort. One morning she came to me with unusual joy, and told me, God had made her feel it was right for him to do what he pleased with all things. And understanding that I was sent to preach to the Indians by some good people in Scotland, she said, her heart loved those good people so, the evening before, that she could scarce help praying for them all night; her heart would go to God for them, &c.—Prosecuted my catechetical method. When I first entered upon this method of instructing, I was jealous, lest my discourses would unavoidably be so doctrinal that they would tend only to enlighten the head, and not affect the heart. But the event proves quite otherwise; for these exercises have been remarkably blessed, and to day in particular, in the latter as well as former respects.—Lord's-day Jan. 19th One weary heavy-laden soul was brought, I believe, to true rest and solid comfort in Christ.—He told me he had often heard me say that persons must see and feel themselves utterly helpless and undone, and must be emptied of all dependance on themselves; and this he had long been striving after, imagining God would have respect to this frame.—But when he came to feel himself in this helpless condition, he found it quite contrary to what he expected, and that instead of its being a good frame of mind, he saw nothing but badness in himself, and that he could do nothing to make himself better. Instead of imagining now that God would be pleased with him for the sake of his seeing his undone state, he saw clearly it would be just with God to send him to eternal misery; that there was no goodness in what he then felt, but that he was naked, sinful, and miserable. In this frame of mind he came to-day to public worship; and while I was inviting sinners to come to Christ naked and empty, he tried, but found he could not come, and it seemed utterly vain for him ever to try any more. But, he said, while he was musing upon it, he saw with his heart (which is a common phrase among them) something that was unspeakably good and lovely, which he had never seen before, and this stole away his heart whether he would or no. He did not know what it was he saw; he did not say, this is Jesus Christ, but it was such glory and beauty as he never saw before. He did not now give away his heart so as he formerly intended and attempted to do, but it went away of itself, after that glory he then discovered. After some time he was wonderfully pleased with the way of salvation by Christ; so that it seemed unspeakably better to be saved altogether by the meer free grace of God in Christ, than to have any hand in saving himself. The consequence of this is, he seems to maintain a sense and relish of divine things, and to maintain a life of religion.—Jan. 30. Preached from John iii. 16, 17. There was some affection visible in the audience, and one with much concern afterwards told me, his heart was so pricked with my preaching he knew not where to turn, or what to do.

February 1st, In the evening catechised in my usual method. Towards the close of my discourse a surprizing power seemed to attend the words. One man far in years, who had been a remarkable drun-

kard, a conjurer, and a murderer, who was awakened some months before, was now brought to great extremity under spiritual distress, so that he trembled for hours together, and apprehended himself just dropping into hell. Many others appeared under great concern, and solicitous to obtain a saving change.—Lord's-day February 6th, Baptized three grown persons, and one child. The adults I have reason to hope are truly pious. God hath been pleased to own and bless the administration of this as well as his other ordinances among the Indians. Some have been powerfully awakened by seeing others baptized; others have obtained relief and comfort.—Towards night catechised. God made this a profitable season to some. One who had been a vile drunkard was remarkably awakened. He was in great anguish of soul, wept and trembled, and continued to do so till near midnight. Another, a poor heavy laden soul, was now brought to a comfortable calm, and bowed and reconciled to the divine sovereignty. She told me the heavy burden she had lain under was now removed; that she felt she never could do any thing to save herself, but must perish for ever if Christ did not do all for her; that she did not deserve he should help her, but Christ could save her, tho' she could do nothing to save herself, &c. And here she seemed to rest.

Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania, Lord's-day, Feb. 16th, 1746. Knowing that many of the Indians here were obstinately set against Christianity, I took six of the most serious and knowing of my people, and brought them with me from Crofweekfung, hoping it might be a means to convince them of the truth and importance of Christianity, to see and hear some of their own nation discoursing of divine things; and many met with us to day, who probably could not have been prevailed on to attend the meeting, had it not been for these religious Indians. Some behaved soberly, and others laughed: however, the word of God fell with such weight, that sundry of them seemed to be stunned, and expressed a willingness to hear me again of these matters. After public worship, took some pains to convince those, who laughed and mocked, of the truth and importance of what I had been insisting on, which seemed to take considerable effect upon one of the worst of them.—The next day, having spent much time in discoursing to the Indians in their respective houses, I got them together, and repeated and inculcated what I had before taught them. Afterwards discoursed from Acts viii. 5—8. A divine influence seemed to attend the word. Sundry of the Indians seemed somewhat awakened, and manifested a concern by their earnest attention, tears, and sobs. My people from Crofweekfung continued with them day and night, repeating and inculcating the truths I taught; and sometimes prayed, and sung psalms among them; and discoursed with each other in their hearing, of what great things God had done for them, and for the Indians at Crofweekfung, which seemed to have more effect on them, than all they could say to them.—Lord's-day, Feb. 23d, Preached to the Indians from John vi. 35—37. After public service discoursed privately with some of them, who seemed considerably enlightened, and invited them to go down to

Croisweeklung, where they would be free from the scoffs and temptations of the opposing Pagans, and got a promise of some of them.

Croisweeklung in New-Jersey, March 2d, 1746, 'Two of the Indians belonging to the Forks are come. May the Lord meet with them here. They can scarce go into a house now, but they will meet with Christian conversation.—I know of no assembly of Christians where there seems to be so much of the presence of God, where brotherly love so much prevails, although nine months ago they were worshipping devils and dumb idols. Amazing change this! "It is the Lord's doing."—Lord's-day, March 9th, Preached from Luke x. 38—42. Many were affected.—After public worship, numbers came to my house, where we sung; and while we were singing, the woman mentioned Feb. 9th, I may venture to say, if I may be allowed to say so of any person I ever saw, was filled with joy unspeakable and full of glory, and could not but burst forth in prayer and praise to God, crying, sometimes in English, and sometimes in Indian,—“O blessed Lord! do come, do come! O do take me away! do let me die and go to Jesus Christ. O dear Jesus do come! I cannot stay, I cannot stay! O how can I live in this world? Do take my soul away from this sinful place!” with much more to the same purpose. In this extasy she continued some time, and when she had a little recovered herself, I asked her, if Christ was not now sweet to her soul? whereupon, turning to me with tears in her eyes, and with all the tokens of deep humility, she said, “I have many times heard you speak of the goodness and sweetness of Christ, but I knew nothing what you meant; I never believed you; but now I know he is better than all the world.” I asked, and do you see enough in Christ for the greatest of sinners? she replied, “O enough, enough for all the sinners in the world if they would but come.” And turning, at my desire, to some poor christless souls who stood by much affected, she said, “O there is enough in Christ for you all, if you would but come. O strive, strive to give up your hearts to him.” Then hearing somewhat of the glory of Heaven mentioned, she again fell into an extasy of joy, and cried out as before, “O dear Lord, do let me go! O what shall I do? I want to go to Christ,” &c. In this sweet frame she continued more than two hours.—Of all the persons I ever saw under spiritual exercise, I scarce ever saw one so bowed and broken under convictions as this woman. None seemed to have greater acquaintance with their own hearts. She would frequently complain of the hardness and rebellion of her heart, and appeared to be no less remarkably bowed to divine sovereignty before she obtained any relief, as I noticed Feb. 9th, since which she hath seemed constantly to breathe the spirit and temper of the new creature. When I have sometimes asked her why she appeared so sorrowful? was she afraid of hell? she would answer, “No, I ben't so much distressed about that, but my heart is so wicked I can't love Christ,” and thereupon burst out into tears.—This sweet and surprising extasy seemed to spring from a true spiritual discovery of the glory, ravishing beauty and excellency of Christ, not from any gross imaginary ideas of his human nature: nor [merely from an] apprehension of benefits conferred on her; but from a



view of his personal excellency, and transcendent loveliness. She seemed to view divine truths as living realities, and could say, "I know these things are so: I feel them to be true." Now her soul was resigned to the divine will. Being asked, what if God should take your husband from you (who was then very sick) how could you bear that? she replied, "He belongs to God, and not me, he may do with him just what he pleases." Now she could freely trust her all with God for time and eternity. Being asked, how she could be willing to die, and leave her little infant, what did she think would become of it? she answered, "God will take care of it; it belongs to him; he will take care of it."

——Now she appeared to have the most humbling sense of her own meanness, unworthiness, and weakness, crying, "If I live I shall sin." And she since appears to be a most tender, broken-hearted, affectionate, devout, and humble Christian, as exemplary in life and conversation as any person in my congregation.——Lord's-day, March 23d, There being fifteen strangers come among us last week, I attempted to discourse from Hosea xiii. 9. in a manner suited to their circumstances and capacities. There was a desirable attention, but not that affection and concern which has been common among us.——Near sun-set I felt an uncommon concern, for the poor strangers especially, that God had withheld his presence, and the powerful influence of his Spirit that day, and in this frame visited sundry houses, but without much appearance of success, till I came to a house where divers of the strangers were, and there the solemn truths seemed to take effect first upon some children, then upon some grown persons, and then upon several of the Pagan strangers. I continued my discourse till almost every one in the house was melted into tears, and divers wept aloud. Upon this, numbers soon gathered from all the houses round about, and so thronged the place, that we were obliged to go to the house where we usually meet; and the congregation gathering immediately, and many appearing remarkably affected, I discoursed some time from Luke xix. 10. There was much visible concern and affection. Five or six of the strangers appeared considerably awakened, particularly one very rugged young man, who had seemed as if nothing would move him, was now brought to tremble like the jaylor, and wept much. These Pagans who were awakened, seemed at once to put off their savage roughness, and became sociable, orderly, and humane in their carriage; when they first came, I exhorted my religious people to be at pains with them to instruct them in Christianity; but they would not bear to hear them. Yet now they were so touched with a sense of their perishing state, as made them tamely yield to the closest addresses that were made them.——March 24th, Found my people were increased to about an hundred and thirty, old and young; besides that about fifteen or twenty of my stated hearers were now absent. As many of them were this day going out on the design of clearing some of their lands, above fifteen miles from hence, in order to their settling there in a compact form, that they might more advantageously attend public worship, have their children schooled, and at the same time have a conveniency for planting, &c. (Their land here being of little or no value for that purpose) I thought

proper to call them together, and shew them the duty of labouring with faithfulness and industry. And having sung psalm cxxvii. and recommended them and their design to God by prayer, I dismissed them to their business.

April 25th, Having for some time apprehended that a number of my people were proper subjects of the ordinance of the Lord's supper, with good advice, I proposed to administer it next Lord's-day; and this day, as preparatory thereto, was set a-part for fasting and prayer, as also to implore that the Divine Presence may be with us in our intended approach to his table, &c.——After prayer and preaching, I proposed briefly and plainly the substance of the doctrine of the Christian faith, and had their renewed cheerful assent to it. I then led them to a solemn renewal of their baptismal covenant in its several branches, and the solemn transaction was attended with much gravity and seriousness, freedom and cheerfulness, and a religious union and harmony of souls seemed to crown the whole.——April 26th, Towards noon prayed with a dying child, and gave a word of exhortation to by-standers. In the afternoon discoursed to my people from Matth. xxvi. 26, —30. of the Author, the nature and design of the Lord's supper. In the evening catechised those who were designed to partake of the Lord's supper next day, and had abundant satisfaction as to their doctrinal knowledge and fitness in that respect. They likewise appeared, in general, to have a deep sense of the solemnity of this sacred ordinance, and to be humbled under a sense of their own unworthiness, and to be earnestly concerned that they might be duly prepared for it. Their hearts were full of love to each other; and that was the temper of mind they seemed much concerned to bring with them to the Lord's table. In singing and prayer, after catechising, there appeared an agreeable tenderness, and such tokens of brotherly love, that would even constrain one to say,—“Lord, it is good to be here.”——Lord's-day, April 27th, Preached from Titus ii. 14. “Who gave himself for us,” &c. Then administered the Lord's supper to twenty-three persons, about five or six being now absent at the Forks of Delaware, who would otherwise have communicated with us. It was remarkable, that in the season of the performance of the sacramental actions, especially in the distribution of the bread, they seemed to be affected in a most lively manner, as if Christ had been really crucified before them. But their affections, tho' considerably raised, were agreeably regulated. When I had rested some time after the administration, I walked from house to house, and conversed particularly with most of the communicants, and found they had been generally refreshed at the Lord's table, as with new wine. And never did I see such an appearance of Christian love among people in all my life. It was so remarkable, that one might well have cried, with an agreeable surprize,—“Behold how they love one another!”——Towards night discoursed again on Titus ii. 14. The religious people were much refreshed, so that some of them told me they never felt the like before. Convictions were revived in others, and some were awakened; and the congregation, when dismissed, although it was almost dark, seemed loth to leave the place. Upon the

whole, I must say, I had great satisfaction with regard to the administration of this ordinance. God himself, I am persuaded, was in the midst of his people; and, I doubt not, many could say in the conclusion, with their whole hearts,—Verily “a day thus spent in God’s house is better than a thousand.” It was the liveliest emblem of heaven I had ever seen.—Apr. 28th. Concluded the sacramental solemnity with a discourse from John xiv. 15. “If ye love me, keep my commandments.” There appeared a very agreeable tenderness, especially among the communicants. They seemed willing to have their ears bored to the doorposts of God’s house, and to be his servants for ever. Observing numbers in this excellent frame, I thought proper to improve this advantageous season, to engage those that appeared serious and religious to persevere therein; and accordingly proposed that they should further covenant to watch over themselves, and one another, lest they should dishonour the name of Christ by unbecoming practices, and particularly by drunkenness, their darling sin. They cheerfully complied, and explicitly joined in that covenant. I then proceeded in the most solemn manner, to call God to witness to their sacred engagement, and minded them that God would be a terrible witness against the violaters thereof in the great and notable day of the Lord. It was a season of amazing solemnity.—Baptized six children this day.—Lord’s-day, May 4th, My people being now removed to their lands, where they are making provision for a compact settlement, I this day visited them (being now obliged to board with an English family at some distance from them) and preached from Mark iv. 5. and in the afternoon from Rom. viii. 9.—May 5th, I visited them again, and gave them directions relating to their business. I see more and more of what importance ’tis like to be to their religious interest, that they become laborious and industrious, acquainted with the affairs of husbandry, and able to raise the necessaries and comforts of life within themselves.—May 9th, Preached to my people from John v. 40. in the open wilderness, they having as yet no house for public worship in this place, nor indeed sufficient for themselves. Divine truths made considerable impressions on many.

This day I baptized one man (the conjurer and murderer mentioned August 8th, and Feb. 1st,) who appears such a remarkable instance of Divine Grace, I cannot omit some brief account of him.—He lived near the Forks of Delaware, and attended the meeting there more than a year; but was extremely addicted to drinking, and seemed no way reformed. In this time he murdered a likely young Indian, which threw him into horror and a degree of desperation, so that he kept at a distance from me some months, till I had an opportunity of conversing with him, and encouraged him to hope his sin might be forgiven for Christ’s sake. After which he again attended my meeting. But what discouraged me most, was his conjuration. He was one of those called powows among the Indians; and notwithstanding his attendance on my preaching, still followed his old charms and juggling tricks. And the high opinion they had of him, his magic charms, and superstitious notions, seemed to be a fatal obstruction to their receiving the gospel. And I have often thought it would be favourable to the design of gos-

pelizing the Indians, if God would take that wretch out of the world. But God, whose thoughts are above ours, took a more desirable method with him.—His first genuine concern for his soul was excited, by seeing my interpreter and his wife baptized, and, with the invitation of an Indian, he followed me down to Crofsweeklung in August, and continued there several weeks in the season of the most remarkable and powerful awakening; at which time he was more effectually awakened, and brought under concern for his soul: and then, upon his feeling the word of God in his heart (as he expresses it) his spirit of conjuration left him entirely, that he has had no more power of that nature since, than any other man living, and declares he don't now so much as know how he used to charm and conjure.—He continued under convictions of his sinful and perishing state all the Fall, and part of the Winter, but was not so deeply exercised till January, and then the word of God took such hold of him, that he was brought into great distress, and knew not what to do. He continued under the heavy pressure of a wounded spirit; and, February 1st, was brought into the utmost agony of soul, which continued that night, and part of next day. After this, observing him to appear remarkably calm and composed, I asked him how he did? He replied, "Tis done, 'tis done, 'tis all done now." I asked him what he meant. He answered, "I can never do any more to save myself, 'tis all done for ever; I can do no more." I asked him whether he could not do a little more, rather than go to hell? He replied, "My heart is dead; I can never help myself." I asked him what he thought would become of him? He replied, "I must go to hell." I asked, if he thought it was right God should send him to hell? He answered, O 'tis right! the devil has been in me ever since I was born. I asked him, if he felt this the evening before, when he was in such great distress? He replied, "No, I did not then think it was right. I thought God would then send me to hell, and that I was then dropping into it; but my heart quarrelled with God, and would not say it was right he should send me there. But I know 'tis right; for I have always served the devil, and my heart has no goodness in it now; but it is as bad as it was," &c.—In this frame of mind he continued several days, passing sentence upon himself, and constantly owning it would be right, if he should be damned, and that he expected this to be his portion. And yet it was plain he had a secret hope of mercy, though imperceptible to himself. He asked me often when I would preach again? I asked him why he desired to hear me preach, seeing his heart was dead, and all was done, and he expected to go to hell? He replied, "I love to hear you speak about Christ for all." I asked him, what good will that do you, if you must go to hell at last? He answered, "I would have others come to Christ, if I must go to hell myself." He seemed to have a great love to the people of God, and nothing affected him so much as the thoughts of being separated from them. It was likewise remarkable, that in this season he was most diligent in the use of all means for his soul's salvation, although he had the clearest view of the insufficiency of means to help him. When he had continued in this frame of mind more than a week, while I was preaching, he seemed to have a lively soul-re-

freshing view of the excellency of Christ, and the way of salvation by him, which melted him into tears, and filled him with admiration, comfort, and praise to God; since which, he has appeared to be a humble, devout and affectionate Christian, serious and exemplary in his conversation and behaviour, frequently complaining of his want of spiritual warmth, and in all respects bearing the marks of one created anew in Christ Jesus.—His zeal for the cause of God was remarkable, when he was with me at the Forks of Delaware last February. There being an old powow at the place, who threatened to bewitch me; this man presently challenged him to do his worst, telling him, that himself had been as great a conjurer as he, but that as soon as he felt the word in his heart, which this people loved, his power of conjuring immediately left him; and so it would you, said he, if you did but once feel it in your heart. So that, as Paul, he now zealously defends, and practically preaches the faith which he once destroyed. May God have the glory of the amazing change he has wrought in him!

Lord's-day, May 18th, Discourfed both parts of the day from Rev. iii. 20. In the interval I took occasion to discourse to numbers, in a more private way, of the kindness and patience of the blessed Redeemer, in standing and knocking, &c. which seemed to take some effect. In the afternoon, divine truths were attended with solemnity and with tears, tho' there was not that powerful awakening as in times past.—May 19th, Visited, and preached to my people from Acts xx. 18, 19. and aimed to rectify their notions about religious affections, shewing how desirable they are when they flow from a true spiritual discovery of the transcendent perfections of the blessed God, a view of the glory and loveliness of the great Redeemer; that such views will naturally excite us to serve the Lord with much affection, and with all humility of mind. And, on the other hand, observing the sinfulness of seeking high affections immediately and for their own sake. Shewed them, that if the heart be directly fixed on God, some degree of affection will be the effect of it: but to seek after affection directly and chiefly, is to place it in the room of God and his glory. If sought that others may admire us, 'tis abominable pride; if, for the pleasure of being affected, 'tis idolatry and self-gratification.—Laboured also to expose the disagreeableness of affections wrought up by the power of fancy, while I still recommended that religious affection, fervency and devotion, without which religion will be but an empty name, and lifeless carcass. This appeared a seasonable discourse.—June 1st, I have reason to hope that God has lately brought home to himself sundry who had long been under spiritual concern, though there have been few instances of persons lately awakened.—June 7th, Being invited by Mr. William Tennent to be his assistant in the administration of the Lord's supper, my people attended.—And, Lord's-day, June 8th, Most of them who had been communicants before, communicated with others who had longed to see this day. Some of the by-standers were affected with seeing these who had been aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, &c. now brought near to God. Others, I am told, were awakened thereby, apprehending the danger of being eternally cast out while they saw

others from the East and West preparing to sit down in the kingdom of God. Others of my people who were not communicants, were much affected. Convictions in divers instances were revived; and one obtained comfort.—June 9th, A considerable number of my people met early in the day, in a retired place in the woods, and prayed, sung, and conversed of divine things. Afterward they attended the concluding exercises of the sacramental solemnity, and then returned home, divers of them rejoicing for all the goodness of God they had seen and felt.—June 13th, Baptized two children, and three grown persons. One of these was the very aged woman, mentioned December 26th. She gave me now a very punctual, rational, and satisfactory account of the remarkable change she experienced some months after the beginning of her concern, which, I must say, appeared to be the genuine operations of the Divine Spirit. And I have great reason to hope she is born anew in her old age, she being, I presume, upwards of fourscore.—June 19th, This day makes up a compleat year since my first preaching to these Indians in New-Jersey.—What amazing things has God wrought! What a surprizing change appears in their temper and behaviour! How are morose and savage Pagans transformed into agreeable, affectionate, humble Christians! And their drunken and Pagan howlings turned into devout and fervent prayers and praises to God! To God only will be glory through Christ Jesus for ever and ever. Amen.

Before I conclude, I would make a few general remarks.—1. I cannot but take notice, that ever since my first coming among these Indians in New-Jersey, I have, in general, been favoured with that assistance which (to me) is uncommon in preaching Christ crucified, and in making him the centre and the mark, to which all my discourses among them were directed.—To shew them their absolute need of Christ to redeem and save them from the misery of their fallen state; to open his all-sufficiency and willingness to save the chief of sinners; the freeness and riches of his Divine Grace, proposed without money and without price, to all that will accept the offer; and thereupon to press them without delay to betake themselves to him, under a sense of their misery and undone state, and to shew them the abundant encouragement.—And I have oft remarked with admiration, that whatever subject I have been upon, after explaining and illustrating the truths contained therein, I have been naturally led to Christ as the substance of every subject. If I treated on the being and glorious perfections of God, I was thence naturally led to discourse of Christ, as the only way to the Father.—If I attempted to open the deplorable misery of our fallen state, it was natural from thence to shew the necessity of Christ to undertake for us, to atone for our sins, and to redeem us from the power of them. If I taught the commands of God, and shewed our violation of them, this brought me, in the most easy and natural way, to speak of and recommend the Lord Jesus Christ, as one who had magnified the law we had broken, and who was become “the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.” And never did I find so much freedom and assistance in making the various lines of my discourses meet and centre in Christ, as among these Indians.—

Sometimes, when I have intended to offer but a few words on some particular subject, and saw no occasion or room for any considerable enlargement, there has appeared, on a sudden, such a fountain of gospel-grace shining forth in, or naturally resulting from a just explication of it, and Christ has seemed in such a lively manner to be pointed out as the substance of what I was considering and explaining, that I have been drawn in a way not only easy and natural, proper and pertinent, but almost unavoidable, to discourse of him, either in regard of his incarnation, undertaking, satisfaction, admirable fitness for the work of man's redemption, or the infinite need that sinners stand in of an interest in him, which has opened the way for a continued strain of gospel-invitation to perishing souls to come empty and naked, weary and heavy-laden, and cast themselves upon him.—And as I have been at times surprisngly furnished with matter relating to the Lord Jesus Christ, and the way of salvation by him, so also as to an advantageous manner. I have frequently been enabled to represent his personal glories, loveliness, and suitableness; to open the infinite riches of his grace; and to call, invite, and beseech sinners to come and give up themselves to him; to expostulate with them why they would neglect one so infinitely lovely, and so freely offered; and this in such a manner, with such freedom, pertinency, pathos, and application to the conscience, as I never could have made myself master of by the most diligent application of mind.—I don't mention these things to recommend my own performances; for, I own, I found from time to time I had no skill or wisdom for my great work, and knew not how to chuse out acceptable words, proper to address poor benighted Pagans with. But thus God was pleased to help me, “not to know any thing among them, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified.”—And this was the preaching God made use of for the awakening of sinners, and the propagation of this work of grace among the Indians.—And it was remarkable, when I was favoured with any special freedom in discoursing of the ability and willingness of Christ to save sinners, and the need they stood in of such a Saviour, there was then the greatest appearance of Divine power in awakening secure souls, promoting convictions begun, and comforting the distressed.

2. I think it worthy of remark, that numbers of these people are brought to a strict compliance with the rules of morality and sobriety, and to a conscientious performance of the external duties of Christianity, by the internal power and influence of the peculiar doctrines of grace.—God was pleased to give those truths such a powerful influence upon the minds of these people, that their lives were quickly reformed, without my insisting on the precepts of morality, and spending time in repeated harangues upon external duties.—There was indeed no room for any kind of discourses, but those which respected the essentials of religion, and the experimental knowledge of divine things, while so many were enquiring daily, not how they should regulate their outward conduct, but, “What they should do to be saved.” So that my great work still was to lead them into a farther view of their un-doneness in themselves, the total depravity and corruption of their

hearts—and at the same time to open to them the glorious and complete remedy provided in Christ for helpless perishing sinners, and offered freely to those who have no goodness of their own to recommend them to the divine acceptance. — When these truths were felt at heart, there was now no vice unreformed, no external duty neglected; drunkenness, the darling vice, was discarded, and scarce an instance of it known among them for months together. The abusive practice of husbands and wives putting away each other, and taking others, was quickly reformed; so that three or four couple have voluntarily dismissed those they had wrongfully taken, and now live together again in love and peace. The same might be said of all other vicious practices. The reformation was general, and all springing from the internal influence of divine truths upon their hearts, and not from any external restraints. Some of these vices I never had so much as mentioned, particularly parting of men and their wives, till some, having their consciences awakened by God's word, came, and of their own accord confessed themselves guilty in that respect. And when I did at any time mention their wicked practices, and the sins they were guilty of, contrary to the light of nature, it was not with design or expectation of working an effectual reformation in their manners by this means, for I know while the tree remained corrupt, the fruit would naturally be so too; but with design to lead them, by taking a view of the wickedness of their lives, to be sensible of the corruption of their hearts, and to convince them of the necessity of a renovation of their nature, and excite them with utmost diligence to seek after that great change, which, if once obtained, I was sensible, would of course produce a reformation of external manners in every respect. — And as all vice was reformed upon their feeling the power of these truths upon their hearts, so the external duties of Christianity were complied with, and conscientiously performed from the same internal principle; family-prayer set up, and constantly maintained, unless among a few more lately come, who had felt little of this divine influence. This duty is constantly performed even in some families where there are none but females, and scarce a prayerless family to be found among near an hundred of them. The Lord's-day is seriously and religiously observed, and care taken by parents to keep their children orderly on that sacred day. And this, not because I had driven them to the performance of these duties by a frequent inculcating of them, but because they had felt the power of God's word upon their hearts, were made sensible of their sin and misery, and therefore could not but pray, and comply with every thing they knew to be duty, from what they felt within themselves. When their hearts were touched with a sense of their eternal concerns, they could pray with great freedom as well as fervency, without being at the trouble to learn set forms for that purpose. And some of them who were suddenly awakened at their first coming among us, were brought to pray and cry for mercy with utmost importunity, without ever being instructed in the duty of prayer, or so much as once directed to the performance of it. — Now altho' I cannot pretend that the reformation among my people does, in every instance, flow from a saving change of heart, yet I may



truly say, it flows from some heart-affecting view and sense of divine truths, which all have had in a greater or lesser degree. — I do not intend hereby to represent the preaching of morality, and pressing persons to the external performance of duty to be altogether unnecessary, and useless, at any time, and especially at times when there is less of divine power attending the means of grace; when for want of internal influences there is need of external restraints. It is doubtless among the things which ought to be done, while others are not to be left undone. But what I chiefly designed by this remark, was to represent plain matter of fact, viz. that the reformation, the sobriety, and external compliance with the rules and duties of Christianity, appearing among my people, are not the effect of any meer doctrinal instruction, or merely rational view of the beauties of morality, but from the internal power and influence that divine truths, (the soul-humbling doctrines of grace) have had upon their hearts.

3. It is remarkable that God has so continued and renewed the showers of his grace here, so quickly set up his visible kingdom among these people, and so smiled upon them in relation to their acquirement of knowledge, both divine and human. It is now near a twelve-month since the beginning of this gracious out-pouring of the divine Spirit among them, and though it has often seemed to decline and abate in some instances, yet the shower has seemed to be renewed, and the work of grace revived again. — And as God has favoured us with showers of grace, so he hath set up his kingdom among us with uncommon quickness. I have now baptized seventy-seven persons, of whom thirty-eight are adults, and thirty-nine children, and all within the space of eleven months. And I have baptized no adults, but such as appeared in a judgment of charity, to have a work of special grace wrought in their hearts. — I likewise administered the Lord's supper to a number of persons, who, I have abundant reason to think, were proper subjects of that ordinance, within the space of ten months and ten days, after my first preaching to them. And within the space of a twelvemonth, after some of them were attending an idolatrous feast and sacrifice in honour to devils. Surely Christ's little flock here, so suddenly gathered from among Pagans, may justly say, in the language of the church of old, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." — Much of the power and goodness of God has appeared also in their acquirement of knowledge<sup>a</sup>, both in religion, and in the affairs of common life. There has been a wonderful thirst after Christian knowledge prevailing among them, and an eager desire of being instructed in Christian doctrines and manners. — They are instructed twice a week in the *Assmblly's Shorter Catechism*; and some of them have learned to say it pretty distinctly more than half through. They are likewise instructed in the duty of secret prayer, and prompt each other to it.

4. I think it worthy to be noted, to the praise of sovereign grace, that amidst so great a work of conviction, and religious affection, there has been no prevalency of false religion (if I may so term it) or heats

<sup>a</sup> Providence has been very favourable in sending them a careful and affectionate school-master.

of imagination, intemperate zeal, and spiritual pride; corrupt mixtures, which too commonly attend the revival and powerful propagation of religion. This work of grace has, in the main, been carried on with a surprizing degree of purity, and freedom from corrupt mixtures.— Yet it must be owned, when this work became so universal and prevalent, satan seemed to transform himself into an angel of light, and made some vigorous attempts to introduce turbulent commotions of the passions, instead of genuine convictions of sin, and imaginary and fanciful notions of Christ, as appearing to the mental eye in human form, and particular postures, in the room of spiritual and supernatural discoveries of his divine glory and excellency; as well as divers other delusions. And I have reason to think, had these things met with encouragement, there would have been a considerable harvest of this kind of converts here. Spiritual pride also discovered itself in various instances; and in one or two an unbecoming ambition of being teachers of others. But, blessed be God, though something of this nature has appeared, nothing has prevailed, nor made any great progress.—And there have been very few instances of scandalous or irregular behaviour among those who have made a profession, or even an appearance of religion. Not above three or four that I know of, have been guilty of any open misconduct, and not one that persists in any thing of that nature. And perhaps the remarkable purity of this work in the latter respect, is very much owing to its purity in the former; as spiritual pride, and delusions, naturally lay a foundation for scandalous practices<sup>a</sup>.

[ From Mr. Edwards' Sermon at Mr. Brainerd's Funeral. ]

He told me one night as he went to bed<sup>b</sup>, that he expected to die that night; and added, "I am not at all afraid; I am willing to go this night, if it be the will of God. Death is what I long for."—He several times spake of the different kinds of willingness to die: and spoke of it as an ignoble mean kind of willingness to die, to be willing, only to get rid of pain, or to go to heaven only to get honour and advancement there. His own longings for death seemed to be quite of a different kind, and for nobler ends.—"My heaven [said he] is to please God, and glorify him, and give all to him, and to be wholly devoted to his glory: that is the heaven I long for: that is my religion; and that is my happiness, and always was, ever since I supposed I had any true religion: and all those that are of that religion, shall meet me in heaven.—I do not go to heaven to be advanced, but to give honour to God. It is no matter where I shall be stationed in heaven, whether I have a high or low seat there, but to love and please and glorify God.—If I had a thousand souls, if they were worthy any thing, I would give them all to God: but I have nothing to give, when all is done.—It is impossible for any rational creature to be happy without acting all for God:—I long to be in heaven, praising and glorify-

<sup>a</sup> For a great many other valuable and curious particulars, and amongst the rest, an account of the difficulties he met with in christianizing the Indians, and the methods he used to surmount these difficulties, see

the large Journal printed at Philadelphia 1746.

<sup>b</sup> He died at Northampton in Mr. Edwards' house of a consumption October 9th, 1747.

ing God with the holy angels; all my desire is to glorify God.—My heart goes out to the burying-place, it seems to me a desirable place: but O to glorify God! That is it! that is above all!—It is a great comfort to me to think that I have done a little for God in the world: It is but a very small matter; yet I have done a little; and I lament it that I have not done more for him.—There is nothing in the world worth living for, but doing good, and finishing God's work, doing the work that Christ did. I see nothing else in the world that can yield any satisfaction, besides living to God, pleasing him, and doing his whole will<sup>a</sup>.—After he came to be in so low a state, that he ceased to have the least expectation of recovery, his mind was peculiarly carried forth with earnest concern for the prosperity of the church of God on earth:—He told me when near his end, that “he never, in all his life, had his mind so led forth in desires and earnest prayers for the flourishing of Christ's kingdom on earth, as since he was brought so exceeding low at Boston. He seemed much to wonder, that there appeared no more of a disposition in ministers and people, to pray for the flourishing of religion through the world. And particularly, he several times expressed his wonder, that there appeared no more forwardness to comply with the proposal lately made from Scotland, for united extraordinary prayer among God's people, for the coming of Christ's kingdom, and sent it as his dying advice to his own congregation, that they should practise agreeable to that proposal. —A little before his death, he said to me, as I came into the room; “My thoughts have been employed on the old dear theme, the prosperity of God's church on earth. As I waked out of sleep (said he) I was led to cry for the pouring out of God's Spirit, and the advancement of Christ's kingdom, which the dear Redeemer did and suffered so much for: it is that especially makes me long for it.”——A few days before his death, he desired us to sing a psalm that was concerning the prosperity of Zion; which he signified that his mind was engaged in the thoughts of, and desires after, above all things; and at his desire we sang a part of the cii. psalm. And when we had done, though he was so low that he could scarcely speak, he so exerted himself, that he made a prayer, very audibly, wherein, besides praying for those present, and for his own congregation, he earnestly prayed for the reviving and flourishing of religion in the world.—His own congregation especially lay much on his heart. He often spake of them: and commonly when he did so, it was with extraordinary tenderness; so that his speech was interrupted and drowned with weeping.

a In his diary he writes thus; “Sept. 19th, Near night, while I attempted to walk a little, my thoughts turned thus; how infinitely sweet it is to love God, and be all for him! Upon which it was suggested to me, you are not an angel, not lively and active. To which my whole soul immediately replied, I as sincerely desire to love and glorify God, as any angel in heaven. Upon which it was suggested again, but

you are filthy, not fit for heaven. Hereupon instantly appeared the blessed robes of Christ's righteousness, which I could not but exult and triumph in. I viewed the infinite excellency of God; and my soul even broke with longings, that God should be glorified. O how I longed that God should be glorified on earth! O! I was made for eternity, if God might be glorified!

[I conclude this Chapter with the following extracts from the latest letters I have seen concerning this mission.]

[ From a Letter from Mr. Azariah Horton to the Preses of the Society in Scotland, dated Southampton, September 14th, 1751. ]

[After complaining of hindrances on the one hand from those he calls the separate people; and on the other from the opportunities that some give the Indians of gratifying their insatiable desires of strong drink; he adds] I have used endeavours to convince these different sorts of people of the evil and pernicious consequences of their conduct; and also to shew my own the danger of running into either of these extremes.—But the obstructions, as yet, are unsurmountable; and I believe nothing but the interposure of an almighty and gracious God will effectually remove them.—[But he adds afterwards] It will doubtless be observed in the perusal of my Journal, that we have enjoyed some tokens of the divine presence, and that some of my charge breathe the temper and speak the language of those that fear the Lord. Heretofore God has been pleased evidently and remarkably to bless my poor labours.—And if my heart do not greatly deceive me, I should rejoice to have it as in times past, &c. AZARIAH HORTON.

[ From a Letter from Mr. John Brainerd who succeeded his Brother in his Charge, to the Preses of the Society in Scotland, dated Bethel, October 22d, 1753. ] a

Since my last to your lordship, which bears date March 2d, 1753, I have steddily attended to the business of the mission, and have not been absent from my charge, but upon some necessary occasions, and then only for a short space. I have endeavoured strictly to attend to my commission and instructions; preaching the gospel; administering the sacraments; catechising both the grown people and the children; visiting

a See also a letter from Mr. John Brainerd to his friend in England, dated Bethel, October 4th, 1752, printed for J. Ward in Cornhill London 1753. Some passages of which follow, "I have been employed as a missionary among these Indians for above four years and a half, besides officiating for my brother several months during his last sickness. In this space of time the number has considerably increased, though for more than two years after I came, we were visited with much sickness and great mortality.—We have now near forty families belonging to our society; and our church consists of thirty-seven communicants, besides two or three more that stand as candidates for admission. Our school has sometimes consisted of above fifty children, but the number at present is not altogether so great.—I have spent the most of my time since I have been employed as a missionary among these people, but not wholly confined myself to them. I have taken several journies out among the more remote Indians, and some to those at a great distance. By this

means, with the blessing of God on my labours, I have persuaded sundry to come from distant parts and settle here, where they and their children, have the advantages of instruction, which I trust have been blest to the saving conversion of some: may the Lord daily encrease the number!—We have a very considerable number of serious regular Christians, who are an ornament to religion; although some that make a profession have grievously backslidden. The Lord has preserved and continued a Christian congregation together, tho' many attempts have been made by Satan and his instruments, to disperse and destroy it.—[Then after mentioning the obstacles to the Indians being brought to Christianity, such as—Their love to strong drink.—Their indolent, wandering, unsteady disposition.—The wickedness of some white people who prejudice them against the missionaries.—And some of them it is said will buy drink and give them to see if they cannot make Christian Indians drunk as well as others.—Also the want of a more liberal support to

my people; praying and conversing with the sick; attending funerals; and watching all opportunities to do them good.—I have constantly attended public worship three times on the Lord's-day; steadily once, and sometimes more, in the rest of the week. Besides, I have advised my people, especially of late, to meet, at least, one evening in a week, at a private house, which they do in the several parts of their town; sometimes at one house, and sometimes at another. This meeting I have generally attended; and carry it on by prayer, singing of psalms or hymns, and religious conversation. At these meetings I address myself to particular persons; inquire into the state of their souls; warn, exhort, encourage, &c. as I see occasion. And when I am absent, the meeting is carried on by religious conversation, together with prayer and singing of psalms, as above.—My endeavours, may it please your lordship, through the blessing of Heaven, have been, I hope, attended with some degree of success. I have had the satisfaction of admitting one adult person to baptism, who, I trust, is a true convert to God, and savingly acquainted with Jesus Christ; and sundry children have been the subjects of that divine ordinance. I can also, with pleasure, inform your lordship, and the society, that many of our former converts adorn their profession by a sober virtuous life. But some, I must needs say, have grievously backslidden, which has been matter of unspeakable grief to me, and done more to exhaust my spirits, and wear me out, than all the bodily fatigues I have ever undergone in the prosecution of this mission.

[Afterwards he writes of great difficulties the Indians have laboured under of late, with regard to their lands.—And of the lamented death of a promising young Indian, the Society were educating for the gospel-ministry; of whom he says,] He had been a member of New-Jersey college near two years; was much beloved by his class-mates and other scholars, and made a decent handsome appearance among

to the missionaries for carrying them thro' difficult journeys, and taking Christian Indians along with them.—He adds] I hope and trust that as this work of grace among the Indians comes to be more generally known and spread abroad, there will be a greater plenty of provision for the promotion of the same; and may the Lord hasten the blissful time! Upon the whole, though I am feelingly sensible of many difficulties and discouragements in christianizing the Indians, yet I cannot but think there has been, and still is as much encouragement as could rationally be expected, before any attempts of this kind were made, and that which is sufficient for us still to act upon, and to make farther attempts of this nature. There is ground to hope that within these seven years last past, there have been at least forty persons savingly converted to God, even in this small place, which at most does not contain above two hundred souls old and young of all sorts; and were there any spirited to go unto the more re-

mote parts where there are greater numbers of these miserable savages, who can tell what the Lord will do? What a glorious prospect might soon open?—The quarterly days of prayer for the prosperity of Zion are observed by some in these parts, and have been very constantly attended in my congregation; and some of my people have appeared very affectionate and warmly engaged at such times. May the Lord hear and answer the supplications of his people, and cause his church to arise and flourish, and even become a praise in the whole earth.—I would desire a remembrance in your addresses to the throne of grace for me, my people, and the cause of God among the Indians. And if you should have leisure, and think it worth while to write, please to direct for me at Bethel in New-Jersey, to the care of Mr. William Grant, merchant, in Second-street, Philadelphia; or to the care of Mr. Denny's de Berdt, merchant, in Artillery-court, Chiswel-street, London. I am, &c. JOHN BRAINERD.

them. He died of a quick consumption. I had opportunity of conversing with him in the latter part of his sickness; and though he was under some darkness, yet his discourse was good, and discovered much of the Christian, &c. JOHN BRAINERD.

## C H A P. VIII.

*In Ireland 1747, &c.*

[ From Mr. Wesley's seventh Journal. ]

Dublin, August 10th, 1747, I met the Society at five; and at six preached on "Repent and believe the gospel." The room, large as it was, would not contain the people, who all seemed to taste the good word.—In the afternoon a gentleman desired to speak with me. He was troubled that it was not with him as in times past; when at the age of fourteen, the power of God came mightily upon him, constraining him to rise out of bed, to pour out his prayers and tears, from an heart overflowed with love and joy in the Holy Ghost. For some months he scarce knew whether he was in the body, continually walking with God. He has now an abiding peace; but cannot rest, till the love of God again fill his heart.—Thursday 13th, I continued preaching, morning and evening, and had more and more reason to hope they would not all be unfruitful hearers.—Monday 17th, I began examining the society, which I finished the next day. It contained about two hundred and fourscore members, many of whom appeared to be strong in faith.—Tuesday 18th, I was informed, that Mr. Latrobe, the Moravian preacher, had read in his pulpit, part of the *Short View of the Difference between the Moravians and us*, with the addition of many bitter words. Herein he did us unawares a signal favour, giving an authentic proof, that we have nothing to do with them.

Sunday, March 13th, 1748, My brother preached.—Monday 14th, I began preaching at five in the morning, a new thing here.—Friday 25th, I preached in Marlborough-street at five, to the largest congregation I have yet seen in a morning. At two I began in Ship-street, where were many of the rich and genteel. I was exceeding weak in body, having been examining classes all the day. But I felt it not after I had spoke two sentences. I was strengthened both in body and soul.—Wednesday 30th, I rode to Philipstown, the shire town of the King's-County. I was obliged to go into the street, which was soon filled with those who flocked from every side; to whom I declared "Jesus Christ, our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption."—Thursday 31st, One would have dissuaded me from preaching at five, being sure none would rise so soon. But I kept my hour, and had a large and serious congregation. After preaching I spoke severally to those of the society, of whom forty were troopers.

Saturday, April 2d, At Moat I preached to an handful of serious people.—Sunday 3d, I preached at Athlone; many coming from all the country round, and (for the present) receiving the word with joy. I preached again at six in the same place, and to nearly the same (only a little larger) congregation: the greater part whereof (notwithstanding

the prohibition of their priests) I afterward found were Papists.—Monday 4th, I preached at five; great part of the congregation was in tears. Indeed almost all the town appeared to be moved, full of good-will and desires of salvation. But the waters spread too wide to be deep. I found not one under any strong conviction, much less had any one attained the knowledge of salvation.—In the evening I preached at Tyrrel's-pass, and found great enlargement of heart.—Tuesday 5th, Our room was filled at five. After preaching, I examined the classes. When I asked one in particular, "How he had lived in time past?" he spread abroad his hands, and said, with many tears, "Here I stand, a grey-headed monster of all manner of wickedness." Much in the same manner spoke one who came from Connaught, but with great affliction. We determined to wrestle with God in her behalf, which we did for above an hour; and he heard our prayer; so that her soul was filled with joy unspeakable. Mr. Jonathan Handy, greatly sorrowing before, was also now enabled to rejoice in God: and four other persons were cut to the heart, and cried aloud to him that is mighty to save.—Wednesday 6th, I baptized seven persons educated among the Quakers.—At Tullamore in the evening, well nigh all the town, rich and poor, were gathered together. I used great plainness of speech in applying those words, "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God." The next day I preached at five to a large and serious congregation. Between one and two, I preached at Clara, and then rode to Athlone, where I preached at six, on "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and after that to enter into his glory?" As yet none of this people even seems to oppose the truth.—Monday 11th, At Athlone, in the evening, there appeared more emotion in the congregation than ever I had seen before. But it was in a manner I never saw: not in one here and there, but in all.—Wednesday 13th, I preached in the Evening at Tyrrel's-pass. The congregation here also was larger than ever; and the word of God seemed to take deeper root here than in any other part of this country.—Saturday 16th, At Dublin I found great reason to praise God for the work wrought among the people in my absence. But still there is no such work as I look for. I see nothing yet but drops before a shower.—Wednesday 20th, I spent an agreeable hour with Mr. Miller, the Lutheran minister. From him I learned, that the earnest religion which I found in so many parts of Germany, is but of late date, having taken its rise from one man, August Herman Franck<sup>a</sup>! So can God, if it pleaseth him, enable one man to revive his work throughout a whole nation.—Sunday 24th, I preached at Skinner's-alley at five, and on Oxmantown-green at eight. I was weak in body, but was greatly revived by the seriousness and earnestness of the congregation.—Saturday 30th, At Athlone, some Papists, and two or three Protestant families were cordially joined together, to oppose the work of God; but they durst not yet do it openly, the stream running so strong against them.

a [After Dr. Spenser, &c. Several other instruments of this work are mentioned | Providence has countenanced Mr. Franck's labours remarkably above all the rest.]  
Vol. I. page 384, 391, &c. But it seems

Sunday, May 1st, Great part of the town was present at five, and, I found, began to feel what was spoken. Yet still the impression is not made as in other places, on one here and there only; but the main body of the hearers seem to go on together.—About two I preached on the Connaught side of the bridge, to an attentive multitude both of Protestants and Papists; whose priest, perceiving he profited nothing, at five came himself. I preached on “Is there no balm in Gilead?” and could not help applying to the Papists in particular. I am satisfied many of them were almost persuaded to give themselves up to the great Physician of souls.—Tuesday 3d, In the evening we rode to Balliboy. There being no house that could contain the congregation, I preached here also in the street. I was afraid, in a new place, there would be but few in the morning; but there was a considerable number; and such a blessing as I had scarce found since I landed in Ireland.—Thursday 5th, At Mountmelick. I had not seen such a congregation before, since I set out from Dublin. And the greater part did not stand like stocks and stones, but seemed to understand what I spake of worshipping God in spirit and in truth.—Friday 6th, More people came at five than I had seen at that hour in any part of Ireland. And I found my heart so moved towards them, that in spite of weakness and pain, I intorced, for more than an hour, those solemn words, “The kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe the gospel.”—Wednesday 11th, The congregation, both in the evening and the next morning, was larger than before.—After preaching, a grey-headed man came to me, bitterly lamenting, that he had lived many years without knowing that he had need of a Physician. Immediately came another, who had been a harmless man as any in the town; he would have spoke, but could not. I then spoke to him; but not two minutes, before he sunk to the ground. So I perceived I had not spent my little strength here, as one that beateth the air.

Dublin May 20th, and 21st, 1749, I examined the classes, and was much comforted among them. I left about four hundred in the society: and after all the stumbling-blocks laid in the way, I found four hundred and forty nine.—Wednesday May 3d, I preached at Tullamore. Thursday 4th, At Clara about noon, and in the evening at Athlone. I never saw so large a congregation here on a week-day before; among whom were many of the soldiers (the remains of the regiment wherein John Nelson was) and seven or eight of the officers. They all behaved well, and listened with deep attention. Sunday 7th, At five I had great numbers of the poor Papists (as well as Protestants) maugre all the labour of their priests. I called aloud, “Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money!” strange news to them! one of whom had declared frankly, but a few days before, “I would fain be with you, but I dare not: for now I have all my sins forgiven for four shillings a year; and this could not be in your church.” We had a triumphant hour when the society met. Several captives were set at liberty: one of these was Mr. Joseph Ch—. He had been an eminent man many years for cursing, swearing, drinking, and all kinds of fashionable wickedness. On Monday last he had rode



fifteen miles to Tyrrel's-pass, and came thither before five in the morning. He was immediately convinced and followed me in from the preaching. I was then examining a class. Their words cut him to the heart. He came after me to Athlone (when he had settled some temporal business) having his eyes continually filled with tears, and being scarce able to eat, drink or sleep. But God now wiped away the tears from his eyes; and he returned to his house, to declare what things God had wrought.—Monday 8th, I rode to Aghrim, where the face of things was quite changed since the time I was there before. Here was now a serious congregation from all the country round. I preached about seven, and afterwards explained the nature and use of a society. The first who desired to join therein, was Mr. S. his wife and daughter.—Tuesday 9th, I rode to Ahalkra, six miles south, at the desire of Mr. G. the rector. As the Papists durst not come into the church, I preached before Mr. G's door. I should not have imagined this was the first time of their hearing this preaching, so fixt and earnest was their attention. In the morning, Wednesday 10th, I think the congregation was larger than in the evening; among whom was the rector of a neighbouring parish, who seemed then to be much athirst after righteousness.—Limerick, May 14th, In the evening I preached to a numerous congregation on "If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink." We afterwards met the society. Six or seven prisoners of hope were set at liberty this day.—Tuesday 16th, I went to dine on the Island (so they call a peninsula without the walls.) We had hardly dined, when one and another of the neighbours came in, till we had a company of sixteen or eighteen. We joined together in prayer and praising God, and many, I believe, went home rejoicing.—How does the frequency and greatness of the works of God make us less (instead of more) sensible of them? A few years ago, if we heard of one notorious sinner truly converted to God, it was matter of solemn joy to all that loved or feared him. And now that multitudes, of every kind and degree, are daily turned from the power of darkness to God, we pass it over as a common thing! O God give us thankful hearts!—Wednesday 17th, I met the class of soldiers, eight of whom were Scots Highlanders. Most of these were brought up well; but evil communications had corrupted good manners. They all said, from the time they entered into the army, they had grown worse and worse. But God had now given them another call, and they knew the day of their visitation.—Sunday 28th, I preached at Mardyke in the evening, on "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself." I never saw even at Bristol, a congregation which was at once so numerous and so serious.—Monday 29th, I set out for Cork, we stopped a while at Kildorrery in the afternoon, and took the opportunity of speaking closely to every one that understood English, and of giving them a few books. What a nation is this! every man, woman and child (except a few of the great vulgar) not only patiently, but gladly suffer the word of exhortation. Between six and seven we reached Rathcormuck.—Tuesday 30th, I preached at eleven, and the hearts of the people seemed to be as melting wax. But will not many of them harden their hearts again?—In the af-

ternoon I waited on Col. B. and found him a serious and an understanding man, and his long and painful illness seems to have been attended with good and happy fruit.—Our congregation in the evening was larger than ever. And never since I came into this kingdom, was my soul so refreshed, as it was both in praying for them, and in calling them to accept the redemption that is in Jesus.—Friday June 2d, At Bandon I was sent for by a clergyman who had come twelve miles on purpose to talk with me. We had no dispute, but simply endeavoured to strengthen each other's hands in God.—Saturday 3d, At the request of many in the town, in the close of my evening-sermon, I answered for myself. And have reason to believe, it was much blest to many of the congregation.—Sunday 4th, Being extremely hoarse, I could not speak without difficulty. However I made shift to preach at nine, at two and at five, the congregation continually increasing.—Wednesday 7th, I set out early with Mr. Loyd, and breakfasted at Mr. T's at Castle-hyde. They both rode with me to Kildorrery: about one I preached to a very unconcerned congregation, at Brough: in the evening to another sort of a congregation at Limerick, on "Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous."—Four comfortable days I spent with this lively people, the like to whom I had not found in all the kingdom.—Saturday 17th, at Athlone in the evening, I preached in our new-built house. Towards the close of the sermon, I asked, which of you will give yourself, soul and body, to God? One cried out with a cry that almost shook the house, "I will, I will." And as soon as able to stand, came forth in the midst, to witness it before all the congregation. These words pierced like lightning. Presently another witnessed the same resolution. And not long after, one who had been sorrowing as without hope, received comfort and continued praising God. Perceiving this was an acceptable time, I laid aside my design of meeting the society, and continued in prayer with the whole congregation, all our hearts being as the heart of one man.—Monday 19th, I preached at Ahalkra at six, both in the evening and in the morning. On Tuesday evening at Athlone, I then met the society, where one and another and another cried aloud for mercy. We called upon God till several of them found mercy, and praised him with a good courage. I think more found peace with God in these four days, than in sixteen months before.—Thursday 22d, I preached at noon at a village, three miles from Tyrrels-pass: in the evening at Tullamore, and on Friday morning and evening. Saturday 24th, I rode to Mountmelick and dined with Joseph Fry, late a Quaker. Abundance of people were at the preaching in the evening, and all seemed to give earnest attention.—Sunday 25th, I preached at eight to a still increasing congregation, and God's word was as a two-edged sword. I rode thence to Portarlinton; a town inhabited chiefly by French. A clergyman there received me gladly. Some time before a gentleman of Mountmelick had desired him to preach against the Methodists. He said, he could not, till he knew what they were; in order to which, he came soon after and heard Mr. Larwood. And from that time, instead of preaching against

them, he spoke for them, wherever he came. — Monday 26th, We had a blessed opportunity in the evening, while I was explaining the covenant God hath made with us; [and again] at the meeting of the society. So that my voice could not be heard for the voice of those who cried for mercy, or praised the God of their salvation. — Thurs. 29th, I rode to Portarlinton again, and preached to a larger congregation than before. They all seemed to hear, not only with strong desire, but with understanding also. — I afterwards explained to them the nature of a society, and desired any who were willing so to unite together, to speak to me severally. Above threescore did so, the same day. — Saturday July 1st, I preached at Mountmelick. Sunday 2d, I preached at eight in Portarlinton, and again at two. I scarce knew how to leave off; all the people seemed to be so deeply affected. The society now contained above one hundred members full of zeal and good desires. And in one week, the face of the whole town is changed. Open wickedness is not seen. The fear of God is on every side: and rich and poor ask, “What must I do to be saved? And how long (I thought with myself) will this continue? In most, only till the fowls of the air come, and devour the seed. Many of the rest, when persecution or reproach begins, will immediately be offended. And in the small remainder, some will fall off, either through other desires, or the cares of the world, or the deceitfulness of riches. — Monday 3d, I preached at Edinderry; and on Tuesday, morning and evening. Almost every person who was present at the meeting of the society, appeared to be broken in pieces. A cry went up on every side; till Joseph Fry, once as eminent a sinner as even Joseph Fry of Mountmelick, and since as eminent an instance of the grace of God, broke out into prayer. It was not long before praise and prayer were mixt together. And shortly after, prayer was swallowed in the voice of praise and thanksgiving. — Wednesday 5th, I returned to Dublin. Sunday 9th, I preached on the green both morning and afternoon; and the congregation was considerably larger than any I had seen in Dublin before. —

## C H A P. IX.

*In Holland 1749, 1750.*

[ From a Letter from a Minister in Holland to a Minister in Scotland, dated October 2d, 1750. ]

R. D. B. I bless the Lord, I can give you the certain account of the plentiful out-pouring of the Holy Spirit in several congregations in the Velurve, one of the quarters of the dutchy of Guelderland, by whose blessed powerful influences that amiable kingdom, which consists in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, is notably advanced. Of this great event, I had some confused notice before I went to —, but thought it my duty to be silent about a matter of such vast importance, till I obtained full and certain information, knowing well of what pernicious consequence groundless precipitant reports are, in

most cases, and especially of that nature. This information I have got since my return; and now desire to acknowledge and rejoice in this great work of God.—This blessed work begun in a town called Nieuwkerk, about ten English miles above Amersfoort, and about as many from Harderwick, near the head of the Zuiderzee; and from that town the blessed wind is blown over to five different congregations in the villages of Putten, Barnevelt, Lunteren, Nunspeet, and Zoest; in all of which, but especially in Putten, the awakening has been very great, and multitudes, according to the best judgment, brought under the blessed bond of the everlasting covenant.—There are two reformed ministers in the church of Nieuwkerk; the oldest is J. J. Roldanus; the other, who was called there 1748, is called Gerardus Kuypers: the Lord has honoured them both to be instrumental in carrying on that blessed work. Mr. Kuypers gives the account of the work.—It had been in this place a dead barren backsliding time for many years past; conviction and conversion work very rare: the place was full of infidelity, carnality, profanity, and fearlessness of God, to that degree, that it was by other places reproached, as being an habitation of people, who, by long prosperity, were waxed fat, and kicked against the Lord.—The small remnant of the godly who were in the place were daily persecuted with bitter scoffings and mockings.—In this awful situation of the place, one thing is very remarkable, that the generality of that dead, graceless, fearless people were much set upon fervent earnest preaching, and liked to have their ministers speak to them like men who were seriously and in good earnest concerned about their eternal welfare. This temper the Lord seems to have made use of as an handle to bring Mr. Kuypers there, who seems to have a good deal of that kind of talent.—The first means which the Lord was pleased to bless, for awakening that dead secure people to something of seriousness and concern about eternal things, was a public weekly catechizing, set up with this good design, that by this plain simple familiar way of instruction, that ignorant people might be brought to some distinct knowledge of the Lord.—This exercise was attended with notable success; many were stirred up to search the scriptures.—Another thing which the Lord remarkably countenanced, was the setting a-part of some time for a kind of fellowship-meetings or Christian conferences, alternately, in the houses of the few among them who seemed to have any fear of God, and particularly on the evenings of the Lord's-day. After public worship was over, then Mr. Kuypers himself was present, and enquired particularly at those who were present, what they remembered of the truths delivered in public, whether they felt any, and what impressions were made upon their hearts by the Lord's word.—These meetings were immediately much talked of; hundreds frequented them after their daily labour was over (for that was the time pitched upon as most convenient) several were brought under some concern about their souls, and began to see their miserable lost state, and were made to continue earnest in prayer.—All this was carried on with little noise, silently, as usually in the ordinary work of the conversion of particular persons. The number of

those who were in soul-trouble encreased, and the Lord made the arrows of conviction sharp in the hearts of many.—Some were brought under convictions that silently issued in their conversion to God.—In this way was ushered in that uncommon dispensation of the Spirit, which they looked not for; for, at last, the preaching of the gospel began to be attended with such awful power, that severals were made to cry out aloud with many tears, and a bitter painful sense of their fearful distress and misery. The first instance of this kind, was under a sermon of Mr. Roldanus; an aged woman, in the most lamentable manner, and with all the signs of terror and compunction, cried aloud for pity and mercy from the Lord. The novelty of this event occasioned a great commotion in the congregation; and many were much affected with distress and trouble, but a little calmed by the minister's telling the woman, gravely and very solemnly, that the word of salvation was yet proclaimed to her, that now, even now, was the accepted time, the day of salvation; it was not past; and very earnestly called upon all to seek the Lord while he was to be found.—After this, all continued quiet for some days, till the 16th of November 1749, while Mr. Kuypers preached upon Psal. lxxii. 16.—The Spirit of the Lord began to work in an astonishing manner; all that had past before seemed to have been a preparation for greater and more glorious things; for, as plainly appeared afterwards, very many were under that word awakened, convinced, and engaged, with the poor prodigal, to give up the huiks and dross of this world, for the unsearchable riches of Jesus Christ. Especially, upon Monday the 17th, while Mr. Kuypers catechised in the church, upon the subject of the former day's sermon, the shaking of that Lebanon (as he expresses it) by the blowings of the Holy Spirit, became astonishing. The trouble of conscience and emotion of affections was general. There was a great lamentation; rivers of tears gushed out, and severals fell trembling and astonished to the earth, unable to stand, by reason of the agony and agitation of their spirits, arising from the sudden strong impression made upon them of the dreadful state, and crying necessity of their souls; and of these, severals called out to those about them, "View in me, as in a fearful glass, and see how bitter a thing sin will be at last, and how fearful the wrath of the great Holy God!"—The troubled and broken in heart were brought to Mr. Kuypers' house, who, upon conversing with them, soon discovered that the Holy Spirit, by the word, had begun a work of conviction in them.—Mr. Kuypers finding things thus with them, began to conceive some hope; yet he stood astonished, conflicting with doubts and fears, to see so many persons so strangely affected.—His doubts and fears had this good effect; they made him very careful and circumspect in examining all these appearances, and comparing them with the Lord's word.—The next day, there was an almost universal astonishment and dejection among the inhabitants of the town: Mr. Kuypers went early in the morning to the houses of such of the awakened and distressed as were best known to him; and the work being great, he got some private Christians to go to others; they were busy the whole day, going to innumerable houses.—The following

Thursday he preached upon Acts xvi. 30, 31. where many were brought to a more distinct view of their true state and condition.—From that day the work increased beyond description; there is no painting of it to the life; it was a perfect commentary upon the 2d of the Acts. Mockers ridiculed, but multitudes were pricked at heart, and cried, What shall we do?—Next Lord's-day the Lord graciously accompanied the sermons of both ministers, with such demonstration of the Spirit and power, that many more were awakened.—The exercises of the most were carried on with a considerable measure of quietness and sedateness, who, as far as we are allowed to judge, are savingly converted. But a great number were exercised with great bodily distress.—Upon the closest examination, it was found uniformly true, that this soul distress and trouble did not flow merely from the fear of wrath and punishment which alone can produce nothing better than Esau's tears; but it flowed chiefly and principally from a sense of the dishonour and provocation given to an infinitely good, gracious God.—Many in their greatest distress cried out vehemently thus, Woe is me, what a monster am I, to sin against so gracious and merciful a God, to have injured, provoked, so holy, so good a God!—In this way there would have been more than fifty persons in a day at the houses of the ministers struck with so deep a sense of the exceeding sinfulness of their sins, and dreadfulness of God's wrath, that they fell upon their knees, and after, flat upon the earth, groaning and sighing out their bitter lamentations.—As the awakened and distressed were many in number, several hundreds; so they were of all characters and ages; some boys and girls from seven to twelve years old; young men and women in the flower of their youth; and old persons of seventy and eighty years, who had spent all their days in ignorance of God, deep forgetfulness of him and rebellion against him, have been at the eleventh hour snatched as brands out of the burning, and are melted into tears at the thoughts of the admirable patience of a Redeemer, to bear so many horrid provocations from them, and wait so long knocking at their hearts for entrance.—Many of the more knowing and learned in the speculative knowledge of scripture truths, have been deeply and thoroughly convinced of their great blindness and ignorance.—The awakening went on so powerfully all the months of June and July, that several hundred strangers who came from other places were made to feel its influence, and pricked to the heart.—I can assure you that this blessed work still goes forward in that, and has spread through several other congregations, and eminently in the village of Putten, and that all the subjects of this blessed work continue steadfast in the faith and ways of the Lord.

By the account I have given, and the farther account I hope to give, if the state of my health permit, you will clearly perceive, that this work of grace wrought on the hearts of so many hundreds by the word and Spirit of the Lord, is, in substance, the very same work, which was some years ago, carried on so remarkably in your happy corner of the Lord's vineyard, and agrees exactly in all the great leading strokes and lineaments of it, with the work of grace, which has more or less been

carried on in all ages of the church of Christ from the beginning, tho' perhaps with some variety of circumstances, which must reasonably be expected whenever the Lord builds up Zion in a more observable and glorious manner, which he would have to be taken notice of by the world. May he, with whom is the residue of the Spirit, grant us fresh, more plentiful effusions, till our wilderness, in all the parts of it, become a fruitful field.

[ From another Letter from the same to the same, dated January 15th, 1751. ]

R. D. B. The great work of grace, of which I gave you some general account, not only goes forward at Nieuwkerk and the villages mentioned in my last, but, blessed be the God of all grace, it spreads itself through many other places unworthy that the God of glory should cast a look of mercy upon them, much more pour out his Spirit upon them, and make them savingly to know his words. The word of the Lord has free course, and is glorified in the conviction and conversion of great numbers at a village called Aalten in Guelderland; at a village called Rheid in the dutchy of Juliers, and several other places through the country; and in the city of Groeningen (one of the seats of learning and philosophy) there has been a considerable awakening several months past, hundreds under sharp convictions, which it is hoped will have a gracious saving issue.—The Lord's hand is very visible, and his work glorious in the great number of persons of all ages and conditions that have been awakened and savingly wrought upon, and particularly little children, whom he has sweetly allured to come to his Christ and out of whose mouth he is perfecting praise. One instance of this nature I must mention, so remarkable, that formerly it would have been looked upon as worthy to be recorded and published through the whole land. It is of a child eleven years of age, who came to Mr. Kuypers, and said,

"I have now, likewise, glad tidings to tell God's people, that I am also born in Zion, and that the Lord Jesus has drawn me into the city of refuge. The Lord has brought me into distress under your sermon upon Psalm ii. 12. "Kiss ye the Son," &c. and by your sermon on Matth. iii. 12. "Whose fan is in his hand;" he clearly shewed me that I was chaff, good for nothing, but to be burnt. Since which, I could do nothing but seek Jesus in hearing, reading, and praying. Many have mocked and reviled me, calling me a hypocrite, and saying I had a devil; but oh I thought, I could gladly bear this and much more, if I might but get an interest in Christ, and hold on in his ways: and oh blessed be his name, last Lord's-day, under your sermon from 1 Thess. v. 19. "Quench not the Spirit;" he discovered to me my great danger, and absolute need of Jesus Christ, and yesterday he set home that discovery so clearly, that my heart was constrained to cry out, oh I can no longer live without sweet Jesus, and precious fellowship with him. I could neither eat, drink, nor sleep, till I got that pearl of great price; I had been much afraid that I was not sorrowful enough for sin, nor so broken-hearted as others, and that the Lord Jesus would never never receive and save such a wretch as I am. But oh the Lord has given me to believe, that Jesus Christ is willing to receive me just as I am, and

live me to the uttermost; but alas! I have been hitherto unwilling, though now my whole heart's desire is to come willingly to him. The Lord was discovered to me, not to the eyes of my body, but of my mind, and yet as clearly as if I had seen him with those eyes. I saw him as crucified in his sufferings, extinguishing the fire of God's wrath, and now exalted in his kingdom; surrounded with millions of his saints and angels, and crowned with all glory and majesty. Oh this made Jesus unspeakably dear and lovely to me, and he said to my soul, I am thy salvation; sin and Satan have no more power over thee! Hereupon I gave all my sins over to him, and saw him bearing them away, as my blessed Surety. I renounced the covenant with sin and Satan, I gave the Lord Jesus my heart, and trusted in him without doubting; I received him as my Prophet, Priest and King, and he is become my everlasting Bridegroom! Then these scriptures came powerfully upon my heart, "I have fought the good fight, I have kept the faith, and henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, &c. And it shall be said of Zion, that this man and that man was born there, and the Highest himself shall establish her. And they shall go from strength to strength till they appear before the Lord in Zion:" upon which my heart was so filled with love and joy, that I could do nothing but praise and give thanks. Now God is my Father; he drew me, else I could never have come to his dear Son! Now is Jesus my elder Brother, my lovely Husband, my King of glory; he will guide me and save me. Now God is my portion, I have an interest in the glorious persons: I have no parents and am poor on earth, but oh I have a wonderfully rich and gracious Father in Heaven. I was then so taken up in rejoicing that I seemed to be in Heaven, and wished for ever to be in the same frame. Oh how am I now dignified; I am now in the city of refuge, I have nothing to fear; I will now willingly bear all scorn and reproach with God's people, and despise the vanity and wickedness of the world. I was forced to cry out; Oh I would not change now; though a man should give me all the riches of his house for a moment of this love, I would altogether disdain it! Oh I am glad in the Lord; my spirit rejoices in God my Saviour! What shall I render to the Lord for all his benefits to me? Oh I can render nothing, but only live to him. Now the devil has no interest in me, the Lord Jesus has overcome him. The Lord may let me fall, but oh, he will not let me fall away. Oh I hope he will keep me from burying the talent of grace, which he has given me, and enable me to improve it for edification. I have yet relations, who must be converted or perish; they have shown me much kindness; oh I will pray for them. Oh what a choice privilege is it, that Christ has so early drawn me to himself; I am not yet eleven years old; oh I have now continual need of strengthening and reviving grace: oh I will seek it from Christ's fulness, under the means. Oh blessed be the Lord, that he made me diligent in waiting on the means; I often thought, who knows whether I may not be converted under this sermon: I will hold on, till the Lord Jesus take me, and lead me a poor blind creature in ways which I know not. Oh I must, I will now tell all God's people, what the Lord has done for my soul."



This is an account of that child.—[And as to the work in general,] the number of witnesses is so great, their character for understanding, probity, and serious godliness so unexceptionable, and the facts they attest, such in their nature, that they could not mistake through ignorance, being what God's word plainly requires to pass upon every soul that would be saved, what they have experienced and been comforted with themselves, and what the awakened or comforted declare uniformly they have experienced; that no man can reasonably refuse his assent.

## C H A P. X.

*Of Endeavours to convert Jews and Mahomedans.*

[ From Callenberg's short Account ] a

[The last sentence of this short account informs us, that it reaches no farther than to the end of the year 1730.—In page 5th, the author tells the occasion of the good attempts which he narrates. One whom he calls an ancient pious Protestant divine, who died in the 80th year of his age, did, a few years before his death, give Mr. Callenberg a little manuscript which he had composed, being a solid and affectionate treatise, adapted to the genius and written in the usual language of the German Jews. Mr. Callenberg in 1728, not only published this tract itself, but a short account of it in the German tongue. This, he says, gave occasion to some of his correspondents to encourage him by their advice and assistance to print more such useful pieces. And that those encouragements given by so many persons of good extraction, and learned pious ministers made deep impression on his mind.—He divides the undertaking in favours of the Jews into different branches relating to these three things. 1. The printing press. 2. The provision for proselites and catechumens. 3. The travels of two students for the benefit of that nation.

I. As to the first, viz. The printing press, he shews the design of it is that the Jews not only in Europe but in other parts of the world may be furnished with proper books, and for the most part gratis, in languages they understand. Among the books fit to be printed and disposed he mentions such as shew the divinity of the New Testament as being founded on the Old, with proper confutations of Jewish prejudices.

II. As to the second branch of the plan, viz. provision for proselites, he tells that he heard professor Franck say, that the greatest obstruction to the conversion of the Jews was the destitute condition of the proselites:

a A pamphlet of 48 pages octavo, intitled, John Henry Callenberg, Prof. Publ. at Hall in Saxony, his short Account of an Essay, to bring the Jewish Nation to the Knowledge and Practice of the Truth of the Gospel; and his Endeavour to promote the Conversion of the Mahomedans to Christianity. Printed at Hall in Saxony 1732. Now done into English 1734. And printed 1751. It has an advertisement prefixed in Latin to this purpose: "The English translation of our account of the undertaking in favours of the Jews, is printed for the service of English merchants in remoter parts of the world, who may be willing to give our books and pamphlets, to be transmitted gratis by us, to the Jews, and, if possible, also to the Mahomedans."

that several of the travelling profelites have come to him (Mr. Callenberg) with great complaints of the straits to which they were reduced by turning Christians: that the conduct of too many of them hardened the Jews against the Christian religion and Christians against the Jewish nation: that care was taken to inquire into the motives of their turning Christians, and the occupation they would chuse for their livelihood: also that they get present supply and are helped to a way of maintaining themselves in time coming. He tells of some number residing at Hall who met every Lord's-day evening at his house, with some other Christians, to hear from God's word exhortations suitable to their condition. Travelling profelites are entertained there some days, as circumstances may permit. It adds to this benefit that while thus entertained, they are instructed for an hour every day by an able student, and heartily admonished to a sincere conversion and an orderly way of living. If I receive any information of their ill behaviour from other places, (says Mr. Callenberg) I tell them of it in love, &c. And then he adds,]

Our correspondence, as well as the travels of the two students, of whom more below, has given occasion to extend this care for the profelites to other places. Whenever we hear of any new instances of sincere and pious profelites, we mention them to others in order to raise an emulation in them to follow their example. But when some of them are dejected and troubled in mind about their being cut off from their nation, which brand them with the name of *mefchummedim* or *mefchmodim*, i. e. corrupted and destroyed, we endeavour to settle a nearer acquaintance and stricter union between them and other true profelites. Should this union among themselves be more and more cultivated and exerted in a pious and a strict practice of the love of God and their neighbour, it would be no small means to bring many of their yet unbelieving brethren to Christ.

[ From Chap. 4th.—*Of the Journeys and Travels two Students have undertaken for the Benefit of the Jewish Nation.* ]

The occasion of these journeys and travels was this. A certain student in divinity, having finished his studies in two different universities, and being reduced to very strait circumstances, which proved the means of his real conversion, he began his travels in the month of July 1728, which was soon after the project for the conversion of the Jews was set on foot here. In these his travels he had frequent opportunities to enter into a familiar conference with several Jews, in which he exhorted them to acknowledge our Saviour as the true Messiah. But when he happened to meet with my account of the Jews in a certain place, and with several other little tracts, and found the Jews to relish them, he resolved immediately to lend me his helping hand in this undertaking. Thus he arrived here in the month of Oct. 1730, after he had travelled on foot seventy German leagues. And here he came acquainted with one well grounded in his studies, a student in divinity, who offered himself to accompany him in his travels for a certain time. These their endeavours being found very useful to forward this undertaking, made me resolve as long as the circumstances

would permit, to keep constantly two such travelling students, and in case one should go off, to supply his place with another.

These travellers oblige themselves but for a time to serve this undertaking. Their chief care in their travels is to acquaint themselves with the Jews in a decent manner; to discourse with them about divine truths; to disperse the little treatises, printed here, amongst them; to forward the above-mentioned care of the proselites; and to keep a constant journal of all that is worthy of any notice.

They have an opportunity to converse with the Jews in their walks, in the public houses, where they lodge, or of visiting the Jews in their own houses. They frequent their synagogues, where they always have their bibles before them. What necessaries they want in their travels, they buy of the Jews; and go to them, when they have any occasion to change their money. They speak with them in their own Jewish-German dialect. They acquaint them with what Jewish-German books they carry about them. This soon paves the way without any great preamble to a familiar and edifying conference with them. And though they always accost them in a civil, modest and humble manner, yet they never flatter them, but exert their zeal, when they find it necessary.

The method of conferring with the Jews is not always the same, but it generally tends to this, that they hear their objections against Christianity, which they answer. Then they ask them, by what means they hope to be saved: and when they hear their insufficient answers, they endeavour to convince them of their gross mistakes. Then they lay before them a short abstract of the Christian order and method, by which all must be saved; and make use of St. Paul's doctrine by comparing Adam and Christ, and explaining to them the design of the sacrifices in the Old Testament. They discover to them the reason of their exile, which has lasted these seventeen hundred years. They shew them the passages of scripture, by which they may learn, what God requires of them in this their still subsisting dispersion, viz. that they ought to seek after God and their King David; and by true repentance and faith acknowledge him, whom their fathers have pierced, and lament their long obstinacy of having despised and rejected him for so many ages. They make them sensible of the sincere and hearty love of all true Christians, who not only in their private devotions, but also in their public congregations, constantly and earnestly pray to God for their conversion and deliverance from their woful condition. They assure them of a considerable number of such Christians, whose charitable contributions furnish them with books in their own Jewish-German language and dialect, which explain to them the way to everlasting peace and salvation, and are distributed gratis to all who desire to read them. Nay some poor people spare some few pence out of their bare necessity, and little children out of their Christmas boxes contribute something. This great love they ought not to despise, or neglect such a gracious visitation.

[ From Chap. 5th. — *Of the Assistants in this Undertaking.* ]

By what has been said before, one may easily judge, that many hands are required to carry on this work. I reckon those amongst the num-

ber of assistants, who freely promised to assist us with their prayers, and I am in hopes they will be as good as their word.

Some lend their assistance by communicating their useful observations and advices how matters may be the better carried on: all which I minute down, in order to make use of them in their proper time and place. Others instruct me with their writings relating to this subject: and these are likewise carefully laid up in the Jewish library set up for that purpose.

Some endeavour to distribute divers of the printed tracts among the Jews where they live; others upon their travels. Nay some persons of quality send for a number of those little tracts, and distribute them, either themselves, or by their servants. What particular assistance the two travelling students give, has been mentioned in the foregoing chapter.

Some students have been found of late years, who were and are still desirous to be instructed in the Jewish modern tongue, in order to qualify themselves to lend their assistance upon occasion. This preparation lecture I continue still every Wednesday from six till seven at night.

All the benefactors, that have hitherto contributed any thing to the furtherance of this undertaking, have done it out of their free choice and liberality, without any seeking of mine. Such good and pious benefactors hath the Lord God raised up not only in Germany, but also in Russia, Denmark, England and Italy. Among this number are even some persons of quality, several divines, and other Christian people, who for the most part have no great affluence nor superfluity themselves.

Among the assistants I cannot but particularly mention those who have wholly dedicated themselves to promote this undertaking. There is first an able person, who constantly writes something or other, that is to be published, and who attends the correction of the press. Secondly, A compositor and a printer, &c. Thirdly, The two travelling students. And, Lastly, The amanuensis who is a student and instructs the compositor in the Hebrew an hour every day.

[ From Chap. 6th.—*The Books printed hitherto upon this Occasion.* ]

[The books he mentions are such as these: 1. One intitled, *The Light in the Evening*, shewing mens need of such a Saviour as Christ is. 2. *A Letter to the whole Jewish Nation in Europe*, which removes insensibly (the author seems to mean, in the manner least irritating) their false notions of the way of escaping the guilt of sin. 3. *A friendly Exhortation to the Jews to read the New Testament*, which contains so gracious promises to them. This piece contains an earnest dissuasive from all evil treatment of the Jews. 4. Several pieces of the New Testament. 5. *Calver's Catechism for the Benefit of the Jews*. 6. *The due Preparation for the Administration of Baptism*, conferred upon a Jew; together with a confutation of the Jewish prejudice of being God's darlings because they are Abraham's children. 7. *The Augsburg Confession*; to [the dispersing of] which, among other things, the great stir amongst the Jews caused by the emigration of so many thousands of Saltzburghers, has given occasion. 8. *The Confutation of the Jewish Objections a-*

gainst the Christian Religion, which Hugo Grotius has added to his work *de Veritate Religionis Christianae*. Concerning the tracts published for the benefit of the Jews, he says, in general, that the number of copies amounts to 21500.]

[ From Chap. 7th.—Of the good Effects of this Undertaking, particularly in Regard of the Press.]

Concerning the printing press, I observe in general, that the treatises published have, for the most part, been so well received, that of 21000 copies but very few are left. Neither can I omit mentioning, that of all the Jews but a small number has been found, who were exasperated by, and set against the reading of them.

The particular success, these little tracts have met with, consists in this, that the Jews are not only willing but greedy to receive them, nay in great crowds they have struggled to get at them; they have not only desired to have them for themselves, but for their relations too. Grown people and children have sought for them, and parents have begged them for their children.

Some Jews buy them, and allow their children to do the same. They have sent for them, to see, whether they were worth reading; and paid for them afterwards. Some Jews have purchased a number of those little tracts, and sold them among their own brethren.

They read those books, or promise to read them on their Sabbath; and give them to their wives and children to read. A servant was forbid by his master to read the *Light in the Evening*; yet he hid himself, and read it privately. Another zealous Jew, who shewed a great dislike against the aforesaid treatise at first, was four weeks after found reading the same on the Sabbath; and had nothing to say for himself, when he was reprov'd for his bitter invectives he had made against it. Some are excited to read the Old Testament with more care than they did before. They do not throw them away when they have read them, but take great care in keeping of them.

Many are surprized, when they read these tracts, and do not know what to make of them; others, when they are asked, what they think of them? say nothing, but express themselves in a sigh. They acknowledge the author of them to be a learned and wise man. A Jewish woman, who was much dissuaded from reading the first Epistle of St. John, as containing several things, represented to her as wicked and wrong, was very much astonished, when she found the contrary by reading the same. There are not a few who commend these little books as useful and instructive.—A certain Jew, to whom a minister had given *The Letter of obtaining the Remission of Sins*, said, that he valued that present more than gold and silver. Another, who had bought *The Light in the Evening* very cheap, would not repent of his bargain, though he had given ten times the money for it. And another, who had bought the same at a higher price, said, he should not have scrupled it, if they had asked never so much for it. Another valued his copy worth a Louis-d'or.—Some, who had read the above-said treatise, declared their opinion about it to be this, that it contained nothing but what was proved from holy writ; acknowledging, at the

same time, the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, and other passages of scripture, to treat of the Messiah.

Such as had got some of these little pieces, have recommended them to others, and brought customers to such as sold them: nay, they have given money to poor Jews to purchase them. They have even offered their service for the distribution of them.

They have lamented, that the Christians had not translated the New Testament into the Jewish dialect long ago; and expressed a great desire to see more of the like books printed. Their request is, to have the books of the New Testament as exactly and plainly translated for their use as is possible. Some have solicited very much to have all the books sent them that should be printed for the future, which they promised to pay for.

The distribution of these little tracts has given the Christians an opportunity of a familiar and edifying converse with the Jews; by which many doubts and scruples of theirs have been discovered and answered.

[ From Chap. 8th.—*Of some good Effects of this Undertaking, in Relation to the Catechumens and Proselytes, and to the two travelling Students. ]*

Concerning the care taken about the proselytes and catechumens: the number of the first, who enjoy the benefit thereof, is about one hundred, that are come to my knowledge; but it extends more and more according to the accounts I receive from the two travelling students, and other correspondents. By this we get a further insight into the state and condition of these people, which may be communicated another time. And although I have heard of such accounts of some of them, as have troubled me very much; yet I have had accounts of others, which have given me an occasion of joy and comfort. Some good motions and dispositions have been found amongst those that are instructed here. Several, especially those that have turned Papists, have privately discovered their remaining doubts and scruples, and gratefully acknowledged the resolution of the same. Some vagabond proselytes have readily accepted the offered method of leading a regular life. Many Christians have been excited to take a greater care to provide for those miserable people than they ever did before. Such as were cast down by seeing themselves abandoned, have had their spirits very much raised, when they perceived a more than ordinary care was taken of them.

As to the progress of the two travelling students among the Jews: the Jews not only admit them into their houses, but visit the students in the inns, where they lodge, to discourse with them about spiritual subjects. The Jews generally pay a great attention to what the students say; look out the passages quoted in the Old Testament, and set them down; desire them to repeat and explain that over again which they cannot comprehend: and are not at all discouraged though their Rabbi rejects the doctrine. They ask abundance of questions; and are desirous to have their doubts and prejudices resolved and answered.

One happened to have so great a desire to hear more, that he staid with them all night, and went to prayers with them. The Jews charge them to visit them again in their return.

A certain Jew, who heard a prophetic passage applied to our Redeemer, would not believe for a great while, that the same was to be found in the Old Testament, but only supposed the students to have read it in the New Testament.—Sometimes they have been brought to that conviction, that at last they were forced to break out into these expressions, saying: “What then is to be done now, if we would escape the Lord’s judgments?”

After their discourse with them, they eagerly accept their little books; nay they ask them, and pay for them. Those who have got any, invite the students to come and explain what they do not understand.

[ From Chap. 9th.—*Of the Obstructions and Difficulties this Undertaking meets with.* ]

And here I will mention but in few words the first great hindrance, viz. that one seldom meets with a Jew, who is but tolerably acquainted with the letter of the Old Testament, a few passages excepted, which seem [as they misinterpret them] to run counter to Christianity, and have been inculcated into them by their teachers.—The most learned of them are often the least experienced in holy writ: the generality of them study nothing but the Talmud. And those who read the scripture now and then, do it without any hearty prayer to God to enlighten and purify their hearts, and make them understand what they read.

The hindrances given among Christians to this good work are these: 1. Their dissension. 2. The forcing of conscience among the Papists, together with their idolatrous ceremonies. 3. The wicked lives of Papists and Protestants; which they, though falsely, impute to the doctrine of the gospel. 4. The destitute condition of the proselytes, and their scandalous behaviour. 5. The small hope Christians have of their real conversion<sup>a</sup>.

[ From Chap. 10th.—*Some Means by which this Undertaking may be more and more promoted.* ]

No labour should be spared, to remove the overgrown ignorance of the Jews in regard of the Old Testament, which ignorance is the great bulwark of the blind zealot Rabbies, and obstructs exceedingly the knowledge of the gospel. We shall make it our chief business, to rescue them by verbal and printed, charitable and serious demonstrations from the prejudices of their human traditions; and lead them to a sound knowledge of the word of God, contained in Moses and the prophets, as their and our fundamental rule.

[ From Chap. 11th.—*Of Endeavours to promote the Salvation of the Mahomedans.* ]

Whereas in the late Persian war the Russians had brought many Mahomedan prisoners into a certain place, where a Protestant clergyman had an opportunity to speak with them: he sent me a letter, wherein he desired me, to publish some instructions for the benefit of those Mahomedans, that either were in Russia, or did live still in the conquered places of Persia, in the Arabic language, they understood; for there was now a fair opportunity of making a good use of the Ara-

<sup>a</sup> Concerning the prejudices, ignorance, and obstinacy of the Jews, more may be seen in Hofmann’s Essay, intitled, *The Jewish Heart hardly to be convinced and converted.*

bic, I had learned, to the glory of God. When I published the first account relating to the Jews, I subjoined the request of this pious clergyman, intimating withal, that, if there were any pious souls, who had the propagation of the knowledge of Christ at heart, who would supply the necessary expences, I should gladly undertake the work required of me. Within a few months after, so many liberal contributions were sent in, that I was enabled to procure a good stock of Arabic types, which afterwards proved of great use for promoting at the same time the conversion of the Jews.

Neither has the Lord been wanting to raise several favourers in many places, to lend a helping hand for the transportation of these pieces. In the provinces belonging to Russia, I have found some in Reval, Riga, Narva, Petersburg and Moscow. Several eminent officers of the army have taken the pains of dispersing the good seed, where-ever they command. A like assistant hath been found at Ratisbon; also in Transylvania. A certain bishop in Sweden has condescended to take the same care. In Rotterdam and the Hague two persons have lent a helping hand in the distribution of these little books. This affair has likewise been recommended to the Dutch governours in Asia and Africa. A Protestant minister in London has shewn the like willingness; and in Italy is one who lends his assistance. The Danish missionaries have taken the pains to send these writings into the great Mogul's country. And, upon the intercession of the said missionaries, one of the chief members of the Dutch senate in Batavia has in a like Christian manner undertaken the trouble of dispersing the same over the adjacent Indian islands.

And I am lately informed, that the foresaid treatises are arrived in New-Maltha or Roderwick not far from Reval, and in other parts of Russia; also in Lithuania, Constantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo, Georgia in Persia, amongst the Tartars and Calmucks: in the East-Indies: in Africa, at Algiers, Tripoli, Grand Cairo, Alexandria. And though we have no account yet of their reception in those distant countries, except that, among the Tartars upon the borders of Persia, the people have willingly accepted of them; yet these far extended distributions of them give us reason to hope, that the seed which God has already begun thus to sow in so many distant lands, will in due time through his blessing yield increase.

*The End of the Second Volume.*

## E R R A T A.

Page 83. In the Italic, read thus — *John Woolley, a Boy of thirteen.* —

Page 112. For *April 8th*, read *April 18th*.

Page 212. In the title of Sect. 14. for *Heart-afflicting*, read *Heart-affecting*.

Page 292. In the Notes, for *Both* read *both*.

Page 304. At the end of the title of Sect. 21. for *September 3d*, read *September 5th*.

Page 402. At the end of Note (a) for 1745, read 1735.

Page 430. In the Italic, for *Powers* read *Power*.

Also in Vol. I. Page 93. At the end of the first paragraph, for *Tears*, read *Eyes*,





**Date Due**



